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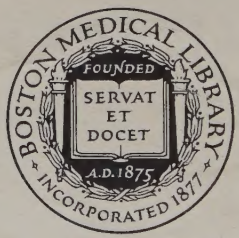

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

OF

CHARITIES AND CORRECTION

AT THE

FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL SESSION

HELD IN

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

MAY 12-19, 1915

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PREFACE

In a year when in many instances all but the essentials in social work have had to be abandoned, a National Conference of record size has been held. With common accord, a host of workers with a bewildering number of specialized interests and variety in training turned to the criticism of their own activities and to the more thorough analysis of their problems. What subjects would a gathering of 2,600 men and women, aspiring to do humanitarian service scientifically, discuss? What assurance is there that these addresses, and reports, and discussions, will lead to more intelligent social action—that the effects of the meeting will not end in the pleasant association of workers in a common cause?

The first question—from the outsider—is answered by this this book. A great *occasion* has been matched with splendid utterances. In answer to the second, the clearer definition of professional social service, the frank searching for standards in work for children, the "new star" rising in official home relief based on the principles of family rehabilitation, and many more gains that were made in the Baltimore discussions, are producing practical reactions, even before these Proceedings are published.

The forty-second Conference has surely widened the scope and increased the coherence of social service.

W. T. C.

Chicago, October 1, 1915.

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Proceedings of the Forty-second
National Conference of Charities and Correction

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PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

A Prelude to Peace*

Mary Willcox Glenn, New York

We come together, fellow members of our National Conference of Charities and Correction, a body of social workers who have passed through a winter which has made heavier demands on our energies than has any other winter of our experience. Many of us come to this conference worn in body, depressed in spirit after fighting what has seemed in many instances to be a losing fight to keep standards of work high. We have been torn by conflicting claims on our sympathies; the claim made by those who have been suffering at home, the claim made by those who have been suffering abroad. We have had to face retrenchment in work that we know to be important, and we have seen the emphasis shift from preventive and constructive effort to remedial and palliative aid. Many of us, moreover, have questioned our right to make the journey to be here, and most of us have had to make sacrifices or have accepted the sacrifices made by others in order that we may attend this forty-second annual meeting of our National Conference, which after an interval of twenty-five years meets for a second time in the city of Baltimore.

But because I am aware of the serious problems that face each of us, I wish to get quite away from our task, as such—quite away from scrutinizing the foes, sensate or insensate, that block our pathways of advance, and turn to consider ourselves—ourselves as a force, not necessarily as we are, but as we would wish ourselves to be—moving as we do move within a realm of service which, with greater or with less intensity of purpose, we have elected to enter. I shall not be able to say precisely what is in my mind, and what I do say I may not say in a way that will carry conviction to you, my fellow workers, but I shall in all sincerity speak with a desire to serve the cause that is dear to every one of us.

In the midwinter, when the tide of emotional giving had reached its high-water mark, I visited a gallery in which were exhibited a loan collection of paintings by the two great Spanish

*Opening meeting Wednesday, May 12, 8:15 P. M.

artists, El Greco and Goya. There was an immediate sense of exhilaration as one entered the gallery, filled as it was with somber radiance. But my attention was held by one picture. It held me because inadvertently I brought into the presence of a living past the preoccupations of the present time. The picture was El Greco's St. Martin and the Beggar. St. Martin sits on a richly caparisoned gleaming white horse. The steel armor, the gold embroidered maroon velvet breeches, the high white ruff and white wristlets, are the correct wear for one whose face is so distinctively that of the patrician. The castle seen in the background almost as a part of the dark hills and the thick shade trees, is the home from which such a knight necessarily must come. No contrast could be greater than is the contrast between the figure of St. Martin as conceived by the painter and the figure of the naked beggar who stands beside the gleaming white horse. The latter is the man bereft of all goods. But one's attention is held more by the look of detached compassion on St. Martin's face than by the contrast between the two figures, as with his fine rapier he, St. Martin, is seen in the act of dividing the green cloak which hangs loosely over one arm, in order that a portion of it may be given to help clothe the naked man. The look implies real pity, but the pity of one whose imagination halts in the face of suffering. The suffering of the beggar is seen to have been generalized by St. Martin, and its cause to have been unquestioningly accepted as part of an ordered scheme of things. The act of relieving is essentially a palliative one, but no gleam of humor plays on the face of either giver or recipient of bounty to show that there is felt to be an irony in the situation. Rich and poor, almsgiver and beggar, those who are stirred to acts of benevolence, those who, providentially, serve to quicken the benevolent, are by the genius of the artist evoked in what seemed to be at the moment an epitome of the winter's outburst of emotional giving taken on its lowest plane.

With this sharp, this almost Meredithian impression of the sentimental giver, I moved on to another room. There, painted on a smaller canvas, hanging in a less conspicuous place, was El Greco's St. Paul. One forgets foreground and background in thinking of that narrow, pale face with its long, black beard and high, intellectual forehead. The face is bent forward and the look on it shows that it will be from the depths of personal experience that each act of the man will get direction. It is the face, moreover, of one who lives by the rule of charity, who vaunteth not himself, who thinketh no evil, who suffereth long and is kind, who believeth all things. The contrast between the two saints, as they appear portrayed by a master of the late

sixteenth century, is a contrast between types which are extreme in their dissimilarity. The contrast seems to define itself as a distinction between a personage and a personality.

May we not come away from the Fifth Avenue gallery, which so unexpectedly has furnished an illustration for our present use, and bring with us into this hall the impression that our need as a force of social workers is that we too bear the stamp of personality; that the need of our field is that we move forward within it not as mere personages, but as personalities whose "general spirit" marks each as having "tone" such as can only come from a person's having struck some depth in his own being.

Personality, I realize, eludes definition, but there are three qualities, to which one of our young American essayists calls attention in writing on a different theme, that may be taken as being essential to the development of the personality of our group: "the courageous spirit, the understanding mind, the sympathetic heart." Bafflingly fine! one might say, but we need to strike high if we are to attain—and we know that there are among us those who have magnificently attained. Have you read the Hymn of Honour?

"The song of courage, heart and will
And gladness in a fight
Of men who face a hopeless hill
With sparkling and delight."

We know, we who have come through this hard winter of our social discontent, that we can sing a hymn of honor to those others, some of whom cannot meet with us, some of whom have passed but recently from our world, because they do and have faced many a hopeless hill with sparkling and delight.

But it is not easy to meet adequately the call for courage. To be a courageous spirit means necessarily that one is free to exercise one's will, and in spite of the fact that it is becoming a commonplace to talk of our will to do, many of us seldom know what it is to act as free agents. To allow ourselves to be hurried because of the impatient temper of the times into thoughtless action means that we become mere automatons and are in reality "condemned to almost total absence from ourselves." Agitation for social redress which is based on experiences foreign to our own, the failure to have a clear conception of the result we expect to achieve before our plans are laid, the reaching for a goal before we have counted the milestones on the road we are to take, each marks a lack in the individual or in the group of the free will which is essential to the courageous spirit. To be

free, we must think. Unless we take time to think about our tasks, we are slaves to those whom we blindly imitate or follow. Thinking, however, is often a laborious and painful process, and in our puzzling, baffling world we come quite slowly to grasp the distinction between knowing a thing and knowing that we know it.

As a starting-point for social service that is to be really worth while, each of us has to learn from the text-books what can be gathered from them about his particular subject. We have to wrest facts from the social world that lies round about us. We have to pay the price of study and of practice, and through study and practice slowly acquire a technique for use in our several fields. But even while acquiring a technique we have to learn that our technique cannot serve us unless, to borrow from Professor Hocking, we can see beyond it. The understanding mind must make the technical a servant to something other than the merely technical. The understanding mind is not necessarily a quality that one acquires in the schools, for a student may be brilliantly able in acquiring data and yet may find that the data when collected merely falls into the vast waste-paper basket of isolated facts, because he, laborious collector though he be, lacked the perception which could make him capable of interpreting the inherent meaning of the facts in hand.

We social workers are now being brought face to face with realities as never before, and it is we that are going to be put to the test. If, as Prof. L. P. Jacks writes in the April issue of the *Yale Review,* "conscience and common sense" will "assert their rights" and "only the very simplest things will stand the test" of the time, it is for us to stand prepared to give an explanation of the reason that leads us to take any given action or make any particular effort in behalf of our less fortunate fellows. We are coming now to realize more clearly how incalculable in many instances is the reaction of those whom we wish to serve to the efforts we put forth in their behalf. More and more it is to be hoped that we shall be brought to see that we stand in need of a something that will transcend our own intelligence. In humbleness of mind we may come to conceive of ourselves as mediators, who desire to be in the mood to be interpreted to by some spirit other than ourselves, in order that we may be prepared to offer to other men some genuine interpretation of their needs. When in copious quantity social copy is coming to us wet with the impress of other men's minds, we do feel the need of saying: "The works that I have in hand I will finish afterwards." I shall withdraw from the thick of the contest to measure my job, and while I am withdrawn I shall listen for

the still small voice which is other and immeasurably greater than myself. I shall hope then to get poise so that I may be prepared to withstand the pressure that is put at times on each of us to make quick decision to fall into line to help reform or remove some old evil. I shall try to see with the inner eye, so that I may be able to say with the conviction of one of our modern poets: "Reason has moons, but moons not hers lie mirror'd on her sea."

But a courageous spirit and an understanding mind do not of themselves lead one to make a sufficient social contribution. The sympathetic heart must control the situation which they create. The great personality, St. Paul, comes again to one's mind as one tries to think of what should be the distinctive marks of the sympathetic heart, whose energies are directed towards bettering the lives of suffering men. As one looks at the portrayal of El Greco, one can see that persistency and patience are stamped deep on the narrow, pale face with its forward look of profound acceptance, but the look, itself, shows that there is an actuating quality which is deeper than either the persistency or the patience, and that quality is the readiness for surrender. We too know that at the heart of affection must lie the readiness for surrender. This is the truth that is being driven home to us, and that, in spite of all that has been written and said about the liberty of the individual, is making itself felt. Sacrifices have been demanded of some of us this winter that have made us angry or sullen or have crushed our spirit or crippled our usefulness. But there are, also, others who through love of their task have surrendered themselves to the new demands made by an increasingly difficult situation. It is they in particular who by their act of surrender have learned to realize what it is to love not alone their special task, but the cause of which it is a part. They have sounded clearly the note of personality. It is being illustrated on a vast scale how sore is the need of a synthesis of personalities. How horrible is the price that has to be paid if there be a failure in the development of men's power to exercise their wills, to reason, to give play to their affections. It is a time, therefore, when we, as a force of workers, need especially to consider what the development within our body of these attributes of personality may mean. Can we not conceive of our force as being so instinct with personality that it is single-minded in purpose, wide-ranging in effort, abundant in resource, catholic in judgment—a force that does not need to hesitate as it says, They who serve under the rule of charity ensure justice?

Let us accept it as a fact that our common need is a need of deepened personality, and pass on to consider some of the more tangible ways in which we may, as a force, add to our strength. Perhaps each of us feels at times that as a group we are as weak as is our weakest part. A wrongly conceived or poorly directed piece of work may call forth criticisms or arouse antagonisms that will react sharply on those who have had no part in shaping or in trying to carry out an abortive scheme. The next step forward of an entire group may be halted through the hasty action of but a small portion of itself. On the other hand, well planned and wisely directed work may call forth unfair criticisms and be met by brutal antagonism, even on the part of those who may have been classed as being of the inner circle.

If a division of a social force fall a victim to a blindly perverse public attack, surely the other parts of the whole should not bark with the pack but should make a dispassionate effort to judge the right of the case. *Noblesse oblige* would dictate the complementary rules, that, because the whole is affected by any action of the parts, each group of workers be careful on the one hand not to rush thoughtlessly into action and, on the other, not to follow the crowd in judging without weighing evidence work that may have been criticized because in one instance it was said to be revolutionary, in another instance because it was said to be reactionary. The implication is not, of course, that a part must not move forward until the whole is ready to move. The suggestion, put baldly, is merely that we ourselves be charitable to ourselves. The part that moves in the van, because it has prophetically seen what is the next best step, is the saviour of the whole. Its path-breaking opens in time a new road to all. If, in a season of depression, a force seems as weak as its weakest part, a season of exaltation may come when a whole force may seem to be endued with a strength as great in quality as is the strength of its prophetic part. In such an uplifting moment lies the epoch making opportunity of a force.

Last summer while I was climbing Newport Mountain on Mount Desert, the seasoned mountain climber who was with me pointed out how by the use of a simple device large rocks had been split to serve as stepping stones for some of the difficult places on the well-laid path. A stick of wood, having been soaked in water, was thrust into a hole in a rough granite block, and as the wood swelled, it forced the block in two. The fact struck me then as having a lesson for our field. The analogy now seems very close. But though the influence of individual

workers may be seen at times to be so extraordinarily big, the need of a steady increase in the number that should be enlisted to serve does not grow less. There was a time when leaders in social work inclined to the belief that the constructive social work of the country would have to be left in large measure to those who made a vocation of social service. Such an attitude was natural, and, at the time that it was held, was helpful. While professional standards of work were first being formulated and tentative efforts were being made to establish a living wage for members of a professional social staff, the emphasis had to fall heavily on the importance to the field of the professional, whole-time worker, even though the emphasis tended to belittle the value of the volunteer, or part-time worker. The emphasis had, also, its value in helping to make clear the fact that there must be some preparation for service, no matter what the conditions of service are. Poverty of service is no less disastrous in results because he who gives of his poverty demands no pay. It should, also, not have surprised us that when the opportunity was first given for training for social work a narrow conception was held of what constitutes preparation. The student of our schools has had in many instances to spend a year or more out of the schoolroom before he has realized that his school experience merely started him on the way to a mastery of his subject, that it did not send him forth equipped for his job. But as he has learned this fact, he has been able to correlate his experiences and to bring home to those who are entering the ranks of the volunteer the further fact that mere observation does not and cannot take the place of getting a right start under the direction of someone who has the ability to teach.

Along with an appreciation of the need of being guided to serve has come an enlarged appreciation of the demand for a social force that shall be representative of all sections of the community—of all races, creeds, classes, interests—that shall include those who have money, those who have service, those who have both to give, and those who give themselves without stint, whether or not there be made any partial payment for services rendered. In taking the measure of a force one realizes that the gauge of its ability cannot be a mathematical one. Neither by a count taken of us as professionals or as volunteers, nor by a calculation as to the days, the months, or the years of our service can our strength be told. Our strength lies in our ability to grow strong in order that we may impart strength. That ability we cannot gauge. We may read the signs of its presence, we may foster it, and we may determine to increase the sum of it—the sum of strength. Though we cannot take our

measure by count of ourselves, and though we may not be able to gauge our quality, we can hold to an ideal of a world moving to one measure of devoted service. If we really hold such an ideal, we shall cut loose from considering ourselves as a group set apart for service. The winning of recruits will be recognized to be our task, the failure to win them our reproach.

Perhaps at no other period of time has it been so apparent that freedom must be won and held through many different kinds of effort being made by varied types of men. Castelar is quoted as saying: "All that we have defended, the conservatives have realized. . . . Who preached the unity of Italy? A republican, Mazzini. Who realized it? A conservative, Cavour." We do need the prophet but to realize the prophecy; we, also, need the genius of the man whose methods of thought and of action lie at an opposite pole from those which led to the opening of a new vista, the adventuring upon a new road of advance. It is comparatively easy, however, to recognize the splendid contribution of our leaders. Their contribution does not need to be related here. But it is worth while to dwell on the contribution of some few of our less conspicuous members. Any one of us who has been or now is responsible for directing a group of workers must have put to himself the question, as he watched the members of his staff at work: Have I the resourcefulness, or the patience, or the courage, or the faith to put through that task?

In the fall I met in a southern city with a group of visitors for a society which feared it would not be able to raise the money to meet the cost of the budget for the following month. The group, who met me in their office at nine o'clock that morning in October, did not know whether their salaries would be paid at the end of the month, did not know if they could be held together as a force to meet the accumulating demands of the poor of the city for whose service they had enlisted. But because they had enlisted, and because they wished to keep their powder dry, they did come together with eagerness to confer as to the ways in which they might best meet the taxing claims of the day's work. Their ideal of service was high, they who had come under the rule of charity.

I stayed in a settlement in another southern city, where from my bedroom window I could look into a wretched lodging-house, in which life was being lived on its lowest plane. Year after year the residents have lived within a stone's throw of sights and sounds which defied their effort to keep their neighborhood morally and physically clean. But they persisted and do persist in their determination to bring the "better-to-do" part of the community to a realization of its responsibility for the conditions in its "next streets but one."

In an out-of-the-way mission station in the Tennessee mountains, a physician, who is a graduate of one of our best medical schools, has done double duty this past winter in order that his assistant might be released to serve the Red Cross at the front. He has had no increase of pay, and they who watched his work before his assistant was called away felt that he then was doing the work of more than one man. But there are times when the work of a man becomes as it were the work of ten. I often picture to myself another health worker, a trained nurse, who has lived apart from friends and any other social workers to serve a community into which, before her advent, had come no one to show how health may be conserved. She has made the interests of her neighbors her own. Single handed she has fought that they may get fair play. She has broken their opposition to the use of her remedies. She has made them face what drink costs their manhood. Surely she has carried high her flag of courage.

Think of some of our younger workers who go out from the schools of philanthropy or the colleges to do pioneer social work in sections of the country where no ground is broken in which effort may bear quick fruitage, of some of the matured workers in our large cities who year after year work to lessen the burden of misery that rests on the people who turn to them for help. These last wage often as lonely a fight as do their fellows in the open country or in the unawakened town. Think, also, of the young recruits who, fresh with enthusiasm, go into institutions to begin the slow process of lessening the handicaps of the defective or the evil tendencies of the delinquent. Think of those who, through a painstaking study of facts make an anonymous contribution to the body of data which is slowly accumulating to serve as a sound basis for action; and of the patient service of a clerical force which continuously gives more time than it is paid to give in order that our charitable offices may be well conducted. One may have watched some tired worker close his or her desk at night and have felt something in the air that gave the conception of there having been a folding of wings.

While walking on Newport Mountain last summer I got another impression from my companion that has a bearing on what has been said above. His close, his affectionate intimacy with that one mountain made one feel how meager is the satisfaction that one gets from a mere tourist's climb. The giving of oneself wholly to one's task, even if it be a minor task, may bring a degree of satisfaction that cannot be the portion of the social worker who by choice or by force of circumstances takes, or is obliged to take, what might be called almost an excursion-

ist's view of different parts of the field. It is in recognition of the salt of our service that I should encourage our bearing in mind not alone these few instances I have cited of the finely human quality of our members, but the many other instances we each must have in mind of how the character of the individual has expanded to meet the exigencies of the demands made on it.

May we not pass on from considering the personality of our force, the ways in which we add to our strength, the many sides of our contribution, to dwell very briefly on the peculiar obligation that is imposed on us by the terrible event of our day. It is under three aspects that the obligation seems to present itself. The first aspect lays a claim on us to conceive of ourselves as enlisted to serve not primarily a society or an organization, but a cause. It is in behalf of a cause that we are banded together in a social fellowship, and it is for the cause, as Charles Stewart Loch has pointed out to us, that we must spend our lives. The competitive spirit, creating as it does antagonisms and leading societies, at times, to subterfuge to gain their particular ends, betrays the cause and brings, therefore, an ultimate defeat. A recognition of the claim of the whole steadies one to see that it is not fair play to press for a goal at the expense of others. We learn very slowly how to cooperate, we social workers. We base our work on the principle of co-operation and we let ourselves come under the law of competition. Whatever other forces may have been at work to bring about the great war, certainly competition made its sinister contribution. The effective instruments of the will to peace are not easy to grasp, nor are they tangible, but one conceives of them as having a reality which is as sure as is consciousness itself. We know that the will to peace must produce more than treaties and leagues—that it must make the competitive yield to the co-operative spirit. May we social workers be no laggards in meeting this obligation.

The second aspect of our obligation is the need to see with greater clearness how we may help men to help themselves. Our task is to help release the energies of men who are handicapped, or oppressed, retarded or confounded so that they may develop their own personalities. It is not for us to direct the lives of our fellows. "Justice says," to quote Felix Adler, "do not destroy life; Charity says, save life." When we are brought face to face with the huge injustice of war, we are made to think, also, of life as more than meat and drink, and we crave, we social workers, that not alone our justice, but that also our charity deepen so that the lives we help to save may be saved to be lived indeed.

And the third aspect of our obligation is that we do our part to place the spiritual above the material in the effort to lessen the burdens borne by our fellows. It surely has been brought home to us during these long nine months that peace is indeed a fruit of the spirit and that men move in jeopardy until the material is made the servant of the spiritual. The significance of the Beatitude is driven home: "The meek shall inherit the earth." It is they who give, not they who grasp, who shall conquer.

When Rheims Cathedral was bombarded it was "soul in the world" that seemed "besieged." Those partial ruins typified the mastery of the material. They seemed mutely to appeal for a transvaluation of values that would assure the world that it might continue to possess the treasures it had learned to reverence. It brought sharply home the paradoxical fact that the material can be held only if it be held as a fruit of spiritual attainment. It is what we are in ourselves, not what things we shape or use, that make our security. The Belgian poet, Verhaeren, has said that the King of Belgium was never as much a ruler as when bared of his lands, never before as wholly at one with his nation, never before the ruler of a united people. If this lesson now be learned blood will not have been shed in vain. A generation will be honored of all generations if it drive this lesson home.

As we face the new conditions that will grow, inevitably, out of a call for readjustment, we shall need to be brave in experiment. We must conceive of our world not as old, but as young, not as static, but as plastic. Our conception of her must be an artist's conception and our desire a tender, loving wish to fashion each part we have a share in moulding so that our work will be not that of the jobber, but of the craftsman. If we resist being hurried in our task, it shall not be as if we were satisfied to achieve the commonplace, but as if we felt that the purpose which underlies our work is so precious that no effort can be too deliberately made, no intent be too creative. But in facing our obligation, in realizing our need of the blood of youth in our veins, we do not conceive of ourselves as the sufficient force. It is not we that are to move "all the laboring surges of the world."

A young American painter who spent two years in Bali, an island of the Indian Archipelago, has recently exhibited in New York his paintings of the native people. One of his pictures is that of a mother and child. She, the primitive mother seems to be a symbol of perfect, of instinctive charity. She stands a strong, lithe figure with the child in her arms, and to its lips

she holds the bowl of water which has flowed in a full, crystal clear stream over the high rock from some exhaustless, hidden source. The interdependence of mother and child, the free gift of nature, the rich shelter of rock and trees, make one think of how deliberately through the ages the gifts of fresh strength have come to the civilized world from the unknown peoples.

We cannot tell what founts of strength may be drawn on to bring recuperation to the world as we now know it. But we do know that from whatever source the strength for recuperation comes, the real strength will lie in the simply-planned, the virtuous home, in the integrity of family life; in the buoyancy of disposition which finds its own opportunities for play; in the ability to stand up to the drudgery of the day's job; in the readiness to see the other fellow's point of view; in ties of comradeship, in acts of worship, in knowing God. We social workers can do our part as intermediaries to interpret one group to another, to supplement and to release energy, to prevent oppression, to equalize opportunity, to call for the means of service. But our effectiveness as intermediaries must depend on our power to draw strength from some source other than ourselves. If we with conviction can say,

> "My world hath need
> Of me who still hold God firm in my mind.
> It is no matter if I fail:"

we shall have apprehended victory. Whether we be from North or South, from East or West, from these United States or from beyond her borders; whether we be white or colored; whether our effort be in behalf of the dependent, the defective, the delinquent, or the oppressed; we shall carry our gauge of peace. Our collective offering will be a prelude to the peace which shall endure.

CONFERENCE SERMON

Half Life and Whole Life; an Interpretation of the End of Social Striving*

Rev. W. Russell Bowie, D.D., Rector, St. Paul's Church, Richmond, Va.

No one could stand here before this great gathering at this moment without a deep and reverent sense of responsibility and of awesome privilege. There is high and almost solitary significance in the purpose of our assembling now. We are to seek to phrase and hear a message that shall explain in such measure as may be possible, the spirit of the whole Conference. We look at the program for the days just past and for the three days to come, and find the rich complexity of subjects almost bewildering. There are more sessions than any one person could possibly go to, more subjects for discussion and more speakers than any single one could possibly hear. We divide and go our ways according to our particular dominant interest, but to-day we come together; and, with the exception of the president's address, which it would be well if I could pattern after, the message which you look for and which I must try to give must be more comprehensive in spirit than perhaps any other utterance at the Conference. It must try to express, in some real way, the aspiration and endeavor of us all.

If there be one word which is big and large enough to suggest all the desire of this Conference, one word that can phrase the motif of all its many-toned spiritual music, that word is life. We are come here, it seems to me, because we ourselves want to live more largely. And if this Conference succeeds, it will be in the fact that when we go away we shall go to help carry larger life to the communities in which we dwell and work.

We shall recognize, I think, that that double statement is true. First, that we ourselves have come here in search of life. We might not impulsively express the fact in just that way. We point to some particular subject on the program and say that we came to hear the discussions on that special thing. We wanted to hear the views of certain experts on prison discip-

*Religious service, Sunday, May 16, 3:00 P. M.

line, or on protective work for children, or on social hygiene, or on whatever else we happen to name. We wanted more knowledge—more light on some problem we are struggling with. Or we say we came not for any particular stated discussion—but in order to meet in personal conference men and women we knew would be here. We wanted their judgment as to the efficient conduct of work we have in mind. But through such expressions as these, does there not shine very clearly the larger reality? What we want knowledge for, and conference for, and advice for is to be better able to live greatly in those concerns which are for us the very stuff of life. There are times when we feel as though the current of our living were running dry. Our thoughts lose their freshness, our energies sink into shallow channels. We know that we need a new vital impulse from somewhere; and then we turn to a conference like this. We turn to it as the bed of the tidal river might turn if it could to the sea, when the ships are stranded and the shoals are bare. We turn to the deeps of such a gathering as this—to its fuller thought than ours, its thrilling purposes, its deep enthusiasms. And out of it, the tide of its superb impulses come surging, like the salt tide in from the sea, to fill the shallow rivers with its flashing fulness, to lift the ships of our stranded energies and set them free on their far, rejoicing way.

And as we come here to gain life, so we go away to give it. We go back to the duty and routine of the familiar place and the familiar work. We set ourselves afresh to the long and patient endeavor in such a thing as trying to secure child labor legislation from the legislatures of selfish and stubborn states; we take up the problem of the unemployed, or the better correlation of our general relief. We are immersed presently in the old details. But if we have caught the spirit and purpose of our enterprise, what is it that we are concerned with? It is not to accomplish just this or that legislative change or administrative reform for its own mechanical sake. It is to help shape conditions so that men and women and little children may have more of life, and more in life. It is to help clear the shoals which selfishness or ignorance have thrown across the channels of their living, that into them also the tide of new energies and new power may come in.

If life then be the keynote of our desire, it seems to me that what we can best do to-day is to ask ourselves what the real life is and how we can best gain it. And with that question in our minds, there come to us the words of One who said "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly."

Not all of us here to-day think alike about Jesus of Nazareth. To some, perhaps, He seems a great prophet. To others of us, He is also Master and Lord. We may not express our relationship to Him in the same ecclesiastical organization, nor phrase alike the creedal statements that try to express the reality of what He was and is. But all of us are at one in this—in recognizing that He knew more about life than any of us know. He was born in lowly Bethlehem, and He died on the cross. But He led, between, a life that was so wonderful in scope and intensity and power that it stands unique to this day. We know that if we could ourselves follow His ideals, and make them controlling in our world, the world would be made into the kind of place our highest dreams desire.

Let us think, then, of what life is and what it might be, as He helps us to understand this. And we may best begin by realizing some of the things that the real life is *not*.

1. Life, to begin with, is more than existence. There are times when this distinction has very obvious meaning. The insane person exists; he can hardly be said to live in any worthwhile sense of the word. The convict condemned to spend the rest of his days in prison, to endure the hideous monotony of barred cells and narrow corridor, to sleep there, to wake there, to die there, exists; but he also may come to the point where no stronger word may be used. So there are men and women in less extreme conditions who seem merely to exist, and not to live—people ground down by ignorance and hard toil on the one hand, or smothered by indolence and selfishness on the other. The trouble with such existence is that it has so few points of sensitive contact with the vital possibilities of the world. The overworked laborer, stumbling home at night with body and mind sodden with exhaustion, eats his supper and goes to bed—to sleep till the next morning begins the monotonous round. Work and food and sleep are the only things he is much alive to. He is too tired or too dulled by monotony to have any response left in him to thoughts and purposes which may be stirring in the community around him. So far as intelligently helpful citizenship is concerned, he may count for no more than a man dead. And the same thing may be true of people who have no such pressure upon them. The man who in his mean concern thinks only of himself, his comforts and his luxuries, and the woman wrapped in her easy self-pleasing, may also be leading an existence that has in it no sufficient nobleness to be counted as in any high sense life. Only at a few mean points are they alive. To great ranges of the world's meaning they are dull and dead—dull to duty, to unselfish service, to the keen joy of high and eager effort in great concerns.

2. In the second place, life is more than pleasure. Certainly we know that when we look at Jesus. That life of His was full of shadow, and went into the blackness of deepest agony at the end. He never sought an easy existence, nor ever made happiness in itself a deliberate or primary end. And I am sure we must know something of the reason for this in our own best experiences. There are times, when for the sake of gaining the real greatness of our living, we have got to aim at something higher and harder than the moment's happiness—something very different. Happiness may be like the basking on a summer's day in serene and sheltered places, but the call of life may be to rise and gird ourselves and go out for costly service. The whole fact of interest in the needs and sorrows and grave limitations of our human brotherhood is not the kind of thing that makes for immediate happiness. It brings us into contact with much that is dismaying and heart-burdening. It forces us to become the sharers in much sadness. It may make us have to throb with

"Desperate tides of the world's anguish
"Forced through the channels of a single heart."

But we know that it is worth the cost. To drink largely of life more than makes up for the bitterness which sometimes may be in the cup. To serve greatly in some cause of helpfulness, to champion the weak, to defy evil, to hazard much for righteousness' sake, is to know a splendor of life that is more to be desired than an easier content. It is to win the kind of joy which He had, whom men with only partial understanding called the "Man of Sorrows." The truth shines out in those fine words of Romola's, "It is only a poor sort of happiness that could ever come by caring very much about our own cares and pleasures. We can only have the highest happiness, such as comes along with being a great man, by having wide thoughts, and much feeling for the rest of the world as well as ourselves; and that sort of happiness often brings so much pain with it that we can only tell it from pain by its being what we would choose before everything else, because our souls see it is good."

For ourselves we know this—and not in any magniloquent sense, but in the fine realities of every day. We know that the real bigness of work, and satisfaction in the doing of it, come when we are not concerned most of all about having a good time, but about putting all the faithfulness and strength and purpose we have into the challenging task that lies at hand.

But I am not sure that we always recognize this truth as clearly for those we work with and for, as we do for ourselves. Sometimes people have a sort of gentle-hearted unwill-

ingness to make others face the realities which they face. Social workers look out on the lives of the poor and the disadvantaged, and are overwhelmed with an eager compassion—caught with the power of a great desire, first of all to give those lives the brightness they lack. It is a beautiful impulse, and one that is often sorely needed. To break the dulness in which so many minds and hearts seem to be shut up, to bring color into drab lives, to teach little children how to play, and to give men and women a chance to expand with the enjoyment which poverty and hard work threaten to crush out, is a thing beautiful with the very spirit of the Christ. But it is not the end of what ought to be given, and it may become disastrous when it is made the end. Just to amuse children and entertain grown people, to teach them how to dance or how to act, to let them feel—though ever so subtly—that their place in the scheme of human relationships is to come to the settlement house or to the church to be taken care of or to be pleased, is to turn the good into the enemy of the best. Life still lies above and beyond mere good natured contentment. And the only way to give life to any human being is to make the soul of him alive to the things that call out great response—alive to duty, to service, to the will to be happy, if happiness can be attained, but whether it be attained or not, to follow high purposes and to cleave to what is right.

3. In the third place, life is greater than material gain. "A man's life," as Jesus said, "consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth"; and one of His most vivid parables is that of the rich man who gathered in his crops into the enlarged barns which he had built and then settled back into complacent and boastful satisfaction because he had enough goods laid up to let him eat, drink and be merry for the rest of his days. But when the man's soul was required of him, it was a poor, mean, shrunken thing.

In the industrial and social world of to-day, the temptation is obvious and frequent to try to reverse the words of Jesus, and to hold abundance of possessions as worth more than all the rest of life. Men follow the fierce allurement of some hard ambition. They organize their business to bring profit to themselves, regardless of its human cost. They weave specious excuses to justify the protection of profitable sin and vice. And sometimes private greed organizes itself into general policy. Legislation is shaped—or prevented—in the interest of the special privilege which betrays the public good; and the sordid interests of a few outweigh the rights of a people.

Against that false standard of values, the voice of such a Conference as this always has been and always must be clear. Material gain, either to an individual or to a community, is too poor a thing to win at the expense of losing life. When it is sought narrowly, life *is* lost. When a city glories in its great mills and factories and the dividends they earn, and boasts of its bank accounts and its balance in trade, and is blind to the broken lives on which these things are built—blind to the men and women imprisoned, body and mind, in exhausting toil, blind to the children taken from the school and from God's out-of-doors to grow shrunken and pallid in the somber mills, blind to the weary wretchedness of its tenements and the sordid alleys where its workers herd—then that city is dead to much that ought to constitute its life—dead to sympathy, to pity, and to that high sacrifice which might glorify its soul. When a community is content to encourage vice because of the trade it thinks the lure of it brings, tolerant of the sort of wide-open town through whose doors run roads to death, ready to make terms with shame, because of its money bribe—then that community too is dead where conscience and honor ought to be alive. And the message which such men and women as are gathered here must be proclaiming always is the high supremacy of life. Prosperity is good and material success is good, but higher than these is the need that life be honored and exalted. That man is greatest and that community is greatest which has —not most possessions—but most of life; most points at which it is alive to human needs, to human values, and to the rights of every human soul.

If this is true of communities, it is true no less of nations. Certainly one of the deep roots—if not the deepest root—of the bitter fruitage of this hideous war is the fact that among the nations there has been so much of the false belief that a great people can seek material things selfishly and thereby gain life. Colonies to be mastered and held for exploitation, zones of influence to be seized for the money to be made out of their trade, selfish expansion without regard to the rights of weaker peoples over-run, these have been the glittering seductions which have made nations think that by them they could dominate the earth. But as soon as any people concentrates upon its own supposed advantage, so that the larger sympathies of its soul atrophy and die, and all generous regard for its neighbors and all sense of a sacrificial duty in this world not first to gain but to serve fades and withers, then mortification sets in. The life of that people begins to be gangrened with arrogance and hate, with suspicion and every evil humor; and unless it is cleansed by the

fire of some awful purifying, the day of its spiritual death is at hand. The insanity of pride may mock it, a boastful cynicism may deny it, but in awful majesty the truth some day shall reveal itself,—that only the people which is generously alive to all the needs and obligations of the life of all the earth shall be suffered to endure in that reconstruction of the earth which righteousness shall bring to pass.

4. Fourth, life is greater than all the things it lives on. It is greater than plenty, greater than comfort, greater than any ideal of society which is content with its economic adjustment. We assume sometimes in these days of striving for social justice that if only we could make the conditions of existence fair for all people the goal of our endeavors would be reached. If we could abolish poverty, and control disease, and stop the springs of degeneracy, and reform all the prisons, and make all the social machinery what it ought to be; and if all men and women got the due reward of their labor and had enough for all their needs—would the fulness of human living not have come? No, it would be ready to begin. The foundations would have been laid for the walls and towers to rest on, but these need finer and more soaring elements out of which to rise. For a people's life must climb up above earth's level into the fair sunlight of the eternal things. It must be lofty enough for wide vision, and ample enough to shelter the striving of heroic souls.

In the great war across the seas, the thing that keeps it from being a mere horror and lifts it up at times into a kind of solemn and gigantic grandeur is the fact that it does release the splendid, unguessed potencies of human souls, and set men about a task which kindles the kind of valiant ardor that too often we forget the race can rise to. It is because so many of the pursuits of the common years seem so dull and petty and so immersed in a kind of mean and unimaginative selfishness that thousands respond as though to the very voice of life itself when the summons of war break forth. There, as least the pettiness of the common days is swept away. There the small prudences and the timid calculation of loss and gain are stripped and scattered in the wind that blows from the throat of the guns. None of the false honors which a man may have boasted in, stand him in stead then, but only the naked worth of his manhood and his power to lose himself with others in a cause larger than his own life. For the sake of that sort of release from stifling concerns and stifling pursuits, for the sake of finding himself even though he die in the finding, can a man rejoice to answer to the awful challenge and the fierce refining of a great war to which his nation goes.

It is that high and self conquering ardor, that superb and sacrificial valour, that we need in the times of peace. We must have it if there is to be in the constructive forces,—as well as in the destructive forces,—of society a moral challenge high and hard enough to call out the great reserves of human courage and devotion. And in order to possess this, we must be conscious in our striving of a cause and an ideal mighty enough to command the whole response of the whole of life.

Where shall we find it?

I know no other to whom we can go for answer so confidently as to Him whose words we have made our text to-day. He said, "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly," and the life He meant is the thing we want—fullness of inspired energies set free. His life was not made up of pleasure, nor possessions, nor any material gain. It consisted in the divine power which burned in His soul for the accomplishment of a divine plan. In His vast sympathies, He was alive to all the needs of men; and in the upreach of His soul, he was alive to the will of the living God.

The life He offered to those who looked to Him was a life like His own. It meant the possession of that purpose and that power which He first had made plain. He called His purpose the establishment of the Kingdom of God; and the power behind Him was the power of that One whom He called His Father and Lord of Heaven and earth.

The greatness and glory of this Conference seems to me to consist above all else in the fact that whether by name or not, yet in deep reality, its energies are turned toward that mighty thing which Jesus lived and died for—the building of the Kingdom of God. When we consider the things this Conference discusses, when we remember all the redeeming and recreating forces which it seeks to empower, we know that its spirit is close akin to the spirit of Him who made the feeding of the hungry, and the clothing of the naked, and the visiting of the prisoner, and the helping of the stranger the standard of His Judgment upon the souls of men. And the spirit of the Conference is like His spirit also in a still vaster way. We are concerned to-day, as He was concerned, not simply with the amelioration of surface afflictions and wrongs. He believed that the very structure of human society could be regenerated because human life could itself be regenerated. His faith in the future and in the power of men to achieve tomorrow what the dull argument drawn from yesterday's experience would despair of, was supreme; and the spirit of this Conference in that same way is forward-looking with that far gaze which sees beyond

the world as it is the dawn of a fairer world which aspiration longs for and faith shall some day usher in.

But the plea which I would make to-day is that we should continually make more clear and conscious our sympathy with that deepest thing of all which Jesus felt to be essential in human life and social order as those ought to be. He wanted men and women to live—and their brethren to shape conditions so as to help the hard-pressed ones to live—as becomes the children of God. He set upon every human soul a divine and immortal worth. He made the thought of God, and of every individual's personal relationship with God, the reason and the inspiration for all human helpfulness. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God," He said is the first commandment; and in the light and power of that, comes the second, "to love thy neighbor as thyself." When social service is approached thus, the whole meaning of it is exalted. It becomes not the mere improvement of things. It is the deliverance of life. It becomes a warfare against all social injustice and wrong, against all greed and exploitation, against all materialistic selfishness, against national and international iniquity, on the high and inflaming ground that through this struggle we must set men and women free to live those full lives of spiritual privilege which God intended for them and which we understand only as we keep close to the thoughts of God.

Surely in these last days we have seen the dreadful shame into which a people can fall when it has begun to tell itself that material greatness means greatness of life. To imagine that because a society has attained the culture of a successful selfishness,—even though that selfishness be not individual, but national—it has attained to a right to dominate the earth; to trust in wealth and prosperity and power, and forget that not all of these can atone for the failure to hate wrong and cleave to righteousness; to solve many economic problems but to let a people's soul in the meanwhile grow not more but less sensitive to the unchanging truths of the Most High God—is not to gain life, but to poison the very springs from which it ought to rise. And out of the thoughts and emotions which press upon us as we look out upon our world to-day, let us shape afresh and consciously the conviction that we must carry into our social striving here in America the moral—yes, in the high sense the religious purpose—to challenge injustice and meanness and wrong with the terrible power of those who hate these things with the whole hatred of the divine righteousness, and to make the ideal of the society we want to create so spiritual that it will command that moral valour and unselfish devotion by which alone is the full greatness of life released.

But to establish in this sense the Kingdom of God, to go fighting on against iniquities that seem to mock and defy the unsuccessful assaults of righteousness, to keep believing in the unseen ideals when time and again these seem so futile, we need not only the purposes which are of God, but also the strength which comes from Him. Surely to all of us in our work, whatever it be, there come the moments when we feel our pitiful inadequacy. We flinch before the weary task we have to face, stumble on the long road of aspiration. Again and again we would give up the fight except that we know it is not ours alone, and that from somewhere—if we hold on with steady courage—the great reserves of the strength of God will come. After the siege and sack of Haarlem in the wars of the Netherlands and Spain, Diedrich Sonoy, Lieutenant Governor of North Holland, wrote to the Prince of Orange inquiring whether in that bitter hour he could not arrange some foreign alliance; and the reply came back, "You ask if I have entered into a firm treaty with any great king or potentate, to which I answer, that before I even took up the cause of the oppressed Christians in these provinces, I had entered into a close alliance with the King of Kings; and I am firmly convinced that all who put their trust in Him shall be saved by His almighty hand." Such high assurance as that is ours when we too undertake a cause so great that we know the very integrity of the Universe is pledged to its final triumph. We may seem to fail for a time—even as Jesus in Gethsemane and Calvary seemed to fail. But it shall be with us as it was with Him—that no faith nor courage nor heroic venture shall have been lost when the final account is struck between the power of things as they are and the power of Him whose spirit through us would conform this world to His redemptive will. And thus to share, after the manner of Jesus, the purposes of the living God, and through whatever creed to lift our hearts to Him for His sufficient strength, is to find life, and to find it more abundantly.

"For they, who by whatever name,
Have dared to challenge wrong.
Who stoop to lift the burdened up
And help the weak be strong,—
These blaze again the shining paths
The lords of life have trod,
And where their valiant footsteps go,
There go the ways of God."

THE FAMILY AND THE COMMUNITY

PROGRAM*

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Introductory Statement by the Chairman*

R. M. Little, Secretary, Society for Organizing Charity, Philadelphia, Pa.

The committee in preparing this part of the program had in mind that the family and the community should be considered in a very prominent way at this conference. The world is feeling the effects of strange, mysterious and destructive forces in a larger measure than in past history, and whatever may be the outcome of the present struggle, when it is over, the world will be in many ways different from what it has been. When civilization is receiving an almost mortal blow is it not wise that we who are engaged in social work and concerned for the strengthening and uplifting of human life and character should give our minds and thoughts to the best things of life, things that make it strong and enduring? Whatever may be the outcome of the great European struggle, whether it may mean more autocracy or more democracy, certainly we Americans want to see democracy increase among men. We desire liberty, fraternity and equality, and we also recognize that a democratic government depends upon the strength and durability of the family. It is not only the unit of society, but it may almost be called the common denominator of everything that is good in human life. And therefore at this general session we wished to have the subject presented by those who would give to us thoughts large, rich and inspiring which will cause us all as social workers to feel more strongly and strive more earnestly and patiently for the strengthening of family life; that we may here in America, and for the world so far as America

*General session Saturday, May 15, 11:00 A. M.

influences it, send out rays of light and of strength. We are not especially to consider the economic basis of the family, but want our thoughts to rise into the higher values—therefore the two subjects to be presented: *The Ethical Basis of the Family* and *The Enlargement of the Family Ideal.*

THE ETHICS OF THE FAMILY

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The point of view of the student at the present time in approaching such a problem as that of the ethics of the family makes his task less simple than that of old. He cannot depend upon an infallible intuition or an infallible deduction. He must consider consequences on the one hand, and psychology of men and women, on the other; he must consider social conditions and the evolution of human personality. Doubtless there are seemingly constant factors—the thrill of passion and the necessity of rational control; the love of mother for child and of child for mother; the effects of habit and the power of social convention; the conflict between individual choice and public opinion—all these in a sense reappear in generation after generation. They claim their place in any treatment, but love between the sexes has been made in many respects a different thing because of all that fiction and poetry, as well as church and state, have done to it. Recently the industrial revolution, the conditions of city life, the progress of higher education, the general movement toward emancipation of woman, have combined so to change both the controlling conditions of human life and the mental attitudes and temper of men, women, and children, that the problems long since comfortably and confidently settled clamor for reconsideration. Ethics may or may not reach conclusions as to marriage, divorce, economic dependence of woman, parental responsibility, distinction between legitimate and illegitimate birth, which agree with the judgments of the past, but no ethics can simply reaffirm these past judgments without noting the changed personalities and changed conditions.

We may well recognize, first of all, that instead of the ethics of the family, we might more properly speak of the ethics of families, for the ethical questions which are really uppermost in the middle class family of today are very different from those which are at the front in the working-class family. Nevertheless, there are some general considerations which apply to both.

Moralists sometimes make a distinction between positive and negative morality. Positive morality offers values: negative morality says "Thou shalt not!" There is perhaps no field of ethics which in the past has had a point of view more prevailingly negative than the morals of the family.

(1) It has said little about a duty to marry, but much against sexual relations except in marriage; little about a right choice, much about divorce.

(2) It has said little as to the positive value of children, but has tabooed such questions as restriction or illegitimacy.

(3) Since the whole sexual nature is so liable to become the cause of evil, it has urged that we know and talk as little about it as possible; that we do not mention to a girl any of the unpleasant possibilities of communicable disease; that we bring up children upon the basis that innocence is the only virtue for the young, and that there is in any case no positive value in at least the physical side of love.

We are not entirely satisfied with this negative morality. It doesn't work well in several particulars. Some of the facts which challenge attention are the following:

(1) There is a small and decreasing birth-rate among the educated classes, which means, unfortunately, that these classes are constantly passing out from our population. In this country some of us, at least, believe that the stock which settled in New England and moved on into New York and the middle west was a good stock. We do not like to see it disappear, but it certainly is disappearing, and relatively to other stocks it will, according to present indications, be less and less influential in the future life of the country.

(2) There is increasing divorce.

(3) There is in some parts of the western world increasing illegitimacy. This may or may not be true for this country, since we have so little accurate registration that it is difficult to know, but in certain European countries the increase, particularly in large cities, is striking. In Berlin, between the years 1891 and 1909, legitimate births decreased 19 per cent. (from 47,000 to 38,000); illegitimate increased 39 per cent., and are now at the rate of about one in five of all births.

(4) The double standard of morals persists, and prostitution as a profitable commercial enterprise is as strong as ever.

(5) The "social diseases" are far too prevalent.

(6) Various social agencies find so many of their problems thrust upon them by bad family conditions that the waste and expense of the situation are becoming increasingly evident. The defective children, the retarded children in the schools, the weak

who swell the number of prostitutes, the boy criminals in our large cities, the deserted wives and children, the family troubles which come to light in our juvenile courts and courts of domestic relations, all tell of failures which may or may not be out of proportion to what should be expected in any human institution, but are, at any rate, sufficiently numerous to be a challenge to our existing ethics.

(7) Finally, the vast literature upon various aspects of the woman question reflects the friction which may not find outlet in the courts or the charities, but which, none the less, is very real in certain classes of families.

Negative morality had good reasons for many of its prohibitions, and when there was no reason that we may now wish to call a good reason, there was at least an explanation. Passion needed and always will need stern limits set by reason, by authority, and by public opinion for the protection of both men and women, and particularly for the protection of women. There is also an element of true psychology in the taboos which the race has fixed upon excessive attention to the sexual life. While the original motive for these taboos may very likely have been in large part fear of contracting feminine weakness or fear of the ghost that might be presumed to hover about at such a time as the birth of a child, there is, no doubt, a certain instinctive modesty which is one of the strongest supports to chastity and purity and which should not be broken down. Besides these valid reasons, there are special explanations for our inherited attitude. When people lived in small towns and knew each other intimately from childhood; when parents knew the habits of their neighbors' children almost as well as those of their own, and when daughters could have the parents' advice, there was no such tendency to hasty marriages between persons who had had scarcely any opportunity to become acquainted as now exists in the large cities. Under such conditions, too, there was probably far less communicable disease. On the other hand, there was no need of especially inculcating the duty of marriage or the desirability of raising children. When no other way of support lay open to women, the pressure was strong in the direction of marriage. When people live largely an agricultural life, children are very little added expense, and are not only a joy, but frequently a great help to their parents in the house and on the farm. Among higher classes the importance of maintaining the family name and transmitting family wealth was a strong inducement which seems still to operate, especially in royalty and in the country families of Europe; but there is no great sentiment about passing down

the family flat, and indeed the absence of any such family tradition is well suggested by the question of the child of one of my colleagues, when passing by a house where the parents had lived —"Is this one of the houses where I was born?" But there were other grounds less rational. The double standard, the harsh inequalities before the law, are survivals of military and aristocratic society. The sex taboos are in part due to outgrown superstitions, to crude beliefs about original sin, to degrading doctrines about woman.

Besides the failures of negative morality, there are certain new values which demand recognition.

(1) For the middle class family the great factor is undoubtedly the new consciousness of personal rights, powers, and interests on the part of women. We cannot expect to have higher education, new avenues of achievement, new means of economic support, new possibilities of freedom, and still retain the special type of monogamy which was characteristic of earlier civilization, and especially of a civilization which in many ways was brutal in its restraint upon woman. Reinforcing these is the extraordinary industrial change which has taken the productive work from woman, has made her a consumer, and has made it difficult, if not impossible, for her to maintain, on the one hand, her activity as an intellectual or executive person, and, on the other, her position as wife and mother.

(2) The second great positive value is the new recognition of the child. Our vast public school system, originally organized for protection to the state, is now definitely valued as an instrument for giving the child an opportunity to make the most of himself and to develop his powers. Great advances in medical science have restricted infantile diseases and magnified the general esteem of the importance of every human life. Societies for the care of orphans or neglected children, juvenile courts, associations of nurses, are indices of a growing conscience. This increased valuation upon children is not satisfied to continue the old proverb which Ezekiel contended against more than two thousand years ago: "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." Our older theology sent children unbaptized to limbo or to hell because of their parents' omissions or of the ancestral sin. For some time theology has balked at attributing such a destiny to the infant, but we are yet very slow about going the whole way. We have thus far hesitated to give the child a fair chance irrespective of his parents. We have assumed that the child born in a very poor family cannot expect good sanitation or opportunity for healthful play, or as good an education as the child born to the well-

to-do. In the case of the illegitimate child we have been even more chary. But if I am not mistaken, the next generation will look for some way to control and, if necessary, punish reckless sex relations without visiting positively upon the children the iniquity of the fathers.

(3) A third new value is that of the positive significance of sex and of motherhood. There has, of course, always been a literature of motherhood, and individuals have valued their own experiences as mothers or as children, but so much of the older valuation has been associated with limitations upon the life and activity of woman that it is not surprising to find certain writers minimizing the significance of sex in woman's life. They claim that sex has been exaggerated. They would settle the conflict between home and industry by encouraging women to enter gainful occupations. They would make motherhood incidental, rather than principal, in determining woman's plan of living. In contrast with these proposed solutions, which magnify the value of independent occupation and productive work in the world of industry or commerce, Ellen Key is distrustful of the effect upon woman's life of organized industry, and seeks a new appreciation of woman's sex life. It is not necessary to decide that all women must conform to one pattern, but taking woman as a whole, and taking business and industry as now organized, I should side with Ellen Key as contrasted with the opposing school. For a minority of women the path of freedom and development may lie through independent economic activity, and in case they have families, through such systematized care for children as would free the mother for her intellectual or active pursuits outside, but for the majority I believe that greater happiness, as well as fuller development, lies rather in magnifying family values and freeing them from the survivals of subordination, of unscientific and ill-organized methods, which belong to former days.

(4) The fourth positive value which demands recognition in the ethics of the family is the value of sound, healthy, and well-reared stocks, not merely for the individuals whose enjoyment and achievement are concerned, but for the community and the state. The pendulum swings back and forth between nature and nurture, between the importance of well-bred children and the importance of good environment. Just at present biology is laying great stress upon the former. With its Mendelian law as an instrument of analysis, biology is certainly bringing before us more forcibly than ever the importance of heredity. And as we are learning to think in terms not merely of to-day, but of to-morrow, not merely of the local community,

but of the nation, we are gaining a new consciousness of the tremendous value to society of certain stocks. If anything was needed to reenforce this biological truth, the lessons of the war are fulfilling that task. It was the Boer war that awakened England to the deterioration of her population in physical stature. The present war has been a tremendous object-lesson of the value of giving thought to health and fitness. It is even conceivable that it may make its lesson so impressive as in a measure to reclaim from other forms of wastage the frightful waste of the best stock which it is itself displaying.

These four new values—the value of women's freedom and development, the value of the child, the value of sex and especially of motherhood, and, lastly, the value of sound stock well reared for national life and for the life of the world—must be reckoned with in the new ethics of the family. We can no longer meet the situation by taboos and negations, by ascetic restraints or sentimental gush, nor by mere appeals to authority or reiterations of past conventions. We must look forward and think of the family in its larger relations. If we retain its essential features, it must be because they respond to these positive values and not because they have come down from the past.

What are the lines along which our ethical consciousness is likely to move in recognizing these new values? Is it likely to shift in the direction of free love, so called? In the direction of economic independence for women? In the direction of less of family care and more of public care and control?

The challenge to existing institutions comes partly on the ground of personal freedom. "Of all dogmas, monogamy has been that which has claimed most human sacrifices." It comes partly on the ground that many women have no opportunity for marriage, whether this is due to such general urban conditions as increased living expenses, or to such special conditions as the larger relative number of women in certain European cities. Many are thus excluded from life's greatest experience, from its greatest moral opportunity. Resenting these constraints and limitations, some would abolish the double standard by having woman adopt man's standard rather than, as is more commonly advocated, by having man adopt woman's. Others would shift toward freer divorce or toward increasing responsibility toward children, and sanctioning as moral any union which recognizes its responsibility in this respect. In contrast with present marriages, which are too often commercial or legal only, it is claimed that unions based on love and such responsibility for children would give better children and insure more genuinely moral relations.

It is scarcely probable that society will change the double standard by adopting what is meant in this connection by the man's standard. Even if the stricter standard for woman was originally based largely on property conceptions, it has, none the less, proved its right, not by increasing man's privileges, but by establishing woman's dignity. There is, however, one qualification on the other side. The reader of Forel and Havelock Ellis will not hastily assume that woman's standard is necessarily perfect in all respects. It has been remarked that persons sometimes think they are growing virtuous, when in fact they are merely growing old. It is possible that sometimes sex indifference is mistaken for a positive virtue instead of being regarded as a defect—as it is from the point of view of family life.

As regards proposals for freer unions regulated by responsibility for children, no one who reads Ellen Key, the ablest representative of this doctrine, can fail to recognize that a profound appreciation of woman's personality and of the importance of the child underlies her thought. The belief that the way out lies in the direction of emphasizing, rather than minimizing, the importance of sex and motherhood in woman's life will commend itself to many biologists and psychologists. Her insistence that moral progress lies along the lines of increasing the consciousness of responsibility for the child, and that this increasing responsibility, if taken seriously, would mean a higher level of family life than is found in perhaps the majority of cases, will be recognized by the moralist as in accord with the general line of moral progress from external to inner responsibility. The defects in her treatment, as I see them, are due to an inadequate psychology of love and to an overemphasis upon the individual aspect of personality. "A person can, therefore, no more promise to love or not to love than he can promise to live long" is her statement. This regards love as chiefly an emotion entirely out of control of choice and will. It makes this emotion the test of the morality of the sex relations; it believes this to be the best guarantee of the birth of better children. I conceive this to be bad psychology. Undoubtedly the thrill of emotion is only partially subject to control. None of us may be able to avoid the quiver of fear when thunder crashes, or the beginnings, at least, of anger at outrageous treatment; but we say it is the achievement of character to control these emotions, and the brave man stays at his post in spite of thunder. Conversely, the will may indirectly do much to control the conditions under which emotion is likely to be felt. The man who looks too long may get involved beyond the power to stop, but

the man of character will know when to stop, and will avoid situations that are dangerous. And, on the positive side, love stands for much more than emotion. It is the resolute purpose to seek another's good. Such resolute purpose can be maintained even when physical attractiveness wanes and the thrill of emotion no longer is hot in the blood. It will show itself in crises of sickness or great need, although in the every-day round of events it may easily be subconscious. Such a purpose and the gradual effect of habit in adjusting personalities to each other, so that as ideas, joys, and sorrows are shared a companionship far more stable in its basis than the passion of youth supervenes, is the psychological ground for the moral ideal of life-long marriage. And when we add to this the importance to the child of two parents, rather than one, we have the basis on which, in the great majority of cases, the institution in substantially its present form is, I believe, likely to remain as the ideal.

But even could love be so controlled, Key holds it ought not to be: The life-tree of a human being, in her opinion, is like the trees of the forest, not like those of a formal garden. "Its beauty depends upon the freedom of the boughs to take unexpected curves." "One branch unexpectedly shoots out and another unaccountably withers." Personality is the ultimate test of moral value, and "unconditional fidelity to one person may be just as disastrous to the personality as unconditional continuance in a faith or an employment."

This is a half-truth. Unconditional fidelity to one who, by persistent adultery, cruelty, debauchery, makes decency, self-respect, and proper conditions for children impossible, if it is ever justifiable as an act of voluntary renunciation in certain exceptional cases, is no general principle of ethics and ought not to be required by law. The time is soon coming when an awakened conscience will regard venereal disease as an axiomatic bar to cohabitation, and unless innocently contracted, as ground for divorce. But to admit and insist that fidelity under such conditions is not demanded by good ethics is very different from setting up as our standard the trees of the forest. Civilization, after all, is a garden. No one may consider his own needs apart from his dependence upon all and the dependence of others upon him. Many a branch which might grow in a forest must be cut in a garden. Personality, in its profound meaning, is indeed an ethical standard; but this meaning requires us to consider not merely impulses and tides of emotion, no matter how clamorous, but also the values of poise and self-control, of high-minded justice and scrupulous reverence for other personalities.

The fact is that there are certain fundamental instincts and ideal needs in man and woman which are better met by the exclusive relation of man and woman, and by their permanent relation, except under special circumstances, fairly well provided for by present laws. There is an instinct of jealousy, or at least a sentiment, in the average man and woman which is exclusive and does not tolerate a divided affection. The story told by a settlement worker is true in large part to human nature. A woman came into a New York settlement house, and while waiting for an interview attracted the notice of a resident passing through the room. The resident spoke to one of the other neighbors and said, "What is the matter with that woman over there? She doesn't look happy." "No," said the neighbor, "she ain't. She's married and has a good husband, but he lives with another woman and it annoys her." When we add the fundamental need of the child for two parents, not merely for life's beginning, but for life's development; and finally when we add the need which the parents, on their side, have not merely for provision and care of infancy and children, but also for the friendships and renewing contacts with youth, we have the main reasons why the ethical ideal of exclusive and permanent unions is likely to maintain itself.

But while the general form of the family may remain, it is necessary to direct emphasis upon its positive values, rather than upon the negative. It is much more important to insist that the right parties marry, than to insist that married persons shall never separate. If we emphasize negations, let us at least place them where they will be of most use. It is more important, under existing conditions, to provide against marriage which will communicate disease, against hasty marriages, against marriages which can never hope to bring sound, healthy children into the world, than to allow such people to marry indiscriminately and then inveigh against the evils of divorce. And even these preventions can be made effective only by providing positive agencies, social, economic, educational, for promoting right marriages.

So far as children are concerned, evidently the emphasis required for the middle class and professional family is different from that required for the working-class family. The former tend to marry too late and to have too few children—the latter to have too many. The ethical emphasis for the former needs rather to be placed upon the larger social significance which the family has for community life. Our old negative morality is helpless here. In placing the family morals so largely upon certain ascetic conceptions of sex, or in trusting economic pres-

sure upon woman to induce her to marry, the older morality could offer no counter-active to the modern woman's love of freedom, to the opportunity for self-support, and to the modern man's financial ambitions or love of ease. City conditions complicate the problem by their tendency to postpone marriage. The census figures show that in the city out of one hundred between the ages of twenty and twenty-four there are seventy-two single and twenty-six married, as compared with sixty-two single and thirty-six married in the country. Between the ages of twenty-five and twenty-nine we find in the city forty-four single and fifty-four married, and in the country thirty-five single and sixty-two married. This postponement is due in part to greater cost of beginning a home, in part to the desire on the part of young people to begin in a more ambitious way, owing to the patterns of expensive living constantly before them, and in part it may be to the greater difficulty in making acquaintance on the part of those who have come to the city from other districts, and to the superior opportunities for comfort in single life which the city affords; yet a further factor in the case of many is the inability of the middle-aged and older members of the family, under modern industrial and commercial conditions, to support themselves, and the consequent burden imposed upon the younger members. All these factors make against family life. They work against the entrance upon family life at an age when there is greater plasticity; they tend to place a greater strain upon the chasity of young men, and to unfit them for fidelity in their later marriage relations. Nor is the effect upon young women less present, though in different fashion. The longer marriage is postponed after the normal period of say twenty-one to twenty-five, the less inclination is likely to exist for it, the less the power of adaptation to its conditions, and, in the case of women employed in many occupations, the less likely is the physical condition suited to find delight in motherhood.

"Why has Mr. Smith changed his occupation from railroading to work in a bank when he seemed to be so much interested in the former?" asked a lady of one of her acquaintances who was himself in the railroading business. "I am afraid I am responsible for that," was the reply. "I told him that if he stayed in the railroading business he could not marry until he was thirty-five." I remarked to the lady that this seemed to me to imply a very exaggerated standard of what was necessary for marriage. "Yes," she answered, "it is a pity that young people should think so much of pleasure as to miss happiness."

But it is not merely missing happiness. For those who are sound and clean, strong and vigorous, it is their great opportunity of service to the future of their country and its ideals. We must think more of the larger issues involved.

Among the working-class families the ethical problem is very different. It is not a demand for greater freedom, but for greater responsibility, which is heard most often in the courts of domestic relations. In the experience of social workers the great complaint is that of failure to support or of outright desertion. In many cases there is too strong a correlation between rapid births and rapid deaths to be ignored. If, therefore, one is to help the morals of the working-class family, the raising of the standard of living is evidently the most hopeful line of attack, whether this takes the individual form of better training and education of both boys and girls, or the form of public control of housing and sanitation, of public insurance for unemployment, accident, and illness, and utimately of a juster distribution of gains.

Should the poor be taught also directly how to limit the number of children? This is a point actively in dispute at the present time. American law makes such instruction a criminal offense. In England information is open to any married persons. In France there is no restriction. Many writers are strongly opposed as to the ethics of the problem. Forel is as decided upon one side as Foerster upon the other. On the one hand, it is urged that all the so-called upper classes have knowledge and act upon it, and that the present excessive birth-rate among the poor keeps them in poverty, causes ill health of mothers, and increases infant mortality to a shocking degree. On the other hand, it is urged as strongly that the proposed remedy is worse than the disease, since it proposes to free men from the necessity of any control over their senses. One point is agreed upon by both parties, that there are evils in the present situation, and that, as the standard of living rises, the family tends to assume a size which gives the best opportunity for the health and care of all concerned. Finally, as we have noted, the standard often rises too high, and the family passes out of existence. Perhaps the happy medium is more likely to be secured if we place our emphasis upon the positive values of health and opportunity for both mothers and children, if we aim primarily to raise the level of intelligence and consideration. Excessively large families are not the rule after the first or second generation of immigrants.

Will the new ethics of the family favor a more closely knit economic unit or a greater economic independence of the woman? Will the tendency be for the woman to enter more and

more the field of production, or should stress rather lie upon a better scientific knowledge for consumption and home work? Shall the public take over more of the parental functions, as it has already taken over so much of sanitation and education, or shall it, by payments to mothers, emphasize home values? Each of these alternatives claims its advocates, but, as Mr. Rubinow has so clearly pointed out, the problem of economic independence is not the same for the middle and professional class woman as for the working-class woman. For the former, economic independence means freedom to enter some congenial occupation. For the latter, on the other hand, it would ordinarily mean work in factory or shop under conditions which are likely to be physically exhausting and not mentally stimulating.

With the middle class or professional family there seems no reason why all should follow a uniform rule. On this I venture to repeat what I have written before: "If both husband and wife carry on gainful occupations, well; if one is occupied outside the home and another within, well also. Which plan is followed ought to depend on which plan is better on the whole for all concerned. And this will depend largely on the woman's own ability and tastes and upon the number and age of the children. But the economic relation is not the essential thing. The essential thing is that the economic be made subordinate to the larger conception of a common good."

As regards those women who would enter factory and shop, there are probably already too many rather than too few employed. Legislation which decreases the number of hours is important, so far as it goes, but I cannot believe that, for the great majority of women, such outside work is either necessary or desirable from the point of view of their own lives or the welfare of the family. There is usually no great objection on the part of the husband in working-class families to the extra wage, although not all husbands take such a high stand as the husband of my neighbor's laundress. He declares his principle to be that he will not live with any woman who does not support him. This might be regarded as standing so erect as to lean backward.

The great point on which more positive ethics for the working-class family should center, I repeat, is a higher standard of living, a higher wage and better house, better opportunities for play, and longer and better education for the children. The striking testimony of Henry Ford as to his experience may not warrant us in any sweeping optimism that a minimum wage of five dollars a day would be a key to every form of family difficulty. It is doubtless true, as claimed, that prostitution may not

be in large measure the simple consequence of direct economic pressure upon the woman worker. None the less it is true that prostitutes are not recruited in any large proportion from the well-to-do or the well-educated classes. Children who grow up in a comfortable home with intelligent parents have a multitude of fences and supports about them to steady them through the troublous years from childhood into manhood and womanhood. The lack of privacy, decency, comfort, and resources in which great multitudes of our city children are now brought up is a far stronger menace to family life than any ethical—or unethical —theory or any frequency of divorce, and when we have remedied some of these conditions, we can speak more confidently as to the next thing.

On the question of public care versus home provision it may seem that the tendency is decisive. The nurse is better trained than the average mother; the teacher is far better informed than either parent. Industry removes the father from the home; in well-to-do families it takes active occupations away from the wife, and in poorer families forces the mother into outside occupations; if, now, in addition science deals the last blow by saying that children can be better provided for collectively, are we not putting our money on the wrong horse if we back the family?

For one, I am not in love with the alternative. I do not see in our modern hours of industry, our preposterous flats and city crowding, the ultimate goal of civilization. I do not think children can dispense with parents. Still less do I think parents can afford to lose the responsibility, the direct education, and the joy of association with children.

In a word, to quote Ellen Key once more, "It is not the family that ought to be abolished, but the rights of the family that must be reformed; not education by parents that ought to be avoided, but education of parents that must be introduced; not the home that ought to be done away with, but homelessness that must cease."*

If our present industrial trend were inevitable and irremediable, I doubt if it would be worth while to discuss the ethics of the family. But this Conference does not easily admit bad conditions to be inevitable. It has attacked child labor. It has seen the beginning of aid to mothers in keeping their families together. It has seen the hours of many kinds of labor reduced to permit home life. City housing may seem so tremendous an obstacle that it cannot be overcome, but though I do not expect

*Ellen Key, *Love and Marriage*, p. 240.

to see cities of homes replace cities of flats, there may be some of our number who will. Eugenics is likely to make mistakes, but it shows signs of promise. Great employers of labor do not all, like Mr. Roberts, of the steel corporation, regard it as "a purely academic question" whether a twelve-hour day permits family and civic life.* Higher education will perhaps not always insist upon identical curricula for men and women. Democracy in national life steadies as it grows older. So will democracy in family life. The ethics of the family may, therefore, frame a positive program of freer discussion and education. It may set as its ideal higher standards of fitness for marriage, of equality, fidelity, and affection in marriage, and of joy in children. It may magnify not only the mission of the soul to refine the sense, but that of the sense to give power and enhancement to the soul. And finally it will not need to adopt Plato's grades of value with their implied depreciation of family relations. All men, says Plato, crave immortality. Some seek for immortality through the offspring of their bodies; others are creative in their minds and their offspring is the nobler. Rather we may say the nobler ideal for men and women is to be creative in both mind and body. Certainly the family will not thrive by denying either mind or body, but by uniting the two.

THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE FAMILY IDEAL

Samuel McChord Crothers, D. D., Minister of the First Parish Church, Cambridge, Mass.

Doctor Holmes began the *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* with the sentence, "As I was about to remark when I was interrupted." That is the way in which philanthropists and reformers must begin in this year, 1915. They cannot report orderly progress. This has been the year of the great interruption. It is no accident that we are asked to consider the year as well as the subject for discussion. Everything is influenced by the great war. Shakespeare's words come to us with a solemn meaning:

"Reckoning time, whose million'd accidents
Creep in 'twixt vows, and change decrees of kings,
Tan sacred beauty, blunt the sharp'st intents,
Divert strong minds to the course of altering things."

Iron Age, February 22, 1912, p. 482.

In this year strong minds have been diverted from the plans which they had made in peaceful times. Wherever people meet they are conscious of the altering things. A little while ago they were discussing the next step in civilization. Now they are asking, what can be saved from the wreck of civilization?

But it is an evidence of the sanity of social workers that they do not yield easily to despair.

After we have recovered from the first shock we take for granted not only that something can be saved out of the ruin of civilization, but that there is a forward step. Even in the world as it is to-day there are things to be done sanely and cheerfully. It is not because we underestimate the tremendous tragedy and the tremendous danger of the times that we come with the cheerful courage to take up the business of philanthropy, "as usual." The Prophet Jeremiah has a poor reputation as an optimist, because, seeing the immediate evils that were about him, he called attention to them; seeing Nebuchadnezzar and his hosts about to beseige Jerusalem, he did not shut his eyes, but would rather go to prison than say that Nebuchadnezzar was not a reality. But the Prophet Jeremiah, though he was not an optimist, was an exceedingly shrewd and clear-headed man of business, and when Nebuchadnezzar and his hosts were at the gates of Jerusalem, he thought this was a very good time to buy real estate, and so he tells us, in one remarkable chapter, how he saw a good bit of land that was about to be sold cheap, and he called the notary and the witnesses, and he bought that land. And he remarked to those that were about him, "Houses and fields and vineyards shall yet again be bought in this land."

Now that is the way we feel, all of us, in regard to the next steps in the great forward movement of humanity. After all, a war is but an incident in the history of humanity—though a terrible incident. In this year we go about our business as usual, trying to see what is necessary for the peaceful, prosperous evolution of mankind.

When we come to discuss the family in this year nineteen hundred and fifteen, it must be in relation to what is now happening. Usually we have been tremulous and anxious in regard to the family as something that must be protected. This year we turn to it as something to protect us. We seek to learn the secret of its strength, and to apply that power.

For all human institutions, the family is the oldest and the toughest in its fiber. It is because it is strong that it has held its own in the constant struggle for existence. There may be conventionality in the explanations that may from time to time be given of it, but the thing itself is based not on something arti-

ficial, but on that which is most primitive. It is held together by the most primitive and powerful passion.

When Brer Rabbit was thrown into the brier patch, he was not alarmed, but cried cheerily—"Bred and born in de brier patch, Brer Fox!"

The family was born in the brier patch of barbarism. It is familiar with its passions and its cruelties. If it has emerged, it has been because of its inherent force. There is nothing in human experience which it has not passed through.

In one sense the family is the cause of war. It is what men fight for. The warrior has his highest incentive to prowess when he fights to protect his home.

In another and a larger sense the family ideal is that which brings lasting peace. It offers the only sufficient bond to unite individuals and to win them to coöperation. The word kindness is but another form of kin-ness. It indicates our true atttitude to those who are kin to us. These are our "relations." The sense of human relations begins with the family. I must love and help those who belong to my family or clan. Primitive ethics is based on the solidarity of the family. The Shunamite woman in the Old Testament answers simply, "I dwell with mine own people."

When other tribes threaten ours, there is war. But within the bonds of kinship there is peace.

Let us look at the bond which unites the family. The essential thing is the relation which is established between the strong and the weak. When people talk of the man and the superman, they take it for granted that the superman will use his strength for his own development. Being strong, he will make himself stronger at the expense of the weak.

But in the family the parent is the superman. The child is utterly weak and ignorant. He cannot compete in any way.

Does the parent then feel that he may conserve his strength at the expense of the child? Is he tempted to take advantage of one weaker than himself? The law of the family forbids.

It is seen that, from the very nature of the family, strength and weakness do not inhere in the individual. Each one of us begins in weakness, grows through the help of our nearest of kin to such measure of strength as maturity may bring, and then sinks into weakness again. Each one in turn is protector and in need of protection. There is no permanently strong member of the group. The strength of the group itself depends upon the recognition of the common need.

When the father and mother are at the height of their capacity for work, they are working for their children, on

whom they expect to rely in their old age. They are thinking of tomorrow and of the day after tomorrow. In caring for their children the parents are preparing for themselves happiness in the days to come. In honoring the parent the child is honoring his own future.

Out of this has evolved a relation in which gifts are given and received without pride on the part of the benefactor, or servility on the part of the beneficiary. It is a mutual benefit society in which, in the end, all share alike. No one is pauperized by what he receives as a member of a family. There is no loss of self-respect in receiving favors from one's own father. Other organizations emphasize differences in strength and ability. In the family each member passes through all stages and has a recognized place and duty at each successive stage.

How can this family ideal be given larger scope and be made more effective? It can only be a growth from within. There must be a clear and strong sense of actual relationship. No matter how scientific we are in our methods, or how zealous we may be in our labor, we can find no substitute for the sense of actual kinship.

When we try to do good to persons with whom we feel that we are not kin, we cannot but be patronizing or condescending. Our manner betrays our inner thought. They resent the attempts made in their behalf. What right have these aliens to interfere with their affairs?

The possibility of genuine coöperation comes only when there is an appeal to a family motive. The indiivdual then loses himself in labor for the group to which he belongs.

Thomas Fuller, in dedicating one of his books to a youth of a noble family, tells him that England in every generation had a Montagu who took a noble part in his country's history. Every family has, he said, its beginners, its continuers, its forwarders, and its ruiners. He urges the lad not to be content to be a mere continuer of the family fortunes. He must have the ambition to be a forwarder. He must be willing and eager to begin where his fathers left off, and so push the family fortunes forward. There can be no stronger appeal to generous youth than this. It is the complete identification of themselves with those from whom they derive life itself. The son simply goes forward to fulfill the task his father began.

The need for an enlargement of the family ideal appeals to us in this year nineteen hundred and fifteen with an earnestness and a cogency that perhaps have never been felt before. How far can this simple ideal of the family relation, a relation not merely of the weak or of the strong, but a relation in which

weakness is ever growing into strength and strength passing again into dependency—how can that perfectly natural bond be enlarged? I said that the family and the clan have in them the seeds both of peace and of war. The family as against other families means war. The family ideal enlarged, rationalized, made effective, is the thing which unites us in the great effort which we are making for the welfare of mankind. All other organizations are weak simply because they are the organizations of the few for the benefit of the many.

Whenever we think that our work is simply to gather together the strong, the clear-headed, the refined, the prosperous, the intellectual classes for the benefit of other classes of the community, then our very good will be evil spoken of. What right, it is asked, have you to patronize us? What right have you, the prosperous classes of the community, to set yourselves above us and then reach down to us? It is just because so much philanthropic work is so understood, it is because the real family feeling has not entered into our own hearts so as to be the controlling motive, that there is such misconception of our efforts. Suppose we all of us come to an absolutely different notion. The mere difference of education, the difference of condition, the accidents of life, these are nothing in themselves. What does it matter whether I as an individual have certain advantages or not? I grew out of helpless infancy. I return again at least to a state where no longer can I be an efficient power in the world, but the world goes on. The family to which I belong goes on. It is possible for me to take my place and do my part, and only in that do I find any advantage whatever in living.

The call of our kin is the most powerful of human motives. The question for us is whether we can make it effective for constructive work. Who are our kin, those for whom we gladly live and for whom we would gladly die? Time was when the only effective sense of kinship was in the clan warring against other clans. Now the nation conceived of as a larger clan has that compelling power. The nation calls, and the citizen answers, "I come!"

But now we are conscious of the need of a larger loyalty, based on a compelling sense of kinship. There is something beyond the nation—it is mankind. The call of the human comes to us. It is not a mere intellectual generalization, this idea of mankind. It is a fact of our real relations to one another. As the world becomes smaller it is impossible to deny these relations. We need to understand and interpret them. All philanthropy is a recognition of this larger kinship, with its call for

disinterested service. We have great allies. Religion, when purified from tribal superstitions, is a powerful enforcement of the family ideal. Its great prayer begins with "Our Father" and ends with the proclamation of a social gospel, "Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory." Let that prayer be realized, and we are conscious of belonging to one great family.

Modern philosophy is on our side. It has ceased to emphasize differences which once seemed absolute. Life flows in different channels, but it is flowing from the same source. To be alive is to be akin to all that lives.

And happily to the modern world there has come a new power which tends to unity. Science is no respecter of persons. It speaks a common language, and one free from the superstition and prejudice of past years. It does not take into account the distinctions yours and mine, save as they are related to eternal law. You go about your work, work for the survey of conditions, work for the study of facts. It seems passionless, it seems to be but little, that technique of which we speak. And yet the ultimate effect of that study, paintaking and careful and fearless, is the actual change of those conditions. It demonstrates to us our kinship, that we are all of a kind, and that the law for one must be the law for all. Religion long ago declared its sublime message that we are children of one Father. Philosophy long ago made the best men feel that nothing human can be foreign to the man of thought. Now, not from one side, but from thousands of investigators, the idea is brought home to us that it is absolutely impossible for any one to live a life of unrelated virtue. That only is good which makes for the common good.

We know not what shall be. We know not through what tragedies our world must pass before it learns the simple lesson of how men and women and children are to live together in this world. We do know, however, this, that within certain limits the way has been found, and that it is not the way by which the strong trample on the weak and so grow stronger. It is the way father and mother and brother and sister actually live in the well-ordered home. We, interested in the complex conditions of the larger world, are we not all united on this, that we are all trying, each in his own way, to bring the larger world into the relation of members of one family?

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THE SOCIAL CASE WORKER IN A CHANGING WORLD*

Mary E. Richmond, Director, Charity Organization Department, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, N. Y.

"It is not easy," says one of our modern musical critics, "to discuss recent painting with people who believe that Futurism and Post Impressionism are the same thing; or to discuss recent music with people who ask you 'if you like such composers as Strauss and Debussy.'" Our own social work terminology is in even more of a muddle, so that it is necessary to explain at the very outset that by the none too happy title of social case work we mean that half of social work which has to do with the social treatment of individuals, individual by individual, as distinguished from all those processes of social reform which deal with individuals in masses. I realize that a great deal of case work does not deserve to be described as "social" and that many reform measures, put forward in all sincerity, are not truly "reforms," but the comparisons made here must be confined to the good of each kind. Social case work does different things for and with different people—it specializes and differentiates; social reform generalizes and simplifies by discovering ways of doing the same thing for everybody. Together it is possible for them to achieve social well-being; acting separately and more or less at cross purposes they achieve only the most partial and transitory results. The only kind of social case work in which I believe, therefore, and the only kind to which I shall refer today may be defined as the *art of doing different things for and with different people by co-operating with them to achieve at one and the same time their own and society's betterment.* Such work is not confined to any particular group of agencies, of course, nor is it necessarily confined to agencies known as "social" in the more technical sense. It is recognized, wherever we may find it, by its method of differential treatment and its aim of social betterment.

The foregoing is the most didactic paragraph in this whole paper. I apologize for it, though, at the same time, I must warn you that my time limit is going to force me to generalize where I should like to be specific.

The subject that I have chosen was suggested to me by an incident at this National Conference when it met in Memphis last year. On my last day at the Conference and just when I

*Section meeting Thursday, May 13, 9:15 A. M.

was hurrying to the train, a social case worker whom I had not previously met asked me, on a street corner, "Where do *we* come in? I've been attending meetings all the week in some of which the details of my own work have been earnestly discussed, and in others of which the whole of social reform in its broadest sweep has been considered, but no one has told me the relation between these two things. In the march of social progress, where do we case workers really come in?" I was not able to tell her on the street corner; I should not be able to tell her in any adequate fashion if she were here to-day, but her question did set me thinking more seriously than I had thought before of the relation between social work individual by individual and social work for the mass.

You are aware, of course, that some of the better established professions have this same problem to face. Adjustment of the relations existing among the medical specialties has been no primrose path, we are told, and Dr. Barker's presidential address before the Association of American Physicians, Flexner's reports on medical education,—all the more recent utterances, in fact—go to prove this. A few years ago, all but the wisest of the medical research workers and the sanitarians were quite outspoken in their contempt for the clinicians, but Dr. Barker said, in 1913, that the situation was gradually righting itself, and of even later date is the lifting of the clinical sciences to a place of new dignity in some of the medical schools. "The air," he says, "has become thick with applicable facts of the most diverse origins," but he makes it clear, by telling illustrations which I must not stop to quote, that many of the new discoveries in medicine are useless until the clinician has adapted them to the living organism, and that many others are powerless to be born, even, until the distinctively clinical sciences of diagnosis and therapy have been pushed forward with the same enthusiasm and devotion that has gone into the non-clinical branches.

At present the attitude of the social reformers toward social case work would seem to vary from a desire to brush it aside altogether, as a patchwork thing which only delays the coming of social justice, all the way up to a determination to have a new kind of case worker for every conceivable social situation. We have these twin phenomena to contemplate. Last year at the National Conference of Charities, our president was not a case worker, nor could a majority of the section chairmen be so described, but, of the formal addresses delivered, no less than nineteen described and pressed upon our attention the need either of some new form of case work or else the further

extension of some existing form. During the twelve months succeeding, on the other hand, books have been published by social workers in which the broad statement has been made that community action for the common good is "far more important than successful case work"; and former contributors to organizations engaged in some form of case work have written letters, one of which at least has been published in *The Survey,* explaining that they could contribute no longer because certain measures (not specified) were going to render case work futile.

Now, in so far as this enthusiasm of each man for his own hobby enables him to pursue it strictly at his own expense, it is an amiable weakness at the very worst. But the number of social case workers, you will admit, is rapidly increasing. Whatever else social reform eradicates, abolishes or prevents, the two great facts of human variation and of variable human response to stimuli would seem likely to remain. Whatever the legislative and governmental changes of the next fifty years, whatever the industrial changes, whatever the improvements in conditions and in folks, it will still be necessary to do different things for and with different people, if the results of our doing are to be more good than bad. I hope and believe that the level upon which the case worker operates is going to be steadily raised; that most of us here present are going to live to see this level lifted very appreciably. We are also going to see many changes, probably, in the form of organization responsible for case work tasks, but the tasks will remain, and the demand for workers competent to do them will continue. May not a possible mischief be done, therefore, by the people whose greatest pleasure is found in the tearing down part of up-building. We need case workers of better native equipment, of broader training, wider imagination, deeper sympathy. In so far as the rapidly growing supply of workers is likely to be depressed in quality or hampered in opportunity by such attitudes on the part of social reformers as those that I have instanced, surely the antagonism is going to be socially mischievous.

The champions of case work are the champions of social reform also, remember. They have welcomed and still welcome every change that will tend to make health as contagious as disease, that will increase industrial opportunity, dignify leisure, and enrich the mental and social life of man. Their record in educating public opinion about these things, in securing legislation and in promoting concerted community action for the common good, is not their only or their most distinctive contribution to social progress, and I do not intend to enlarge

upon it, therefore, but it is a good record which will bear examination; it is an all-sufficient guarantee of their whole-hearted sympathy with reform.

The failure of a good many social reformers to give case work the sympathy and support that it needs in return is due, I believe, to an entire misconception of the processes by which social progress is finally and actually to be achieved. That conception of democracy which pictures it as always doing the same thing in the same way for everybody is a conception still too common, but we have only to examine it with some attention to see that it is essentially autocratic and outworn.

Aliens all look alike; that is the autocratic conception. Men, our brothers, look and are different; that is the truly democratic conception. Our public schools flourished for two generations on the idea that all children were alike and should all be taught alike. One of my colleagues in the Russell Sage Foundation, Dr. Ayres, told the teachers of the National Education Association recently that there is greater difference in classroom ability between different members of the same grade in our schools than there is between the abilities of the average child in the lowest and the average child in the highest grades, and that this must mean inevitably differentiated courses for differentiated children. But this, you may say, is about teaching and has nothing whatever to do with social work. True, but discoveries similar to this one of the schoolmen are now being made in our hospitals, in our courts, our prisons, our workshops, our every institution that touches intimately the lives of human beings. These discoveries are pressing in upon us social workers the newest need of democracy—the need, namely, of recognizing human differences and of adjusting our systems of education, of cure, of law, of reformation, and of industry to those differences.

Suppose the school authorities should attempt on any adequate scale differentiated courses for differentiated children. Where would the new adjustment most need to be made, if not at the point at which our home and school visitors are now actually beginning to work out a correlation of school and home plans and activities?

I do not need to dwell upon the true democratization of the hospital. There has been no more brilliant adaptation and extension of the ideas and methods of modern social case work anywhere than those that had their beginning at the Massachusetts General Hospital in the year 1905. Nor does the relation between the judicial function of the presiding officer of the court and the socially interpretative function of the case

workers need illustration here. None know better than you that, not only in our juvenile courts, and our domestic relations courts, but in all courts engaged in adjudging men in their human relations, a better administration of justice waits upon a better supply of social insights and social evidence than we social workers are yet able to furnish. So too with penology. When the great discovery was made that "it is the nature of the criminal rather than the nature of the crime that should determine the character of the protective measures to be taken by society," social case work was postulated then and there. The supply of competent case workers still lags far behind the demand that would make the suspended sentence and the indeterminate sentence the truly beneficent reforms that they are destined to become.

The personal side of social service was so humble in its beginnings, so tentative, not to say timid, in its earlier planning, that we scarcely realize into how many fields it has penetrated or what great developments still wait upon its completer realization of its own distinctive function. All unconsciously, the workshop, too, is discovering anew and adapting to its own need (though very clumsily as yet) a modification of our basic idea. In his testimony before the Industrial Relations Commission in January last, the head of the Ford Company said:

> The company maintains a corps of forty men, good judges of human nature, who explain opportunity, teach American ways and customs, English language, duties of citizenship, who counsel and help the unsophisticated employes to obtain and maintain comfortable, congenial, and sanitary living conditions and who also exercise the necessary vigilance to prevent, as far as possible, human frailty from falling into habits or practice detrimental to substantial progress in life. The whole effort of this corps is to point men to life and make them discontented with a mere living.

If this is not a form of social case work, what is it? I do not pretend to know how its processes and results compare in detail with those with which you and I are familiar, but it is more than likely that each group of practitioners could learn something from the other.

I did not attempt to say all of these things to my new acquaintance on the street corner, or I should have missed my train. But I did say, in reply to her question as to where social case work "came in," that it seemed to me that it came in before and after the mass movement for any given social reform. The whole is greater than any of its parts, and no one essential part can be described as "more important" than any other, provided the other is really essential. Contact with what

Dr. Barker calls "the living patients themselves" gives us a certain distinctive point of view, and the people who have shared such contacts tend to make that point of view known and felt in those early stages in which a new social reform has been conceived but is not yet born. Sometimes our share is a very small one, and all the pre-natal care comes from some other quarter, but often it is a very important factor, especially in its influence upon those citizens still to be converted, whose minds move habitually and with caution from the concrete to the general. Mr. McKelway has testified to the staunch support, often against powerful interests, that social case workers, from Maryland to Texas, are now giving in the struggle for child labor reform. The reason is plain. Their cumulative case contacts (always provided that the contacts are intelligent) could not fail to give point and momentum to a demand for legal enactment. But their most difficult and serviceable share in the southern fight will come later, *after* the laws are on the statute books. I know from personal experience in a difficult state what case workers have to endure after the law has been passed, standing as they do on the firing line, bearing more abuse than they have ever had to bear before, perhaps, but sustained by the thought that the thousand and one adjustments over which they are patiently laboring will help to establish in their community a new standard of child welfare. Wherever you have such a group, familiar with the homes of the people, habituated to detailed educational processes in those homes, and with the patience to make adjustments, there the assimilation of a new standard goes forward unchecked; but otherwise the law on the statute book is often no better than a dishonored promissory note.

Often, but not always. Sometimes it is possible to achieve good social results for both the individual and the community by doing exactly the same thing in the same way for everybody, with no adaptations whatever. Some very beneficent services are of this kind, and, in the successful inauguration of such measures, social case work is unnecessary. Workingmen's compensation laws, if at all adequate, belong in this class, I believe.* Minimum wage laws, on the contrary, will make certain kinds of case work more necessary. I have no desire, you see, to claim that case work is either the whole of social reform or the

*In the discussion which followed the reading of this paper many illustrations were given of the way in which case work experience was not only helping to secure just enforcement of existing compensation laws, but their further amendment. The writer was forced to conclude, therefore, that her example was not well chosen.

major part of it. But I do wish to submit to all earnest social reformers of whatever party or shade of belief these few questions: Do they realize the goal toward which social case work is really moving? Have they ever taken the trouble to discover what a useful and necessary part of social progress it is destined to become? And, since, unlike the obnoxious laws with which they are accustomed to deal, it cannot be repealed,—since it is here and would have to be at once re-created if it were not, is it not a pity to take an attitude toward it that is certain to make it count for less on the side of solid social advance than otherwise it could be made to count? Instead of making the test of the case worker's sincerity the extent to which he neglects case work for other social reform processes, would it not be wiser, therefore, to test him by the extent to which he is able to carry social reforms into his daily work and make them effective there —by the extent, also, to which he is able to transform some of these measures by subjecting them to a series of practical experiments? Why not give those particular services, which are not, I acknowledge, of the bell-ringing variety and so are easily ignored, a more generous recognition?

SOME USES OF SOCIAL CASE WORK IN MEDICAL TRAINING

Grace S. Harper, Director, Social Service Department of the Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston

For the past two years the fourth year medical students assigned to clinical work in the wards of the Massachusetts General Hospital have been expected to attend weekly exercises for instruction in the social aspects of medicine. The plan for these exercises was part of a reorganization of the fourth-year curriculum in which students electing clinical medicine were required to spend two months full time as clinical assistants in the wards of the hospital. This innovation meant a more thorough experience in history taking, an opportunity to watch the progress and treatment of disease, and the first opportunity to follow an individual patient over a consecutive period of time. The purpose of the exercises in medical social service was in keeping with a desire for more thorough teaching of the fundamental elements of proper medical practice on the part of Dr. David Edsall, Professor of Clinical Medicine, who requested the Social Service Department to co-operate in formulating and carrying out this plan.

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The plan as outlined and carried through the first year was largely a program of talks by socially-minded physicians on the subjects of Debility, Tuberculosis, Alcoholism, Diet, Industrial Disease and Syphilis. Two members of the Social Service Department presented the subjects of Tuberculosis and the Physically Handicapped. The idea of having these subjects presented by physicians was purposeful. We believed that this gospel of the social side of medicine could be best administered by medical men whom they respected as their teachers rather than by social workers whose reason for existence in their medical world they might question. Our later experience would indicate that we did not have enough faith in our gospel and were thinking of it more in the nature of a dose we were trying to sugar-coat.

This first series of exercises ended with what we called a "round up," in which selected cases which the students had known medically in the wards were presented with their social background and subsequent medical-social treatment. For instance, a patient suffering from aneurism of the aorta, a hopeless disease involving the heart, was discharged from the hospital to the care of his private physician. A presentation of this case as a problem to them, as potential private physicians, brought them face to face with their ignorance of such important matters as the community's provision or lack of provision for cases of chronic disease, the use of the district nurse, or the application of their theoretical knowledge of proteid and carbohydrate diet to the intelligence of the patient's rather helpless but eager 18-year-old daughter.

It was quite evident that the interest of the students was keener in these live cases than it had been in the ideas of the physicians who had previously addressed them on social service. Later inquiries for the purpose of getting their estimate of the exercises showed us clearly their preference for case teaching. One of them said: "We want the people who do the job to tell us about it. Just what do you do to make things happen when a doctor sends a patient to the Social Service Department?" Consequently we decided this year to have all the exercises given by medical-social workers and to use actual cases as the basis for the lessons.

The program for the series of conferences opens with an introductory talk describing the historical beginnings of medical-social work and explaining how it shares in completing medical work by helping to make treatment possible and effective. A social diagnosis, based on the analysis of a patient's personal and environmental history, is demonstrated; and the use of social

resources for carrying out social treatment are explained. Following this are six conferences on cases illustrating the social aspects and medical-social treatment of cardiac disease, tuberculosis, feeble-mindedness, industrial disease and the physically handicapped. We devote the final hour to showing how the city or state has to care for its tubercular, epileptic, feeble-minded, insane and dependents. Community resources of interest to physicians are discussed, and a list of those which may be sought by a physician is given to each student. This series of conferences has been repeated with each of the four sections of the class, our purpose being to improve the technique of presentation through experience, and gradually to add new teaching cases to our list.

The unfolding of a social situation in its relation to the medical needs of a case has been developed through questioning the students at each step. We often begin by having one of them read the medical record of a patient up to the point when a knowledge of social facts becomes obviously necessary. The medical needs of the patient are then stated by the students, who discuss possible ways for meeting them. (Fuller details of the method of presenting a case will be given later.)

To illustrate the importance of social factors in the medical treatment of heart disease in adults, we have used cases in which problems of industrial adjustments, vocational training, and deportation have been paramount. The histories of these patients record medical failures due to a disregard of these social relationships. The students learn that since the cure or arrest of the disease is largely dependent upon the behavior and environment of the patient, these must be adapted to his physical condition. This re-adjustment they soon see requires a knowledge of the social conditions under which he lives. Examples are used to show how little it helps to tell a cardiac patient, "You'll be all right if you stick to light work; try a watchman's job or something like that." I often wonder what a doctor thinks a watchman does!

The need of carefully explaining the meaning of their heart disease to adults is emphasized, and also the importance of understanding the psychology of the patient, whose mistaken idea of heart trouble involves a dread of "dropping dead" at any moment. By illustrations we show how some men disregard advice against overdoing because they do not know their limitations. When, after one or two attacks the patient has not "dropped dead," he has assumed that the doctor did not really understand his case, and has unwisely pursued his ordinary manner of living.

A young girl, who has been only a few weeks in this country, and whose heart disease dates back many years, raises the question of deportation. The social prognosis on this case, based on a poor medical prognosis, brings up many social responsibilities involving both state and national laws. The students' tendency at the outset of these discussions has usually been toward recommending that the patient remain in this country and be taught a suitable trade. But when the probable prognosis is developed, when the bad family history is taken into account, when the right uses of private and public aid are explained, and when the responsibility for upholding our immigration laws is considered, the students begin to see the advisability of deportation. At first the students think of the patient as physicians only; later they come to realize that as members of a community with social responsibilities they must take a deeper and truer view of him.

The medical history of a boy of 15 years, with mitral endocarditis, is read. He had been told to change his work (that of grocer's helper, which, by the way, is noted on the record as "errand boy") to something not requiring heavy lifting. He had been loading wagons and carrying sacks of coal and flour up and down stairs without assistance. The fact that he was the main support of a family of six, his father being a cripple, had not been known to the doctor. Therefore, quite naturally, the boy was unable to act upon the advice given him. The students discuss the necessary steps which must be taken to adjust social conditions whereby the medical needs of this case can be met. Financial assistance for the family, special training for the patient, and a job for the father; all these involve the community's agencies and their capacity to furnish wise assistance, money, education and work.

The problem of the physically handicapped is presented to the students in its relation to the Workingmen's Compensation Act. The important points of the Act are discussed as they come out in the development of the histories presented. Especial emphasis is laid on the physician's duty to know the regulations of such a law in his own state, and it is shown wherein his medical judgments affect the legal position of the patient. The students have shown a special interest in this conference because the Massachusetts General Hospital is frequently called upon to give impartial medical opinions on cases referred to it by the Arbitration Committee of the Workingmen's Compensation Board. Some of these cases have been studied by the students in the wards. The effect of this law on laboring men and the inevitable increase of a class of sub-standard workmen has brought out much thoughtful discussion during the exercise.

Procedure in the case of a feeble-minded, crippled boy whose relatives refused to commit him to an institution, develops many phases of this problem. The case is introduced just as it came to the Social Service Department. Diagnosis—spastic paraplegia. "This boy needs Zander treatment and cannot afford the carfares." Mental symptoms appear only very gradually in this patient. Due consideration is given to limitations imposed by the physical handicap since infancy and his consequent lack of education and training, also to a poor environment. On the other hand a family history of poor mentality comes out in the investigation. The patient is pronounced feeble-minded on evidence obtained while under supervision, but the nearest relative, a subnormal sister, refuses to have him committed. Laws governing commitment of the insane, feeble-minded and epileptic are discussed. Results of an appeal to the court and to the State Board of Insanity are gone over for this case. The final disposition and the work that such a case entails is enlightening to the student, who feels that the diagnosis of feeble-mindedness ends his responsibility in the matter.

When last year's students were asked which exercises they considered most worth while, they thought that the subject of tuberculosis should be omitted. So much had been taught them of social treatment in tuberculosis that they said quite frankly that they were "tired of its repetition." Nevertheless, from another angle, we have presented the subject to this year's groups and have found them lacking in important social information. We read a record in which a diagnosis of phthisis is made in the case of the wage earner of a family and then ask the students to outline the subsequent action to be taken by the physician. Most of them know that tuberculosis is a reportable disease and sanatorium care is readily suggested. Beyond this there are few opinions volunteered as to action. How the patient is to carry out the doctor's advice; the filling out of his application for sanatorium care; the length of the waiting period before admission; how and where to secure care in the interim; who determines his place of settlement; these and many other pertinent questions are considered. When plans have been made for hospital care pending admission to a sanatorium, provision for his family during his absence becomes an issue. Here a new interpretation of the Mothers' Aid Law with reference to dependents of wage earners receiving sanatorium care, is applicable.

We bring out the duty of knowing the physical condition of the patient's wife and children, and emphasize thereby the value of careful history-taking. For example, this medical history

reads, "a wife and five children all living and well." More thorough study and examination of this family shows that in fact all but one of them have a tubercular process involved. When the case history is completed, the father and three of the children are in state sanatoria.

The burdensome cost of such a problem to the community is graphically charted on the blackboard. Temporary aid, public and private, amounting to $64.80 is noted. Constant aid, representing a weekly expense of $52.50, is borne by public funds, both city and state. This, when compared to a wage of $13.80 on which this man had previously supported his family without aid, is instructive to the students and calls for the concern of the citizen as well as that of the physician.

To return to the subject of heart disease in children and its necessary medical-social treatment. The medical history of a Syrian boy of 12 years, with acute endocarditis is read as far as the point where he is discharged "against advice" from the wards. A report follows, giving his visit to the Out Patient Department one month later, and the consequent serious condition of his heart resulting from this delay. The degree of damage to the heart is discussed, with relation to the probable medical and social prognoses under more favorable conditions. In this case, the doctor who had had charge of the patient very kindly took part in the exercise, giving his opinions on the case and the chances for recovery. Under good home conditions, with medical and social supervision for a considerable period of time, he believed that this boy's heart might become sufficiently compensated to allow him to become economically independent; whereas, otherwise he would almost certainly become a dependent cripple for life.

Discussion of necessary social provisions for adequate care of the patient covers the immediate needs, i.e., bed care, quiet, good hygiene and diet, suitable discipline and amusement; also, what precautions must be considered when the convalescent stage is reached; i.e., graduated activity, avoidance of stairs, gradual resumption of attendance at school and omission of physical exercises for a suitable period. These requirements assume good home conditions and an intelligent mother who can be taught the necessary care and supervision of the child.

At this point the results of the social worker's investigations are given. Existing conditions are in sharp contrast to the needs outlined. A poor home in an overcrowded foreign neighborhood, a large family of children, the father dead, and the mother with little intelligence and no control over her family. Her inability to understand English has helped to make it im-

possible to teach her the seriousness of the boy's heart condition. This mother has been receiving a pension through the state Mothers' Aid Law of Massachusetts. The application of this law to this type of case is explained.

The next questions is: what alternatives to home care are available through the community's resources? The advantages and disadvantages of using a convalescent home for such a case are discussed. At this juncture the boy had been sent to a special home for children with heart trouble, where he remained for five months. Discipline and good care did wonders for him, and justified the belief that his was a care worth expending effort upon. This involved the furnishing of decent clothing by a relief agency and the payment of his board from another private fund. At the end of this period it was necessary to make a more permanent plan for him, as he had already overstayed his time limit. The students feel the responsibility for not allowing the patient to return now to his own home, and a foster family is next considered as a possible resource. This department of work as carried on by children's agencies and also by the state and city is described to the students.

This brings the doctor and social worker back to the medical prognosis as the basis for judgment as to the discriminating use of charitable funds for such a case. On the recommendation of the doctor in charge, a children's agency agreed to board the boy in a foster home, provided that his mother would allow him to stay there for three years—the time estimated as necessary to insure an established compensation of his heart functions, i.e., a readjustment of the heart to its increased burden of work so that the patient feels well and can do light work.

The changes in the physical condition of the patient are traced, step by step, by means of a chart ruled off on the blackboard. By following the medical record of the patient the students note a constant improvement in the patient's physical condition, dating from the time of transfer to the Convalescent Home and thence to a good foster home. They see the recording line on the chart approach a red line by which we have indicated the establishment of good compensation, but soon after this line has been touched, the mother demands the return of the boy to the unhealthy, overcrowded, Syrian quarter, where he can again run wild on the streets. Eighteen months of suitable social environment, good habits and careful medical supervision have produced satisfactory medical results so far, but firm establishment of compensation requires further treatment if the chance of a relapse is to be avoided. Persuasion availing naught with the mother, the students discuss the possibilities of legal compul-

sion; the powers of the judge of a juvenile court in such cases; the difficulties confronting physicians who try to state probable prognoses; the right to separate a mother from her child; all of these and many other related problems come up for discussion.

After talking over situations like these, the students become more thoughtful of the social responsibilities which they will meet in the future with many of their patients. The following list of social problems gives some idea of the range of discussion opened up through case study of these initial medical situations:

The responsibilities assumed by the state in its treatment of the tuberculous, the feeble-minded, the epileptic, the insane; and the indigent poor. The state Mothers' Aid Law and its interpretation. The care of dependent children.

The responsibilities of municipalities to the poor having a legal settlement, and to the tuberculous. Functions of boards of health when tuberculosis is involved.

Obligations in cases of settlement, under the state Mothers' Aid Law, and the share of financial responsibility with the state in all settlement cases cared for co-operatively with them.

Settlement laws and their effect on the rights of the citizen. Public treatment for disease without pauperizing. Workingmen's compensation acts and their interpretation. Authority of the courts in cases of neglect.

Hospital social service departments. Associated charities. Relief funds. Children's agencies. Placing out departments.

From these case studies many allied social problems have arisen and the ethical questions raised have been most interesting. The moral right to break up a family is questioned: should a girl with heart trouble be sent back to Ireland? Can't we take better care of her here, because we know how? How far is one responsible for action when asked for money on the street? These are some of the questions under discussion this past year, the men arguing the point with each other, as well as sometimes taking exception to the social treatment of a case. "What right had you to leave these other children in that home under such poor conditions? What chance has that child with rickets? Why take the cardiac patient away and leave those other children there just because they weren't quite so sick?" These discussions usually increase in frequency as the series advances, and the students come more and more to think in terms of social responsibility.

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CO-OPERATION*

Amelia Sears, Director, Department of Welfare of Cook County, Chicago, Ill.

This discussion is limited to co-operation in social work—social work, that is, in its accepted sense, not in that broader significance in which it may be understood to include all work not anti-social, as are war and other immoral occupations. The psychology of co-operation may be discussed as it operates in several fields: co-operation between the social worker and his client (whether known as applicant, patient, probationer, or what not); co-operation between the social worker and the non-professional public; and co-operation between the social worker and other social workers. For the purpose of this discussion attention will be confined to the mental attributes and mental processes incident to the accomplishment of co-operation in these fields. The psychology of co-operation in the first and second fields differs from that in the third, in that while the former depends chiefly on the mental attributes of the worker, the latter is more highly specialized, involving certain mental processes essential to the interrelation of professionals.

Generosity, open-mindedness and intellectual integrity are the media in which co-operation develops. Generosity in this sense means a willingness to spend and be spent in the service, and a recognition that social work is communistic in that a gain to one agency or even one agent of one department is a gain to all. Such generosity will be revealed, in our relations with our clients, by explicitness in giving either explanations or directions, and by taking care that no applicant is made the victim of unnecessary delays, extra trips, or other inconveniences. It will be revealed, in our relations with the non-professional public, by careful liberal statements of why information is sought. It will be revealed by letters which not only request information but volunteer information likely to prove illuminating and interesting. It will be revealed by a studied using of agencies and individuals in their own time and their own way. It will express itself daily by a "going the other mile" voluntarily, where only one was asked.

Open-mindedness in co-operation is as invaluable as generosity and blood brother to it. While the generous-minded person will spend and be spent to serve, the open-minded one will go further—will spend time in serious thought for the other. It is a rare person who will take the necessary pains truly to

*Section meeting Friday, May 14, 9:15 A. M.

grasp the arguments of his opponent and address himself to their consideration, patiently seeking for the good in the other's position and for the revelation such opposition makes of the antagonist's mental whereabouts. A French saying runs, "the work of a pseudo critic is to discover defects; that of a true critic is to arrive at conclusions."

Is it not a daily occurrence for some worker to come to his superior all aflame over the failure of another agency to perform its part in the social scheme? And does not the precipitating or averting of trouble depend upon that superior's open-mindedness toward the accused agent or agency? A decade ago an inexperienced social worker possessed of the idea that the first duty of every C. O. S. worker was to set the social world to rights, went resentfully to her superior—a man known as an exponent of charity organization—telling of the failure of the school attendance officer to return a seven-year-old child to school. She was convinced that the correct course was for her superior to take the matter up without delay with the superintendent of the department in question. She was fired with a barbaric desire for immediate action. The superior, who was always a man of leisurely manner, did not gratify her by any aligning of the forces; neither did he treat her to a dissertation on the subject of co-operation. He questioned, "would it not be well to hunt up the school attendance officer, get acquainted with him, and ascertain just where the trouble lies. Either he has some good reason for delay, or thinks he has." This line of action seemed vaguely disappointing to the young worker; in fact, it seemed a confession of weakness. It was followed and the results were fraught with far reaching and never ending satisfaction. It was a most effective lession in co-operation, and perhaps its effectiveness was due, in part, to the fact that the word co-operation was not mentioned.

A study of present day records of case work reveals that this word is put to negative uses. Thus the representative of a relief agency in reporting her last interview with a widow, Mrs. M., who was feeble-minded of the high grade moron type and had seven children under sixteen years, records: "told Mrs. M. she would be dropped by the committee if she did not co-operate." Further, a representative of a city department expending $1,000,000 annually reported, when asked if thirteen-year-old Annie, the little mother of five younger children, herself ill and motherless, was still an active tubercular case, replied: "We do not know. We have not seen Annie for six months. She will not co-operate."

The migration of "cases" from agency to agency is almost entirely confined to two classes—the unsuccessful case and the case which, by its very nature, is not amenable to the services of a given agency. The police force in a certain city is loud in its condemnation of the adult probation department. Why? Not because of any particular uncharitableness in members of the force, but because they see only the failures of the probation system in the recidivists, while the probationers who are "making good" are never brought to their notice. The unsuccessfully handled cases represent only a fraction of an agency's work ranging possibly from one-fourth to one-tenth, according to the degree of efficiency of the agency. It is palpably unjust to base an opinion of an agency's work on this small per cent. without definitely seeking information concerning the 75 or 90 per cent. which remains inconspicuous because the needs of the families composing it have been met.

The open-mindedness essential to co-operation seems to have been habitual with Lincoln. At a reception someone came to him to say Seward was criticising him most severely; in fact, had called him a "damn fool." "Well," said Mr. Lincoln, "Seward is generally right. I had better talk it over with him."

The third indispensable mental attribute is intellectual integrity. This is the quality through which case work may be made to profit from constructive social measures. In the daily work of the legal, medical, institutional and relief agencies, our social programs are tried out. There the need of new laws and institutions is discovered and the failure of old ones is revealed. There the last case worker, down the line, day by day, solves problems in the care of the feeble-minded, the border-line insane, the delinquent, which are baffling law makers and for which the state has no solution to offer. Every day in every community the social worker is tempted for the sake of the immediate profit of his client to violate some accepted rule or precept of ordinary procedure. The other day a police officer succeeded in securing admission, contrary to the pauper act, of a young girl to an almshouse, thus unwittingly harming the girl and leaving her anxious family in unnecessary suspense and pain.

The medium is difficult and confused. The only hope of harmonious effort is a strict adherence to such laws and rules as do exist—a steering by them as by a compass. Thus, the truant officer who resolutely cut a broad swath in obedience to the compulsory education law he is employed to enforce, leaves a beneficent trail of happenings in his wake. If he forces a thirteen-year-old girl to return to school, although she is needed

at home to care for the baby, the result is not the neglect of the baby, as threatened, but a wiser and better-ordered household. The deputy factory inspector who removes the fifteen-year-old boy from a hazardous trade, even knowing it means the reduction of the family income below the subsistence point, is able to compensate the family through securing some other source of income denied them while the boy was earning the larger wage. The nurse who refuses to connive at the separation of mother and illegitimate child is the means of securing support for both mother and child through the prosecution of the father. The scriptural assertion "But with the temptation, make also the way of escape" could be paraphrased by "For every difficulty arising through adhering to law, is provided a way of escape."

Co-operation among professional social workers exclusively is a more specialized thing, requiring, in addition to the attributes already mentioned, certain mental processes. These mental processes may be developed through a training designed *first,* to develop the practice of a common technique; *second,* to lead to the formation of an apperceptive mass, insuring adequate reaction to pathological social conditions; *third,* to insure knowledge of the exact functions of each agency.

The first of these, the practice of a common technique, will come with experience and, possessed of it, the worker's power is multiplied immeasurably. Such a technique implies a common standard of investigation, of recording findings, of considering evidence, of arriving at a plan based on verified fact, and a final, long-continued treatment.

More important than a common technique, because more fundamental, is the necessity of a training for social workers which shall insure adequate reaction to pathological social conditions. Without such a training, a social worker cannot co-operate because he sees nothing which needs correction, nothing which demands united effort. In the field, a worker is of value in direct ratio to this power of recognizing pathological social conditions. The visitor who, through his reading and class work, is keenly alive to the economic aspect of his clients' lives, sees adverse working conditions, such as the menace of occupational disease, "blind alley" occupations, or industrial accident, and the social dangers that follow unpunished violations of our factory and child labor laws.

The worker who has been trained in social diseases, recognizes the signs of physical and mental breakdown which, to one not so trained, remain unseen. He is quick to recognize the possible danger signals of incipient tuberculosis, is alive to the

slightest indication of infants' illness, and notes the physical and mental symptoms which make it advisable to seek expert advice regarding the possible existence of specific disease, of borderline insanity, of mental deficiency. The worker who is informed about housing and sanitation sees menacing conditions in unlighted hallways, rickety steps, evil smelling areas, bad drainage, bad water supply, where another would pass these unheeded. The visitor observant of moral dangers to young people sees a menace in the proximity of saloon or pool-room, or in the lack of play opportunity.

But what use to observe all these conditions unless, with the training to see them, has come also the training to remedy? Not only is the trained worker sensitive to abnormal social conditions but he possesses a knowledge of the definite functions of other agencies. To see filth is to think sanitary department of the board of health; to see an idle and misguided boy in the household is to think big brother; to see a dependent and neglected child is to think juvenile court. Thus, the worker so equipped is doubly ready to co-operate: *first,* because at every turn he sees the existing needs; *second,* because seeing the need, he knows who, if anyone, is ready to meet the need; and *third,* because trained in the exact functions of all agencies in his community, he calls upon them with an intelligence which commands respect and quick response.

Nor is either the power or the opportunity of co-operation limited, for such a worker, to his field work. If he is keenly alive, he sees opportunity for utilizing the material he is gathering for furthering large social schemes. The same apperception which makes him cognizant of abnormal social conditions, makes him cognizant of social remedies on foot, or conversely because he is alive to pending social remedies, he recognizes social ills. He knows the thinking people in his community are aroused over crime among young people; he knows they are seeking causes and remedies. He brings practical suggestions out of his daily work and detailed information about "fences," police abuse, political interference at trials, and judicial corruption, which forms a basis of action. He is sensitive to exploitation of laborers and consciously hoards all facts of employment agency abuse and evasion of compensation laws. The day comes when the public is aroused and he can lay before them this slowly gathered material, thus supplying that indispensable factor in all social effort, a basis of fact.

Thus, his co-operation reaches beyond the individual service to contribute to those larger movements which, one by one, are lifting the burdens of the poor; and so expands from a working

formula, a mere expediting of the day by day work for each client, to an opportunity to share in the great work of prevention and constructive philanthropy, to share in a work which builds for the future and builds in the name of manhood, until the humblest worker can say, like David as he played to Saul in the tents,

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PSYCHOLOGY OF CO-OPERATION

Wilbur C. Phillips, Secretary, Committee on Unit Organization, Washington, D. C.

In the sense that this section uses the word, coöperation, I take it, has reference to the efforts of social workers in neighborhood contact with individuals. These efforts have for their object the improvement of the physical, intellectual and spiritual lives of those benefited. This is accomplished by supplying the individual (a) with the knowledge and (b) with the material things that are essential to development.

Like physicians, social workers are constantly endeavoring, not only to cure or ameliorate, but to prevent, social distress. These two things cannot be dissociated. Just as in medicine the need of prevention and the way to prevent can only be learned in curing, so in social work the methods of gradually eliminating social distress can only be worked out through painful experience in combating social evils as they now exist. In order to perform this dual task of helping individuals to meet present problems and to avert future calamity, social workers, like physicians, must study their patients carefully. They must be able to make acute social diagnoses, and to prescribe intelligently for whatever social condition may confront them. The successful performance of this task depends very largely on the psychology of the agent, and especially, in my opinion, on his possessing certain important qualifications which I propose briefly to outline.

1. In order to study and prescribe wisely for human beings who are suffering from social sickness, social agents ideally should speak their language. If social diagnosis consisted merely of poking a man in the stomach and discovering a pain there, a physical examination might suffice. Instead of that, however, it means—or it ought to mean—searching the hidden recesses of his mind, and finding the motives which actuate his life. Recognition of the importance of this fact is shown increasingly in infant welfare work. In many cities ability to speak the language

of the localities in which infant welfare nurses work is made a first essential in their selection. This is but a recognition of the fact that intelligent and intelligible questions are a *sine qua non* in social diagnosis.

2. Social workers ideally must know the habits, customs and traditions of those whom they wish to help—as H. G. Wells calls it, their "mental hinterland." When I was in Paris at the time of the disestablishment of the Church, I found myself quite unable to discuss that question understandingly with any of my friends among the students, because our conceptions of religion, church, clergy, etc., were so different. . I had been raised in a tiny village. My father had been a minister. Religion to me was his religion—the religion of a simple, God-fearing country gentleman. They, on the other hand, had seen the abuses which come with the acquisition of temporal power by churches in large communities. The premises and rites of religion seemed to these radical-minded young men a caricature of Christ's simple teachings. To people of different training and environment the same words often connote two entirely different meanings. The words "white horse" may, as Barrett Wendell has pointed out, suggest to one person a prancing white charger, and to another a skeleton covered with a dirty white hide. Viewed from this standpoint, similarity of background and experience are important factors in securing coöperation and mutual understanding between social workers and individuals whom they are trying to help. An Irish nurse who went out to Milwaukee from the Babies' Hospital of New York, although extremely efficient on the technical side of her nursing duties, failed ignominiously when she tried to do neighborhood work. The fault lay in her Celtic extraction, and in her entire inability to understand the Polish temperament.

3. Social workers ideally should study their patients over an extended period of time. The lack, in so many cases, of close and continuous contact with families under their charge is, it seems to me, one of the great weaknesses of present social effort. If one's private physician dies, his notes and history of the case do not endow his successor with equal ability to treat his case. So, when social agents change, as they are changing frequently from one district to another and from one branch of social service to another, the case record does not fill up the gap.

4. Social workers ideally should be lovers of the people. Efficiency without love is a whited sepulchre. Social diagnosis is the science of love, for unless one forgets self entirely, loses oneself in consideration of the other fellow's need, one cannot discover the nature of that need and be able intelligently to fill

it. One cannot do social work unless one approaches it as a spiritual task.

5. Social workers not only should love their "patients," but they should love them intelligently. To do this they should be intimately in touch with the highest sources of knowledge as to human needs, and as to ways in which these needs may be satisfied. The social worker in a small town who advises a housewife to feed her baby on raw milk because the local health officer opposes pasteurization, may be acting according to her best knowledge, but nevertheless may be increasing the infant mortality rate of her community. There must be created higher sources of knowledge than individuals or private committees. Community effort must be evoked to organize on a wholesale basis the intelligence of its workers in each field of its activity, and to place their conclusions and judgments at the disposal of social agents. Until this is done in each and every field, the latter will too frequently serve as disseminators of untruth.

6. Social workers ideally should place greater emphasis on prevention than cure. This is demanded both by economy and commonsense. Prevention means keeping people socially well when they *are* well. In infant welfare work we have found that prevention means the education of one hundred per cent. of mothers with babies. This necessity of one hundred per cent. contact applies with equal force to any and every other social problem. Just as the boy in college has an adviser to whom he may turn for counsel and guidance, so the community should provide for one hundred per cent. of its citizens, skilled workers who can place them in contact with any and every social aid. The assumption that a man is beyond the pale of social assistance because he has never been an applicant for charity, is ridiculous on the face of it. The rich as well as the poor are socially sick, and need intelligent diagnosis and prescription.

7. Social workers ideally should be able to help people to see what they themselves must do to prevent social distress through the elimination of social injustice. We have tried too long to secure social justice *for* people rather than to tell them how they can secure social justice for themselves. Of all human needs the need of justice is greatest. If social workers aim to satisfy human needs, they should be able to tell people the road to social justice through their own efforts. The social worker who does not possess a fundamental social philosophy—who is not filled with the idea that people can work out their own salvation through a right political and industrial organization, and who is not constantly preaching this doctrine, is failing in one of his highest duties.

It will be seen from this recital of the qualifications of social work, that a social worker may be defined as one who is endeavoring to see that one hundred per cent. of human needs are perfectly satisfied for one hundred per cent. of people.

> And then, the great march
> Wherein man runs to man to assist him and buttress an arch
> Naught can break: who shall harm them, our friends?

DISCUSSION: The following delegates participated in discussion of "The Psychology of Co-operation": Wilbur F. Phillips and Walter S. Ufford, Washington, D. C.; Mary I. Breed, Albany, N. Y.; Frederic Almy, Buffalo, N. Y.; Miss J. C. Colcord and Stockton Raymond, New York City; Eugene Kerner, Waterbury, Conn.; Ora G. Kelley, St. Louis, Mo.; Mary L. Birtwell, Cambridge, Mass.; Mrs. M. J. Van Hook, Yonkers, N. Y.

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RURAL RECREATION*

W. K. Tate, Professor of Rural Education, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn.

One of the most conspicuous social phenomena of modern times is the constantly accelerating movement from the country to the city. The present prices of agricultural products and the increasing cost of living remind us forcibly that this movement is threatening our economic equilibrium. One good result of this economic pressure is a new interest in the welfare of the country man which is universal and genuine if not wholly altruistic.

A study of the Census figures confirms our natural expectations that the country exodus is marked especially in the earlier years by productive manhood and womanhood.

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION FOR VIRGINIA.

	Male		Female	
Age period	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
All ages per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 5 years	10.2	13.9	9.6	14.0
5 to 9 years	9.4	13.3	9.1	13.5
10 to 14 years	9.1	12.4	8.9	12.2
15 to 19 years	9.6	10.6	10.5	10.7
20 to 24 years	11.4	8.5	12.1	9.0
25 to 34 years	18.8	12.7	18.6	13.5
35 to 44 years	14.1	10.4	13.4	10.3
45 to 64 years	13.9	13.6	13.9	12.4
65 years and over	3.1	4.5	3.8	4.2

*Section meeting Tuesday, May 18, 9:15 A. M.

The above table is typical of the conditions which exist throughout the United States. In the country the percentage of children is much larger than in the city. The percentage of people over 65 also is larger in the country.

We have not yet succeeded in making country life satisfying to our young men and women at the period when the gregarious instinct is strongest, and there is a steady cityward movement during this period. The limits of this paper preclude the possibility of even mentioning all the causes of the rural exodus. I am convinced that the very strongest motives for the rural youth are his natural desires for release from intellectual and social monotony and from unremitting physical toil, and a longing for physical, intellectual and social recreations which he has not found in his country environment. I once asked an intelligent country teacher this question, "If you could do one thing only for the young people in your community what would that be?" Without hesitation he answered, "I should devise wholesome ways in which they could entertain and amuse themselves. If I could do this I believe the rest would be easy."

The problem of rural recreation is increased by isolation, by long hours of labor, and by the difficulties of communication. For young people the chief essential of recreation is association with other young people. An excursion into solitude is recreation for the mature man and woman, only and, even for these, solitude quickly turns into loneliness. In the rural sections of the older countries of the world, where human tendencies have had time to work themselves out more completely, mere agricultural efficiency has usually been sacrificed for social considerations and the rural population has gathered together in villages where each man is farther from his farm but nearer to his neighbors. There are indications that a similar rural organization, modified perhaps by the automobile and other means of rapid communication, may finally prevail in America.

Rural Centers Essential

The first requisite, then, for rural recreation is a rural community center where all the people may come together for social intercourse. The institution which may be most easily expanded for this larger service is the school. The church will lend its hearty cooperation to the movement, but it can not initiate it, in most cases, because of the multiplicity of denominations. The present tendency to consolidate schools at strategic points, and thereby weld the open country into larger

community units is a further prophecy of the large part which the school will play as a community center.

School buildings which are now being erected throughout the country in the United States and especially in the South usually include an auditorium which may be used as a community meeting place. There is a marked tendency for school boards to purchase larger tracts of ground for school purposes and to provide for school gardens or demonstration farms, and a home for the teacher in immediate proximity to the school house.

The growing conviction among educators and among the people in general that the teacher should be employed for the year and that he should be provided with a home near the school is another indication that the American rural school will sooner or later become stable enough to constitute an efficient community center. There is also a growing feeling that the country school should employ at least three teachers. We are beginning to expect the principal to be trained in agriculture so that he may live in the community throughout the year and may direct the agricultural training of the boys on the farm as well as in the school. In the same way the home is beginning to expect that one of the teachers should be trained in domestic science and should be competent to lead the home-making activities of the girls, not only in the school itself, but in the club and extension work in connection with the home.

I believe that the third teacher should be especially trained in rural social service and recreation and that she should be able to direct the recreational activities of the country community throughout the year. She should be especially trained in plays and games. She should know how to sing and to teach singing and to play the piano. Such an organization of educational forces involving employment of the teaching force for the whole year not only would solve most of the educational problems which confront the country school district, but also would furnish the permanent nucleus for the community social and recreational center. The custom of employing a teacher for part of the year only and allowing him to shift for himself throughout the remainder of the year is an American educational innovation. It is responsible for much of the instability which now characterizes the teaching profession in America. It will be just as difficult to maintain a rural recreation center at the school house without a teacher or other director in attendance as it is to run a city playground without a supervising director.

Program of Development of Rural Recreation

With a stable, well-organized school as a center the country community can easily organize a satisfactory recreational life. The wise community will not attempt too many kinds of things at one time at the beginning of the movement. I shall mention briefly some lines of effort which have been successful in schools which have come under my observation:

1. Music should be placed in the first rank as a socializing activity. Most people like music and like to sing. When people sing together they can usually do a great many other things together. Singing should be taught in the schools and should have a part in every social gathering or entertainment. The European school master must always know how to play the violin or some other musical instrument and must know how to teach singing to his pupils. In addition to this he is frequently the leader of the community orchestra, which is a source of pleasure not only to its members, but also to the whole community. The school auditorium should be provided with a piano. A *Victrola* with some good records is a fine investment for a country community. By all means let us make singing and music a part of our recreational program for the country.

2. The school playground should be expanded into a community playground where old and young may assemble to renew their youth. Playground apparatus is cheap and easily made. The *Youth's Companion* in its issue of April 8th, 1915, contains descriptions and specifications of equipment for a good rural playground which can be built for less than ten dollars. I once visited the Rittenhouse School, near Vineland, Ontario. A community hall seating four hundred people had been erected beside the school house. Adjoining this was a playground and community park with swings for the children and tables for basket dinners, stalls and hitching places for the horses—all in the shade of a beautiful grove.

A base-ball game on Saturday will put zest into the labor of the boy for the whole week. A contest in track events in preparation for the county field day will add agility and grace to the strength of the country boy.

During the last five or six years a great impetus has been given to athletic and playground activities in the South by the organization of the county school fair and field day. These county contests between teams selected from the various schools, not only furnish a motive for play and athletic work in the individual schools but also weld into one system the hitherto isolated schools of the county and awaken a sense of solidarity

which passes easily into other forms of co-operation. I have seen five thousand children marching in line at one of these field day celebrations. The community field day, or fair, or May day celebration sometimes takes the form of a pageant illustrating the historical development of the community or episodes from the history of the state or nation. The mountain boys and girls at the Berry School, in Rome, Georgia, last year, developed in a wonderful manner, a beautiful pageant drawn from the history and traditions of the Appalachian Highlands. This pageant added a new dignity to the southern mountains. Such exercises are important factors in developing the latent imagination of the farm boy and girl.

3. The community literary society and lyceum have demonstrated their usefulness in community recreation. The literary society does much to develop the leadership which rural communities need. Every community has untapped resources of entertainment. There are people who can sing, play the violin or piano, tell stories and make other contributions to the entertainment. A simple play develops the player and entertains the community. A spelling match is a perennial source of enjoyment. A county superintendent, in Alabama, has recently enlisted the forces of his county in a home-made lyceum course, which has been very successful. Half a dozen communities can form a circuit and secure some good professional talent at reasonable rates.

4. The stereopticon and moving picture machine offer fine possibilities of rural recreation and entertainment. Mr. Warren Denham Foster, of the *Youth's Companion* staff has devised a simple plan for bringing moving picture films and good machines into the most remote country communities at very reasonable prices. A portable gasoline engine and small dynamo which can be set out in the yard at the country school house furnish the electric light for the illumination of the film. The operator, who may also be a community worker in other directions, makes a circuit of six school houses, each on one day in the week, or of twelve school houses once every fortnight. One hundred and fifty people at ten cents each per week will pay the cost of operating such a circuit. The educational possibilities of the moving picture have not yet been fully developed. Mr. Foster's plan would make these possibilities available for the country as well as the town and city.

5. The school house is undoubtedly the proper location for the library in a country community. Especially is this true when the teacher lives near the school house and can act as librarian during the summer, or can appoint some representa-

tive to take care of the books while school is not in session. The library should by no means be confined to the school children, but should include all the people of the community. I once visited a library in Kinsman, Ohio, which had arranged with citizens of the community to subscribe for thirty magazines which were circulated each month among the people. The *Farmers' Bulletins* and other publications of the United States government and of the state department of agriculture should form one section of this community library. The children at school are the natural media of communication between the home and the community library. In time the county library idea will reach a much larger development. The schools will then be sub-stations at which the county library wagon will leave supplies of books on regular visits.

6. The community fair is a potent force in bringing the people together in their best efforts. A community will surprise itself with its possibilities when an exhibit of its products is brought together at the school house. The exhibits of the several community fairs of the county will form an excellent basis for a county fair. A big basket dinner or barbecue and instructive addresses are the natural concomitants of the community fair.

The forms of recreation which have been mentioned by no means exhaust the list. The rural womans' club is in successful operation in many sections of the United States. The Grange, the School Improvement Association, the Parent-Teachers' Association are all merely names for forms of community cooperation which have recreational features. When properly organized there is no reason why boys and girls brought up in the country should not have every advantage in recreation which is possessed by the city cousin—all in the wholesome, natural environment which the Creator designed as the proper abode of man.

ORGANIZING THE NEIGHBORHOOD FOR RECREATION

Lee F. Hanmer, Director, Department of Recreation, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, N. Y.

The ideal recreation center, conditions permitting, is the home. Is there any better sight in all the social doings of human beings than a home in which the young people find abundant resources for their free time, where friends come in

for parties, socials, and an evening of songs; where there are the return parties at other homes, picnics or outings, and occasionally a clubbing together to bring to the neighborhood a reader or lecturer or musical troupe?

Playing together, as well as working together, establishes bonds that become strong, develops common interests, and forges chains of friendship which not only make possible the joys of human fellowship, but also hold the individual in emergencies when restraint is sorely needed and when self-control must be reinforced. Under such conditions most of the evils against which social workers strive vanish into thin air.

These most desirable neighborhood relations do not happen of their own accord, even under favorable conditions. Back of it all there is a father or mother, or teacher, or pastor, or someone, stimulating action and guiding the course of events. Grown-ups need play leadership nearly as much as do children. One of our wise social thinkers has well said, "Civilization does not grown wild; it is not a natural product; it is the product of the finest of the arts."

Would that all homes were such as to lend themselves to this kind of use, and that neighborhoods were all made up of neighbors. But they are not and, especially in the larger cities, they are in many cases very far from it. Two or three small rooms and a fire escape do not lend themselves readily to home parties or home comforts of any kind. The theatre, the roof garden, the motion picture show, the dance hall, the pool room, the bowling alleys, and the saloon, existing because they meet a real human need that has not otherwise been met, offer their attractions and get the patronage. Young and old thus seek their recreation—separately and outside of the home. Family, group, and neighborhood ties are weakened, the restraining and holding power of close friendship is lacking, and the multitude of social evils that are causing much public concern, thrive and increase in number. More free time and more money to spend, incident to the shortening of hours of labor and the establishment of minimum wage requirements—both most desirable in themselves—further complicate the recreation problem.

Attempts are being made to meet the situation by improving housing conditions, providing children's playgrounds, organizing and promoting athletics, offering public lectures and evening study classes, and conducting evening recreation centers in school houses and recreation buildings. All these efforts are yielding splendid returns but the most hopeful undertaking along this line, one that promises to make possible many of the advantages of the family and neighborhood groups, is

what is known as the *community center.* This new institution has been described as a "place where neighbors or people with common interests meet, in order to be better neighbors and to make their common interests more effective. A community center is not primarily a building or a set of activities, but rather an organizing center for the life of a neighborhood."

The Service of the Neighborhood Center

Let us look at such a center and see what it does and how it does it. The modern school building serves well as the physical equipment for such a center, both on account of its favorable location and because it belongs to the folks who so use it. Taking as an illustration one of these centers in actual operation, we find the following group activities occurring there during a given week:

One evening concert by the neighborhood orchestra.
One afternoon motion picture exhibition.
Two civic meetings.
Six game and reading-room sessions.
Three dances.
Fifty-two club meetings.
One lecture.
One social.
Six athletic occasions.
One meeting of the Community Center Association.

In addition, there were numerous committee meetings. The attendance for the week at these different functions totaled 6,084. Certainly, good evidence of a neighborhood getting together.

Now how did they do it? A community center association was organized there about two years ago by a man employed for the purpose by a voluntary association, working with the approval and cooperation of the school board. He became a resident of the neighborhood and gave his entire time to forming the organization, of which he was elected president, and in promoting its activities. Subsequently committees were appointed to take responsibility for the following interests: Finance, membership, rules, use of building, concerts, dances, lectures, clubs, forum, moving pictures, magazine, neighborhood relief, and a bureau of advice and assistance. The board of education furnishes heat, light, and janitor service, and employs two people for work every evening and eight other people for part-time evening services for the period from October to May. The various committees work in conjunction with the employees of the board of education. The cost per week to

the board in addition to heat, light, and janitor service, is $105, or one and four-fifth cents per person attending.

The members of the various clubs pay dues; admission is charged for the motion picture exhibition and the concerts, and the dances are also a source of income. The receipts totaled about $3,000 for the year, all of which was devoted to the support of the various activities. These funds are handled by the finance committee and reported upon in detail to the board of education. The word has gone out that this community center work is self-supporting. Of course, as you see, it is not. In addition to the $105 per week for salaries paid by the school board for a period of 30 weeks, and the cost of heat, light, and janitor service for the entire year, there is the full-time salary of the organizer that was paid by the outside organization. Of course the expenses were higher during this initial organizing stage, and probably could be regularly handled for what the school authorities are now putting into it, and possibly somewhat less. Another center has been run with only one evening worker employed by the board of education and the part-time services of an organizer and leader furnished by an outside organization.

The specially significant things about this plan of "organizing the neighborhood for recreation," is that it can be made largely self-governing and partly self-supporting; that it develops neighborhood spirit, fosters cooperative endeavor, and furnishes the opportunity for families and groups of neighbors to function socially in spite of the unfavorable living conditions that are all too common in both large and small cities. Where the living quarters will not permit family parties in the home, a group of friends may secure from the community center association the use of a room in the school building and meet there in much the same way that they would in a private home. Then, too, it brings neighbors together through service on committees and in the various community functions in a way that makes for a larger acquaintance, a better mutual understanding, and a union of effort for neighborhood improvement.

Some of the actual instances of civic and social achievement that have come out of work of this kind are: an objectionable dance hall put under strict inspection and finally closed up, a street little used for traffic closed for children's play after school hours, a school playground kept open for play from 3 to 5 o'clock each day and supervised by the school authorities, a gang that was a menace to the youth of the neighborhood brought into the community center and transformed into a boys'

club, a neighborhood orchestra of over one hundred pieces organized, an employment bureau maintained for helping those in the vicinity of the center, and a community pageant given in which over a thousand persons took part as performers and which gave a program extending through an entire week.

The volunteer service in supervising club work, training musical groups, handling social occasions, and serving on committees averages at one of the centers studied forty-one evening units of service per week in addition to much unrecorded work that was done through the day; a total of 2,132 periods of service per year, which, if paid for at the usual evening recreation center rates, would cost the city $5,585 for one neighborhood alone.

The minutes of a typical community center association business meeting are illuminating. They tell the story of financial problems, conflicting ideas, spirited discussions, resignations, and readjustments; but through it all, an earnest pulling together of neighbors to do a neighborhood service. The following is copied from the secretary's minute book for a meeting held less than a month ago:

> The meeting was called to order by the Chair at 9 p. m. Minutes of the preceding meeting were read and approved. The Treasurer reported that after the immediate payment of outstanding bills amounting to $58.89 there would be a balance of $12 in the treasury.
>
> Reporting for the Executive Committee, Mr. D..... stated that a vacancy had been created by the resignation of Mrs. Mi..... The Chair appointed Mrs. Mo..... to succeed Mrs. Mi..... The Committee submitted in writing several important amendments to the Constitution, one raising the eligible age for male members of the Association to 21 years, the age for female members to remain at 18 years, and the other amendments stating the duties of the Financial Secretary and the control of financial matters. These suggested amendments were tentatively approved, and the Chair announced that the next regular meeting would be devoted to the consideration of these changes in the Constitution.
>
> For the Dance Committee, Mr. B..... reported the dances to be running fairly well, but he was dissatisfied with a resolution passed by his committee authorizing the hiring for the entire season of the band now furnishing the music. Considerable discussion following this report. It was moved and carried that it be referred back to the committee for further action and for a written report.
>
> Mrs. K..... reported for the Moving Picture Committee that the last two shows had been quite successful, just paying expenses. It might be well to have one or two more, before resuming the supervised out-door play. The Chair instructed the Committee to stop the shows when it deemed best.
>
> For the Magazine Benefit Committee, Mrs. D..... reported that there were about 350 outstanding tickets, of which about 175 had thus far been reported sold. Mrs. D.....returned to the Treasurer the $6 advanced for expenses of the Committee.

Reporting for the Club Committee, Mr. D..... reported applications for special affairs granted to the Allegro Social Club, The Loyal Friends, Amateur Actor's Association, the Relief Society, the Blossoms of Israel and the Maidens of Zion. Several clubs were granted summer use of a room at 25 cents a meeting. Recommended that in future all affairs of clubs should be run under the supervision of the center, a member of the Association to be present in the ticket office. Resolution was passed to give power of granting charters to clubs which might apply for them later on, to a sub-committee consisting of Mr. D..... Miss H....., and Mr. K..... A sub-committee was appointed and authorized to have 200 charters printed. Committee recommended that in conjunction with the final inter-club dramatic contest on May 14th a "Charter Night" be celebrated, and that then the charters be distributed to all the clubs whose applications have thus far been approved, and representatives of the clubs be present to receive them. The Committee reported two clubs' applications for charter as accepted at its last meeting. Report of Club Committee was accepted, and the Chair asked that it follow up the matter of a "Charter Night," and have the charters in readiness for that occasion.

Miss H..... for Committee on Use of Building reported that it had O. K.ed all applications approved by the Club Committee. (Miss H..... is the employed representative of the Board of Education.)

The Membership Committee, Mr. S..... Chairman, announced the following as approved by it for membership. (Eight members with addresses.) These were all elected to membership in the Association.

Mr. L..... having resigned as Financial Secretary at the last meeting, an election was held to fill the vacancy. Mr. L..... was prevailed upon to run for re-election, and he was unanimously elected.

Mrs. D..... made a motion that the Neighborhood Relief Society be granted all of the profits from its proposed entertainment, it needing money badly. Carried unanimously.

It was moved and carried that during the summer months, when the building would be closed on Tuesdays, the Association meetings be held the second and fourth Wednesdays of each month.

The Chair read the minutes of the last meeting of the Magazine staff, which meets every Saturday afternoon. All material for the first issue must be in hand for publication by May 15, the magazine to be issued May 26. Prize of $1 has been offered for the best story, best poem, and cover design, but nothing satisfactory has yet been received. Various departments and subjects for articles have been assigned to different clubs, departments of work, and individuals. Total advertising received to date, $30. Mr. La..... was elected by the Association as Advertising Manager, to succeed Mr. Lo.....

Mr. T..... the janitor, inquired if the new schedule of rates for janitors would apply at P. S..... center. The Chair replied that he should receive the promised extra compensation from the Board hereafter, as it had the funds for this purpose.

Mr. T..... stated that at least two more electric lights were needed for lighting the courtyard. The present lamps are not equal in power to those of last year. The Secretary was instructed to write to Mr. S..... of the Board, requesting that the extra lights required be installed.

With regard to the possibility of having outdoor motion pictures the Chair stated that on account of stringent fire regula-

tions this would be possible only by the purchase of a Pathescope, he thought. He will investigate further.

The meeting adjourned at 10:15 p. m.

Respectfully submitted,

....., Secretary.

The Rural Center

It is not in the city only that "organizing the neighborhood for recreation" has possibilities. There is a township high school situated in the open country midway between two small cities that is functioning in much the same way as the city centers described. A generous citizen gave to the township school board funds with which to erect a gymnasium and recreation building and to provide an athletic field and swimming pool as a part of the school plant. Provision has been made for the employment of a recreation and social center director, who also has charge of physical training in the school, but whose main job is to promote the neighborhood use of these facilities. He reports an attendance for February, 1915, of 12,318, or an average of 473 persons per day.

While a central citizens' association has not yet been organized for this work, an approach toward partial self-government and self-support has been made by forming a baseball league that handles its own affairs and pays to the center fifty per cent. of all proceeds, an inter-church basketball league that operates in much the same way, and a club made up of groups using the gymnasium which hires an instructor and which has secured excellent volunteer instruction for swimming and wrestling classes. A glee club, a dramatic club, and several social organizations pay for the use of certain rooms and give entertainments to which a small admission fee is charged. A neighborhood improvement association is now being organized, which it is hoped, may be made thoroughly representative and become the central administrative body for the center.

In a letter from the director of the center there is this significant paragraph:

> An increasing amount of self-government has been allowed the grade and parochial school children with excellent results in the matter of conduct, discipline and sportsmanship. Of course, if this can be kept up, in a few years we shall have a group maturing that will be qualified and ready both to manage and finance the Center to a great degree. I find that both adults and children act quite differently when they are helping to pay for and are participating in the management of their own affairs.

Justification of Public Support

For the same reasons that schools are supported by taxation, playgrounds and play centers for children should also be so provided. Legislatures and courts are saying that it is right and proper also to use public funds in furnishing certain facilities for adult recreations. We are coming to agree that the way in which individuals use their free time is really a matter of public concern and that opportunities for wholesome recreation may well be provided at public expense. But experience here and there over the country seems to be demonstrating—and a great mass of such experience is rapidly becoming available—that public funds for recreation can be made to go much further than they have in the past and yield a far larger return by "organizing the neighborhood for recreation." This experience is also substantiating the observation made by the recreation worker just quoted when he says, "I find that both adults and children act quite differently when they are helping to pay for and are participating in the management of their own affairs." The *community center* makes this possible.

DISCUSSION: In the informal discussion of Recreation the following delegates spoke: Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, Philadelphia; Roger N. Baldwin, St. Louis; Mrs. Robert H. Keene, Golden Hill, Md.; Mrs. H. Guy Corbett, Afton, Va.; Charles P. Hall, Pawtucket, R. I.; Miss James, Baltimore; Mrs. George Crossland, Wayne, Nebr.

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THE VALUE OF ANALYZING ONE'S JOB*

Helen Glenn, Head Worker, Social Service Department of the University of Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia

The complex activities of social work present, to those of us who have come to look at them steadily, with a little understanding and perhaps more bewilderment, an intricate net-work of "jobs" that have grown up about certain social institutions —school, hospital or philanthropic association. These institutions were developed to serve certain definite group needs, to assure in various ways the freer development of the lives of group members. So the fundamental test to be applied in the analysis of any one of these jobs is a study of the effectiveness with which it subserves such a social purpose.

*Section meeting Wednesday, May 19, 11:00 A. M.

To look at the problem from another point of view, it is obvious that a pioneer profession like our own is forever perceiving new social needs that have not been met in our complicated city life and making experiments to develop successful methods of meeting them. The significant phase of our pragmatic "job test" then becomes the rapidity with which we can extend these new methods and priciples to the service of the whole community, by making them an integral part of an existing or new social institution. For the most part, then, in social work, whether it be in settlement, hospital social service department or charity organization society, our main aim must be the enlargement of the boundaries of our jobs till they have ceased to be ours and have been claimed by society as a precious group possession, for the saving of lost life or making more sure the normal maturing of all. Then and then alone is our aim fulfilled and the highest social service performed.

The points of difference between public and private agencies that we hear most frequently mentioned are that the latter are more elastic in organization, with better standards and higher ideals. They are therefore able to push forward more easily experiments in the social field. Yet on all sides the most superficial scrutiny reveals the fact that our private agencies are full of petrified experiments—things that have been tried out on a little scale and proved to be good, but which then have slowly crystallized into futile and ineffective instruments, for want of some one with vision and courage to universalize their principles and substitute for them the effective social institution. This is not a vague generality. It applies to your job and to mine. Any one of us could supply numerous illustrations of its truth. Sociologists tell us that the history of civilization is strewn with the wrecks of dead institutions. So also is the charities directory of any large city.

Perhaps the most distinctive thing in the static experiment —itself a contradiction in terms—is that it creates an illusion in the public mind that the work it carries on is really being done for the whole community. It is infinitely more difficult to stir a community to action in meeting a great need, if a small part of that need is being fairly well met by an organization that is unwilling to become entirely socialized. A nearby city has thirteen visiting nurses societies. It will probably be most difficult to build up one organization that will really cover the ground and eliminate waste in that part of the nursing world.

Why do we cling so desperately to our own experiments when they have become jobs? It is probably because they are

ours, and we hold for them a certain egotistical and proprietary affection that makes us distrustful of giving them over into strange hands. Every day we feel the futility of the small private agency where the workers may have zealously furthered the establishment of a larger organization to meet the whole of the community need, and yet failed at the last to step into the larger organization and pull their little old jobs in after them. I have in mind a hospital that fifteen years ago started one of the first tuberculosis classes in a large city. It developed spendidly with high standards and a marked degree of efficiency in treatment. Through its demonstration of the community need and the way to meet a segment of that need, and through the pressure brought to bear by other agencies and individuals, the state was induced to develop an excellent system of county care of the tubercular. Yet the little experiment lives on, becoming more and more isolated and ineffective, unrelated to anything else in the community, diverting money from more useful purposes, and keeping a dying grip on perhaps thirty patients. It is interesting that in this case as in so many others the one reason given for the existence of the class is the personal hold the worker has on the patients—an excuse so often given for social inefficiency.

In this instance the worker lost three splendid opportunities. The first, to educate the hospital board and the community by saying with perfect frankness: "This bit of machinery has served its purpose. It is outworn and outgrown and should be scrapped." The second opportunity was the worker's chance to throw the weight of her experience and community influence, developed through the years, into the building up of the new organization. And finally, the opportunity to undertake a new experiment and so evolve principles to be woven in their turn into the social fabric.

The field of case work and settlement work is full of just such instances and the new field of hospital social service soon will be, if its workers fail to grasp the significance of the whole public health movement and their relation to it. Our experiments, in this and any field, however significant they may be, are of real value only as they are universalized and find their place in organized society.

A SURVEY OF A MONTH'S WORK MADE SIX MONTHS AFTERWARDS

Elizabeth L. Holbrook, Assistant Secretary, Associated Charities, Boston, Mass.

Some of the directions for attaining efficiency in social work remind me of the story of two men who were being drilled in marching tactics. One was new at the business, and his companion explained orders to him. "Now," said Jim, "when he says 'Halt!' you bring the foot that's on the ground to the side of the foot that's in the air and remain motionless."

We may count the number of visits to families which we have made during the month, or the number of telephone calls or consultations on family problems and yet if the worker behind the system lacks courage and loyalty and vision our work ceases to be really effective. Some one has said that "the moment a task becomes personal and consecrated it defies mathematics." Whether we believe this or not, should we not place more emphasis on the results of efforts than on the motions we go through to attain those results, and in the final analysis, ask ourselves, "What progress are these families making since we began our work with them? Has the neighborhood or community improved because of our living in it?"

In order to get a long view and to see whether we are making any progress in our work, the Boston Associated Charities asked its field workers, last month, to look over all the new work which had come to them six months previous and see what had been accomplished. This called for a brief outline of the facts revealed by investigation followed by what was done for the family and this in turn by the things we failed to do. The following story of a family illustrates the way in which one worker went about the study:

> John Smith is a man of 38, with a wife and eight children, one born after the father's application. Smith came to the office with a note from the policeman on his beat asking a loan to pay off a pressing debt. He was a good-natured, easy-going man devoted to his home but without restraint over his shiftless, extravagant wife. He was a freight brakeman, a spare hand, but in danger of losing what work he had because creditors had attached his wages. The situation was so serious that it seemed as if the home must be broken up until he got on his feet again.
>
> First, he drew up a list of his debts which, verified by the Associated Charities, were found to be much more numerous and of longer standing than the man had admitted.
>
> (2) Relatives and a church visitor who had helped were visited and found to be so out of sympathy with Mr. Smith that they refused further help. They were, however, invaluable

sources of information and cheerfully gave us all the advice they had accumulated by painful experience.

(3) Mr. Smith's watch was taken out of pawn as he was obliged to have a railroad inspected timepiece.

(4) The advice of a lawyer was secured who drew up a plan of payments.

(5) Four debts to loan sharks were paid off at a saving of some $20, Mr. Smith signing a note promising to repay this loan.

(6) The lawyers who had the collection of the biggest debts remaining were visited and both agreed to accept any settlement the society could make.

(7) The society assumed for the present a weekly payment of $1 each on these debts.

(8) Several smaller creditors were seen, the plan explained, and their promises secured not to attach Mr. Smith's wages.

(9) To the man's superintendent who had been seen first for information was now submitted the plan whereby the road was to be relieved of the bother of these constant attachments. This employer, helpful from the very start, continued to be our greatest hold with Mr. Smith and his creditors.

(10) Free medical attention was secured for the wife and children.

(11) For the next four months when the man was on part time a relief society, on our request, gave clothing and fuel and ocasionally food.

(12) After the wife's confinement a friendly visitor (an instructor in household economics) started to instruct the mother. Needless to say this is up-hill work, but the mother is giving absolute co-operation. The visitor is also working with the children. In January Mr. Smith went on full time, and assumed the weekly payment of his debts. He intended to start at once paying on the loan, but sickness prevented him. No aid has been given since and the family is left in charge of the friendly visitor who reports to the office. The absolute co-operation of Mr. and Mrs. Smith is assured. And it is interesting to note that two lawyers, a church visitor, one policeman, and a railroad superintendent have for the first time seen and understood the workings of the Associated Charities and become its good friends.

There is nothing original about the idea of this study. Many individual workers in other societies as well as ours have taken time to analyze their work in some similar way. The only unusual thing was the simultaneous taking account of stock on the part of all our workers, and the spur to greater achievement which it aroused. For we saw our work in perspective. Isolated efforts such as having Johnnie's teeth, eyes, and ears attended to fell into their right proportion in the study of the relation of a given family to its neighborhood and the community, and its gradual progress into independence and self-support.

Each worker really had before her a blank slate with nothing but the question whether the work she was doing was worth while. The method was to be her own. As a result, the study showed her many things which could not be tabulated, such as the value of a well-thought-out plan for a family, or the helpful co-operation of other organizations in the development of such

a plan. In 25 per cent. of the families, before deciding on treatment, we definitely sought the advice of other societies or individuals. Sometimes it was the representative of the church which the family attended, an employer, and medical social service worker who met in conference with a district secretary on a problem which they had in common, not primarily to give information but to help form a wise plan. Again other groups gave us helpful advice. We saw also the value of accepting the investigations of other societies and of that exchange, even of "inferences," to quote Mr. Lee, in so far as they bear on our problems; and we realized anew that we are mutually dependent.

Can we estimate in figures the quality of work carried on by volunteers? This study gave us a new appreciation of their breadth of vision, the enthusiasm and the keen judgment which they are contributing through committees and conferences. Some of them helped prepare these outlines, taking this way to test their work. Time and again it was their advice given in case committees and conferences which saved us from doing the wrong thing. We saw too the effect of their friendly visiting on the families we are trying to help. One district secretary said, "The results in the families which had a friendly visitor are splendid. In the others I feel as if there were almost no progress."

Again, this survey gave us an opportunity to see tendencies into which we might be drifting, such as failure to make use of helpful sources of information—the schools, for instance, or the trade unions. We were anew impressed with the fact that in the pressure of work we are selecting the families upon whom we shall spend time. Are we choosing wisely? Or are we, possibly because of the dramatic appeal, concentrating effort on the family which calls for the attention of a society for the prevention of cruelty to children rather than on the one in which there is some foundation of character to build on? In several instances also we were forced to ask ourselves whether our visits to some homes were not too frequent. Why are we calling so many times? Is it lack of an adequate first interview? Ought not such work to be done by a friendly visitor? And finally came the general question: What effect is all our work having on the community? Is our connection vital? You may say that a good case-worker should never lose sight of any of these ideals. Most of us, however, find that in the rush of work we need to be forced to pause for just such a genuine soul-searching process as this.

If the retrospect brought with it a feeling of discouragement that so many things had been impossible to achieve, or of

chagrin that investigations were so faulty and so much had been overlooked which would have been worth while, still, both the discouragement and chagrin acted as a stimulus. Again and again this thought was expressed to me: "I have new ideas of work, a new incentive to begin again. . . . There is still time to retrieve some of my mistakes."

Those who have visited the battle-fronts of the European war have come back impressed with the wonderful efficiency which both sides are showing in the struggle. More impressive, however, than the machinery which has been put into action are the splendid human qualities of precision, orderliness, loyalty, co-operation, self-sacrifice and spiritual devotion, among officers and men on both sides. The same qualities you and I know to be essential to effective social work. As we gather data from year to year and make tests of our workers' output, let us make sure that back of our figures are the courage and loyalty and conception of the greatness of the task which alone can produce the highest efficiency.

EFFICIENCY IN THE USE OF VOLUNTEERS

Mary C. Goodwillie, Chairman of the Committee on Volunteer Service, Federated Charities, Baltimore, Md.

I know nothing of efficiency tests for any subject, and if I did I should be afraid to apply them to volunteers; for there is no more elusive subject than volunteer service. Its meaning and use are difficult to describe or evaluate; figures cannot measure it and results do not easily and promptly follow effort. In speaking of it one stands between the danger and temptation of over-stating and under-stating. Vague enthusiasm is of too little value and statistics are misleading.

I shall try, therefore, to tell you some of the things which seem to me to go to the making of good volunteers and what have proved to be some of the successful methods of attracting and developing them. There is only one way to find out and that is to work backwards, to find a good volunteer and study the processes which have lead to his usefulness—and these must often be guessed at, because to question a volunteer too closely is to introduce an element of self-consciousness which should be foreign to the finest kind of service.

I should like to begin by telling the story of a very humble volunteer, because in her naïve way she has been able to ex-

press what a more sophisticated person could not do. She was what we call a "case," and a very troublesome one, a woman who obstinately refused to take the necessary treatment to get well; who willfully exposed her children, to whom she was devoted, to the danger of disease. A patient secretary won her over. She stayed a year at a sanatorium away from her children, and in her happiness at having them restored to her, she begged the secretary to let her help at the office. The doctor's orders were no work except house-work, but exercise in the open air. Office errands, trips to the country and dispensary, visits to schools, and many other ways opened up where she could be thoroughly useful. Her pride in calling herself a volunteer, her joy in making a return for what had been done for her, touched us and made us think. Three rooms, the chance to have her own children, a pension from a charity office, and a measure of health, which must be constantly safe-guarded, these were her blessings, her opportunities, her privileges, and because of this richness, she wanted to serve others. She took pride in writing out with great care the record of her daily work, and one day as she put her yellow paper with the visitors' slips, she said: "That is the doctor's report of me. See that you get it in my record." Without a suggestion from the secretary she went to the school to get a report of her own children and entered it in the case history. Her greatest value was in persuading others to take the sanatorium treatment, which she herself had at first found so hard to do. "We are troublesome children," she said to the secretary. "I was a bad child once, but we are just children and don't understand."

As I think of Mrs. Hager I feel that she interprets volunteer service—the desire to serve others from the richness of our own lives; the willingness to be disciplined; the integrity of belief which makes us willing to guide our own lives as we ask others to guide theirs, and the gift of imagination which helps us to understand. She put her best into it, and it released in her powers she was not conscious of—power to be happy, power of observation, reflection and application which made her a great deal more of a woman than she would otherwise have been.

This is a long introduction to a short speech. I am only going to add two or three ways that I have found successful in dealing with volunteers. In the first place the development of volunteer service is an intensely personal thing. You are called to it by a person; some person must initiate you into its mysteries: I feel that it must always be like this—from person to person. No mechanical rules can build it up. The spirit must be caught, it cannot be taught. No campaign for numbers can be perma-

nently successful, unless followed by close personal work. Loyalty is not a sudden enthusiasm but a slow growth, nourished on hard work and many sacrifices. Then we must begin by using the case method with a volunteer. We must study the volunteers as carefully as we do our clients; learn their peculiar gifts, limitations and possibilities, and fit them carefully to their tasks. No general rules can serve here. A person must do it for a person.

Secondly, we must realize that the very conditions and limitations of volunteer service give it its unique value. We volunteers have comparatively little time to give, because so much is claimed by other things. By study, friendships, home duties and ties, business and pleasure; but it is just these "other things" that give the freshness and orginalty which is the very breadth of life in social work. The knowledge of the housekeeper, the experience of the business man, the skill of the lawyer or doctor, the culture that comes from study and travel, the youthful spirit and charm of the youngest volunteer; these are the things which cannot be measured, but which give depth and richness. They are still to a certain extent a buried treasure, and many of those who possess them are too modest to realize their worth and usefulness, but we must never feel content until we have secured a generous contribution from this store. The demand is not so much for more of our time, but for all of our intelligence, the full force of our personality, the strength of our will, the utmost of our devotion. There are such reservoirs of service, of capability, of intellectual and spiritual possibility, that are not now being called upon. We are made conscious of them in ourselves under the pressure of a crisis, or in contact with a stimulating personality. This winter has brought some of this hidden store to light.

Now, if we are to specialize on volunteers and train them intensively, if we insist on this closely personal touch, the trained workers cannot do it all. Volunteer leadership must be found; the movement cannot go on without it. Where we have it there will be growth, where it is lacking not much can be done. It seems to me one of our short-comings that we do not make our aims and ideals clearer to those who serve us. Volunteers have worked for years without grasping the inner meaning of the task we are asking them to share.

If our goal is the upbuilding, restoring and conserving of all that is best in family life so that it becomes a vital force in the community, it should be kept constantly before the volunteer and the immediate "thing to be done" should be seen in relation to a plan which transcends all mere material accomplish-

ment. We must have ideals and we must make them articulate.

There are various ways to initiate the volunteer more quickly and more surely than we are now doing. Besides friendly visiting and tasks in and out of the office, the volunteer must be given case work—just as much of it as possible. There seems to me no reason why intelligent volunteers should not make first investigations under the direction of a secretary. This winter dire necessity has forced the secretaries to use volunteers in this way and has given the volunteer courage to be so used. Now the point is not "getting things done" but the developing of people, and the process is reciprocal.

An unusually intelligent woman came to us this winter and offered us a great deal of her time. She had been a teacher, and did some splendid work tutoring backward children, beginning with one boy and finally having a little class of five. As friendly visitor she took hold of a family and got some hard things done by sheer force of keeping at it; but when it came to the slower process of rehabilitation she had little patience with our ways. It was so much quicker to do things for people than to wait to bring them to do them for themselves. Much explanation failed to convince her. One day she was asked to make all the reference visits on a case following a first interview. She came back with the plan in her mind anxious to explain to the secretary all that the secretary had long been trying to explain to her.

I was recently talking to a volunteer from another city who had undertaken a new piece of work outside the C. O. S. field. It involved some case work and I was struck with the note of enthusiasm with which she spoke of it. "I never did anything but friendly visiting before." Do not let us keep the volunteer from this enriching and enlightening experience.

Getting volunteers together in groups—either in classes for reading or discussion, or for the right kind of a meeting, is another way of helping them to understand.

The volunteer who has been won in this way will go on in loyalty to the cause and become a recruiting centre for others. The time for testing a volunteer's loyalty is often when we lose her,—when she leaves the place where the personal ties have been made. Some of our best volunteers, those we are most proud of, are ours no longer. I have in mind two who have married and moved to other cities. One was a member of my class for young volunteers and had worked for us for one short winter. Her faithfulness to the work assigned to her, and her sweet, winning personality, made her a real asset to the district. The following autumn we met after the summer's holiday and I told her that I hoped she meant to go back to the district. She

told me that she was soon to be married and would leave Baltimore, but added eagerly: "Couldn't I be a volunteer in Atlanta?" I promised that I would write Mr. Logan about her and did so—considerately allowing her a month for adjustment to her new surroundings. Two days ago one of the Atlanta workers spoke to me of her and said: "She did not wait for your letter; she arrived in Atlanta on Saturday and reported for duty on Wednesday."

The other volunteer had worked for us for perhaps four years and in that time had put new life into a district where there was practically no volunteer help. She was the finest and most effective recruiting officer I have ever known. Her enjoyment of her work was contagious—others wanted to do it just from seeing her. One of the first things she did when she settled herself in her now home was to look for the charity organization society. "I heard there was one but I could not find it," she said, with full appreciation of the humor of a C. O. S. light hidden under a bushel. She was quite ready to start a society. She took the trouble to come to Baltimore to confer with Mr. McLean about it, and was delighted to learn that reorganization was in process. She eagerly allied herself with the society and gave generously of her time and experience. This winter her town, like many others, started an emergency relief bureau. The people who were responsible for it were not in sympathy with charity organization principles but recognized the ability of the Baltimore volunteer and made her chairman of the committee. She insisted on the necessity of a trained worker and won her point. With a supply of clothing, shoes, and canned goods inside and a line of applicants outside, she had the courage to lock the doors and come to Baltimore for a worker. Through her courage and fine co-operative spirit and high intelligence the emergency relief movement joined hands with the charity organization movement, and instead of two agencies crossing each other's tracks and duplicating effort, the town has now two districts working on sound principles in complete harmony.

It was a statesman's grasp of the volunteer's place. It is a big work—a rich field, only half realized. I was thinking of it as I read that most suggestive article by an anonymous author in the March *Atlantic,* called "Whither." In it is this sentence. "There has been great waste of unused powers in the later decades of our period of progress. Half only, and the lesser half, of the human being has been called into activity; the better part of the human faculties have been among the 'unemployed.'" How

can we employ these powers? How can we make people realize the full meaning of those words of Browning's:

"Ah, but a man's reach must exceed his grasp,
Or what's a heaven for?"

AN EXPERIMENT IN TRYING TO GRADE DISTRICT VISITORS

Gertrude Vaile, Executive Secretary, Division of Charity and Correction, Department of Social Welfare, City and County of Denver, Colo.

This subject of *Tests of Efficiency* has come to me this spring from the angle of civil service requirements. The Denver Civil Service Board is requiring that city employees be graded every six months according to their efficiency as shown by quantity of work done, quality of work, character and habits which affect efficiency. As supervisor of relief it is my task to grade the district visitors. I will explain that although ours is a public outdoor relief office we are trying to do a charity organization society sort of case work.

The test of efficiency in any line I suppose is based on the accomplishment of what we set out to do, and the cost in labor and money of doing it. What then is the task of the district visitor? I think it is not the whole range of social work—that it is not the organization of community forces except in respect to particular cases, that it is not the interpretation of case work in community terms. Those things are rather the duty of the secretary than of the district visitor. Of course any good social worker must keep in mind those broader aspects, and I did finally, after all the detailed marks were made, add yet another general heading which I called "social vision"—the teacher's estimate, so to speak, after the examination papers were ended. But, specifically, I believe the task of the district visitor is just *service to individuals in need,* to the end that people who are broken in health, character, courage, and fortunes may have such humane care as they need, and may be, so far as possible, released from their handicaps so that they may become the best they can be. The final test of the visitor's efficiency is the accomplishment of that end.

I am not going to discuss the methods used to measure the quantity of the work done. I suppose we all have some form of report that shows more or less satisfactorily the grist of the

day's work as dealt with by the different workers. The quality of work is far more difficult to measure. Of course we all hope and believe that our case work is really better than our record writing, yet the case histories do stand as pretty effective examination papers, showing what the visitor thought important enough to record, and what was done about it. They do also show in a remarkable way the spirit of the worker, and they are usually the only available way of judging the results attained, though some results, of course, can only be read by the power of imagination in the very fact of silence. I based my tests chiefly on a study of case histories. A teacher friend suggested to me that the more it was possible to sub-divide the matters to be considered into the details of which they were composed, the more true the marks were likely to be, and certainly the more convincing and helpful. I also discovered that I had to distinguish between the elements of the work and the qualities of the worker, carrying the two along side by side.

This outline I submit with very humble apologies as very tenative and only once and imperfectly tried out:

The elements of the work I considered as six: investigation, treatment, co-operation, use of material relief, final results to the family, and record-keeping. For the qualities of the worker I made headings of promptness, tact, resourcefulness, observation, a quality which I called "sense of essential facts," and another which I called "power of analysis and synthesis."

I will speak of these qualities of the worker. Promptness I subdivided into initial promptness, and promptness in following up. The first can be an absolute requirement. The second depends to a distressing degree upon the pressure of work, and there I realized how impossible it would be for anyone to grade a worker from case records who did not know intimately all the handicaps of the work.

Tact and resourcefulness certainly cannot be judged solely from records, yet tact can be read in letters, and also to a considerable measure in the written reports of interviews. Some things recorded could have been learned by point blank questions, but some could only be drawn out as the visitor secured really sympathetic response from the applicant. Illustrations of resourcefulness crop out in the occasional use of some unusual resource, as in the case of that baffling woman who could give no definite information, and who knew nothing of any of her relatives except one who was dead. I thought the worker rather resourceful to ask the cemetery authorities who was the undertaker and learn from him who were present at the funeral. It immediately clarified the whole situation. And delightful gleams

of tact and resourcefulness appear at times when the record shows people persuaded to do things they had not at first been willing to do.

Under the head of observation I considered the selection of details, the fullness, the accuracy. By that "sense of essential facts" I mean something different from observation. Where observation sees clearly what is in sight this other power has the logic and imagination to realize what needs to be known and seek it out. How often has a visitor come in with a wealth of detail sympathetically gathered, and still somehow failed to answer some essential question that must be settled before a wise decision can be made. This sense of essential facts is also shown in the ability to take short cuts, and in time of pressure to omit the less important matters and go straight to those things that will quickest carry the work furthest.

As to that power of analysis and synthesis which is necessary for any true interpretation or constructive planning, we have found very helpful in our office two case analysis sheets. One we devised and one was suggested by Miss Caroline Bedford, then of the Russell Sage Foundation office. Her's was a problem sheet of four columns with dates, showing "the problem," "remarks," "plan of treatment," and "results." This listing up in detail of what is the matter and what is done about it and when, seems to me a magnificent test of efficiency, and a prod to the worker that is simply unendurable with lagging or ineffectual work. The other sheet pictures the general situation with its needs and resources, showing in spaces conveniently ruled off the (1) housing, (2) neighborhood environment, (3) health of man, woman and children, (4) character and temperament of each, (5) ability of each, shown in earning capacity, home making, school records, (6) relationships within the household—that element which is the surest rock on which to build when it is right and which can wreck any plan when it is wrong, (7) natural resources of helpfulness, (8) income itemized, (9) budget estimated and itemized. The supervisor and the case visitor make out these analyses separately and then go over them together in conference. It has been a very helpful test of ability to analyze a situation and think out a well based plan.

Turning from those personal qualities of the worker to the work, the ground of study is a little clearer. In my allotted time I cannot take that up in detail, but I want to mention two points. The use of material relief I think needs very careful analysis. We are administrators either of public funds or of the private contributions of self-sacrifice. Our use of money is under fire by the popular magazines and by the efficiency experts. Do we

give inadequately and allow suffering to continue needlessly? Do we give money wastefully without proper investigation or without exercising due resourcefulness to find a better way out? Or is the relief really fitted to the need? And, finally, that supreme question of the result to the family after all our work. There are people so splendid that they rally quickly from trouble with small reference to any part we may have played, and others who with the most unsparing efforts and carefully thought out plans can never be made strong and independent. We cannot grade our results always according to apparent success or failure, but rather on the basis of what was reasonably possible.

I confess that this attempt to grade district visitors by this outline was not wholly satisfactory, but it did at least make some things clearer, and proved interesting and helpful both to the supervisor and the visitors. So if it did not truly estimate efficiency, we hope it increased it, which is the ultimate object of all testing.

DISCUSSION: The following participated in the discussion of "Tests of a Social Worker's Efficiency": Frank J. Bruno, Minneapolis, Minn.; Walter W. Whitson, Orange, N. J.; Mrs. W. H. Wait, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Mary E. Richmond, New York City; J. W. Magruder, Baltimore, Md.; Charles P. Kelly, Erie, Pa.

CHILDREN

PROGRAM

General session, p. 92.
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REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE: A COMMUNITY PLAN IN CHILDREN'S WORK*

C. C. Carstens, Chairman; Secretary and General Agent, Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Boston

I. An Outline of the Task

The diversity of race, of social interests and of political development, which is almost the most important feature to be noticed when we come to examine carefully the political and social institutions of the United States, have led to a diversity in children's laws and children's institutions that is to the casual student and beginner in social work positively bewildering. While this diversity yields somewhat, upon more careful analysis, it is none the less so great that at the various conferences of this and other bodies, it would seem as though we were not all speaking the same language.

Diversity of interests and of method are not always to be decried. A uniformity of method may be merely a dead uniformity, while a diversity of method may become a vital striving after standards and results that are alive to the needs of the day and successful in meeting them. For these many years diversity of method has been the most noticeable factor in children's work in the various states, but long steps have been taken in the development of a national spirit, and our social institutions are beginning to feel an impetus leading them also to consider ways and means that are national in their form and scope if not federal in their scheme of organization.

*General session Sunday, May 16, 8:15 P. M.

In the development of children's work in the United States, it is the opinion of many who have been active in one or the other phase of the subject, that the time has come for giving shape to some general plan which shall have gathered together the successful experiences of various states and cities, shall weave them into a harmonious whole and make it possible for those who are working at the development of our various institutions in our newer communities, or who are interested in re-shaping the children's institutions of the older states, to see what various forms of service it is necessary for communities to provide for the proper safeguarding of the children's interests. This is in a measure a pioneer task although much social history has already been written in separate chapters, and considering the subject as a whole only certain fundamentals of the questions involved can be presented, for a thoroughgoing treatment would mean the writing of volumes, for which the chairman of this committee has not been chosen and for which he does not claim to have the necessary knowledge or aptitude.

II. Its Difficulties.

To present to this conference a consistent plan for the care and protection of children might without very much hazard be undertaken by any student of the social science gifted with a constructive imagination, but baffling difficulties arise on all sides when one comes to shape a plan for the whole country which will have regard for the natural development of our institutions, disregard their idiosyncrasies, and seek to utilize the successful experience of one community in the re-shaping of the next.

Two alternative methods presented themselves for the shaping of this committee report. First, the report might be a composite of the opinions of the various members. It was not too much to expect that if a report could have the backing in all its details of all the members of this committee, it would become the starting point in the development of many new children's institutions. It soon became apparent, however, that to accomplish this would require much more than a year's time, many personal conferences, and would then perhaps remain little better than a piece of patchwork. The other alternative therefore had to be chosen. The chairman has drafted the report but has availed himself of the ideas and suggestions of the other committee members, has incorporated them in many instances into the warp and woof of the structure, and has sought to make it one consistent whole, but because of that fact, it is the chairman's view of the proper development rather than that of any other single member.

While your chairman has sought and obtained through conference and correspondence many valuable suggestions from members of the committee and others interested in the general proposal to which this report is devoted, it was inevitable that differences of opinion should arise in the minds of some of the committee members as to the wisdom of certain proposals or the amount of emphasis laid upon definite details. The chairman therefore must assume sole and complete responsibility for the suggestions and conclusions of this report, though he by no means deserves sole credit for their content since thoughts and suggestions made by others have been freely incorporated.

III. Fundamental Principles.

The history of child-helping work has been but one phase, though an important one, of the development of our social institutions. It shares with other social organizations certain principles that would seem to be fundamental in all of our communities' activities. A few of the most important of them follow. While they are themselves still subject to question by some who are engaged in social work, they are now accepted by the majority as almost axiomatic.

1. As an administrative area, the nation as a whole and the federal government acting for it as its administrative machine, has but a limited use. Investigation, publicity and community education seem to have been the federal government's work up to this time, although there is a clearly marked tendency to enlarge the scope of the federal powers. The Federal Children's Bureau is the most recent development of the nation's interest in work for children, and the development of its program deserves the interest and helpful co-operation of all the children's agencies throughout the land.

2. The state is the most useful area for the development of standards and machinery in the care of children of whatever type. In populous areas the county may well assume certain administrative functions, or, in a dense population, the city. In certain New England states the town or a union of towns and, in certain sparsely populated states, a union of counties may serve this purpose.

3. Subject to the limitations which the federal and state constitutions have for the time being established, there is no task which the community in its public capacity may not undertake and under certain circumstances should not undertake. The trend of social thought is clearly in the direction of broadening the interests and activities of the community in its public capacity. There are still those among us who would go slow in help-

ing on such a development, but there are only a few who will now deny the public the right to undertake all forms of child-helping work when it is done ineffectively or not at all from private resources.

4. For the near future public boards or departments should devote themselves to such children's work as is based on principles that are well established, require the more permanent care, are more general in their application or contain an element of compulsion or control, while private organizations should seek development in directions that are more experimental, require more temporary care, are more unusual in their application or are carried on with the co-operation of the families benefited.

5. The division of responsibility in the care of children caused by the granting of public subsidies to private charity or by adding public officials to private boards of trustees, is against good public policy. Of all the principles that this report is undertaking to state, this one is likely to arouse the most controversy, for theory and practice are in this particular the farthest apart, but while there are sometimes compelling reasons for entering into a plan of public subsidies to private charities or for continuing it under certain circumstances, this is rarely done without embarrassments to both public and private interests.

6. When a private organization has clearly demonstrated the value of an experiment, it is in the community's interest that such a service, in order that it may have a wider application or be rendered in a larger area, be extended to the state as soon as the state is in position to equip itself for such service. All too frequently private societies are still standing in the way of the public's development by seeking to hold on to what as a rule can have only a limited application while under private direction. It is one of the important functions of a private society from time to time to see what functions that it has been undertaking may to advantage be transferred to the state as a whole, in order that the service may be broadened. For the proper development of such work, it may even then be wise that public and private bodies should for a period of time carry on the same or similar tasks side by side.

7. No public or private department in children's work is well equipped without a staff of social investigators and medical and mental experts who have the special education and training for their tasks at least equivalent to the equipment that teachers are expected to have for their tasks. Such a staff must in addition be under the supervision of an experienced social worker. The time has well gone by when anyone with a love of children

is any more trained for social work with children or for children than for teaching or for dealing with children's ailments or deficiencies. Special courses of training in children's work are in demand and give emphasis to this principle.

8. The development of a large number of social enterprises in our various communities without much recognition of their inter-relation makes necessary a clearing house for information about social agencies just as a confidential exchange is needed regarding social work with families. State boards of charity or state boards of control would seem to be the natural bodies to turn to for such a service. They are or should be placed in position to get the facts and should be ready to give explicit information to all who have a genuine interest, in order that a community's development in social work may as soon as possible cease to be haphazard. Until the state is able to equip itself to render this service, local and private service should be developed.

IV. Classification of Tasks

There came to the attention of one of the Massachusetts child-helping societies the case of a family consisting of a mother with four children, a daughter of 16, a boy of 15, and two younger children, a boy of 13 and a girl of 11. There was also living in the family a man to whom the mother claimed to have been married but who was not recognized by the children as stepfather. The 16-year-old daughter was much above the average in intelligence and interest in the other children's welfare, and it was she who finally brought the matter to the attention of her Sunday school superintendent and through him the services of a private children's society were enlisted. The pseudo-stepfather beat the children, the mother neglected them by leaving them alone days at a time when it was presumed that she was away in another state for immoral purposes. The 15-year-old had some time previously gone off with a neighbor's bicycle on which he had had the ride of his life. The children were brought before the court, were declared neglected and placed in the care of a private society working under the auspices of the church to which they belonged. The question inevitably arises in the treatment of this case: were these children dependent or neglected, and was the 15-year-old boy perhaps a delinquent?

The case problems in children's work if at all complicated involve dealing with those falling in several groups, but for convenience in classification and administration, communities must equip themselves for the care of (1) dependent, (2) neglected, (3) delinquent, (4) defective. Though a child may, in fact,

belong in all four classes at one time, there is no advantage in eliminating this classification.

V. Dependent Children

Many causes contribute to the membership of this group. Among the most important of them are death, illness or accident, illegitimacy, abandonment or some other social condition which makes the parents or surviving parent unable to provide for them for a temporary or permanent period.

In eleven states, of which Michigan was the leader, a public service has been provided by the state with a state school as the centre. In Massachusetts a department of the State Board of Charity entitled the Division of Minor Wards has furnished this service without a school or any institution. New Jersey has a State Board of Children's Guardians, a similar organization is found in the District of Columbia, and Indiana has county boards of children's guardians. A board somewhat modelled after the New Jersey Board of Children's Guardians with very much enlarged powers seems to be the best type of organization to become the nucleus for the most helpful form of development.

The state board of children's guardians should be an unpaid board of not less than seven persons appointed by the governor, the board to choose its own executive head without political interference, and he in turn to choose his assistants with the approval of the board. This board must equip itself

(1) To supervise and perhaps to administer public aid to mothers with dependent children in their own homes.

(2) To receive into its care as wards of the state all for whom a petition is filed with it and whom upon social inquiry it seems advantageous to accept as dependents. No court action shall be deemed necessary to make these dependents the wards of the state but they shall not be permanently entrusted to any family or other institution without court proceedings for guardianship or adoption.

(3) To place out or place in institutions for temporary or permanent care all who are dependent for any reason. For this purpose a special staff of trained visitors is needed so that this, which is at present the most important part of a state board of children's guardians' work, may have ample facilities for the task.

(4) To enforce maintenance proceedings against the putative father and to give illegitimate children a measure of the opportunities enjoyed by other children, the board shall become the

guardian of all illegitimate children *ipso facto*, and, wherever possible, without removal from the mother.

(5) To offer suitable children for adoption into suitable families. No finer social service can be rendered than fitting an attractive, homeless child into suitable childless family, but it is difficult to see how a greater wrong could be done a child than to undertake adoption proceedings carelessly in its behalf.

(6) To become the licensing agency for maternity homes and maternity hospitals and to inspect such institutions. While this service might be attached to various other departments with almost equal justice, the service is distinctively a social one and requires the knowledge and experience of child-helping workers.

(7) To maintain a receiving home or homes if needed for children that are not suitable for being placed out, or, if they have been tried in an individual home, to be further placed out.

The state board of charity or state board of control should have supervision of the state board of children's guardians with access to all its records of relief, placement, adoption and inspection. The approval of the state board of charity should be required for the incorporation of all private societies and institutions dealing with children, and such societies and institutions, whether incorporated or not, and the work connected with the placing-out of children under the auspices of these institutions, should be subject to the inspection of this state board of charity or board of control.

No more vexing question arises in the proper development of children's work than the relationship which private effort shall sustain to such a public body, but if the principles previously enunciated hold, it would seem to follow that private societies and institutions for dependent children should seek development in providing for the exceptional child problem or for temporary relief. But where the standards of the private organizations are satisfactory, the state should give them as wide an opportunity as possible to develop their own resources and their own methods in selected or in lines parallel to the work of the state board, for the purpose of stimulating interest, developing standards and undertaking new experiments. It will be many years before our public bodies have reached the state in their development where continuity of good standards is assured without having in the state a considerable group of interested citizens who have themselves learned what good standards are and who may become a bulwark for their permanent maintenance in children's work.

VI. Neglected Children

The problems of neglect involve instances of physical cruelty, physical or medical neglect, non-support, separate support, desertion of wife and children, immoral conduct, begging on the part of parents or of children, and all the other weaknesses of family life requiring the protection of children that are due to sickness, poverty, ignorance, unemployment, intemperance, feeble-mindedness, or any other cause.

At the present time the work in behalf of neglected children is largely in the hands of private societies that are either entitled humane societies or societies for the prevention of cruelty to children. Since the establishment and development of juvenile courts, these courts are clearly showing a tendency to assume the protection of the child in its home as one of their own functions. The problems of neglect involve (1) those requiring advice, guidance, supervision or threat but not court discipline; (2) those impossible of solution without some court action.

As the work falling in the first group is much more extensive than that of the second, the juvenile court itself does not seem to be the best agency for undertaking all the protective work in behalf of neglected children. It is better that the state board of children's guardians be equipped with a staff of agents to investigate all serious complaints, advise and warn in all instances not suitable for court action, turn over to other cooperating agencies for their supervision the less flagrant instances, and supervise the more flagrant instances of the group through their own agents. These agents should also be entrusted with the investigation and preparation of the cases that require court action under the second group. When in the judgment of the court the children may be returned to the parents on trial, the case may be entrusted to the agents of the state board of children's guardians in a probationary capacity. When, however, the children must be removed from their parents, they should be committed to the state board of children's guardians to be placed out by them in new family homes or in such institutions as the needs of the child require, either permanently or until such time as the family has reached a satisfactory standard for the child's return.

As with dependent children, so with the neglected,—private societies undertaking child protection should in many communities be encouraged to continue on lines paralleling the protective work of the state board of children's guardians, and should in all communities where such organizations exist, undertake the more educational, experimental and preventive work in the protection of children for the purpose of developing good standards

in the communities at large and of safeguarding such standards in the state board of children's guardians. The juvenile court should not be expected to investigate neglect complaints in order that the functions of the court may be kept free for the more distinctive work of probationary care of the delinquent child. Private societies and institutions are rendering excellent service in many instances both in the investigation of complaints and in the successful presentation of cases before the court; but because of that fact they should have no prior claim upon the permanent custody of the child unless they are also equipped to meet a need in a better way than the state itself can meet it. Where private societies ask for the custody of a neglected child, it should be committed to the state board of children's guardians and placed by them in the care of the private society or institution because of their best meeting the need of the individual case in the community's scheme of child protection.

VII. Delinquent Children

The rural portion of every state as well as every city, town or village should have the services of a court organized and conducted on the established principles of our best juvenile courts. No juvenile court is in position to render satisfactory service without being closely co-ordinated with a domestic relations court or with the domestic relations session of the inferior, district, or common pleas court of the county or district, the two having a joint record system and joint social service. The geographical jurisdiction of the juvenile court should cover a district, a county or a group of counties with sessions in various parts of the district, large enough so that the judge of the court may devote most or all of his service on the bench to juvenile and domestic relations cases.

The probation service of the court should consist of men and women equipped in number and variety sufficient to meet all the needs, paid from public funds and selected by the judge from a list chosen by civil service examinations or approved by a state probation commission. Probation officers should utilize private and volunteer assistance but should not be dependent for the bulk of the supervision of any important group of cases upon such volunteer service. The social service attached to the court should be extensive enough so as to make it possible that all complaints, if it is deemed necessary, be investigated before the matter goes to the clerk of the court for the issuing of warrant or summons, and except in emergency cases no such warrant or summons should be issued without giving the chief probation officer or his deputy an opportunity to investigate.

Commitments should be made to public institutions or departments only; either to one of the various state juvenile reformatories or to the state board of children's guardians, whenever it is deemed best to have a child placed out at once in a new foster home or entrusted by this board to a private society or private juvenile reformatory. The public juvenile reformatories should serve all parts of the state and should be under the control of one board of trustees. Commitments may be made during minority to this board of trustees who should have the power of sending the child to any one of the institutions under their management. This board of trustees should likewise have the power of transferring children from one reformatory institution to another and if necessary to the adult reformatory, and should have the power of paroling juveniles either by their return to their own families under supervision, or, if the family is unsuitable, to be placed out in another private home.

Whenever a delinquent has been committed to the state board of children's guardians, this board should have wide latitude, without court review or other interference, in determining his disposition, either in a new foster home or, upon their own motion or, upon the application of a private society or institution, in their care, whenever the state board believes that the child's need of discipline and re-education can be best met by the care that such private society or private juvenile reformatory is able to provide. Such private societies or institutions should receive no public funds, and whether incorporated or not, should have all their work subject to the supervision and inspection of the state board of charity.

VIII. Domestic Relations Courts

A domestic relations court should be organized to include in its legal jurisdiction all cases involving the domestic relations of the various members of the family as well as all offences committed by adults against children, and should include especially the following cases:

1. Involving cruelty or neglect of children.
2. Of adults contributing to the delinquence of children.
3. Of non-support or desertion.
4. Of separate maintenance and custody or divorce.
5. Of heinous crimes against children.
6. Of complaints of wife against husband, or vice versa.

Only when a domestic relations court has been organized with substantially the above jurisdiction, may the juvenile court advantageously be merged into it so as to become one session of

that court, entitled the Juvenile Session of the Domestic Relations Court, the judicial, clerical, investigation, probation, medical and alienist service being the same for both.

When the juvenile court or the judge of the juvenile session of the domestic relations court has made a permanent commitment to the state board of children's guardians, or to the trustees of the juvenile reformatories, the action of neither body should be subject to review by the court. Sufficient power should be given to such bodies to safeguard the parents' interests by absolute discharge or discharge on parole, or when the children's interests require, by making suitable permanent disposition for the child's bringing up. The trustees of these institutions and their executives have the opportunity of knowing the children intimately, of learning their needs, and of meeting them with plans that should not be disturbed by court review.

IX. County Boards of Public Welfare

A state board of children's guardians requires local administrative agents stationed in various smaller geographical areas. In states or sections of states with a dense or average population, this area should be the county, but when there is a large city or where there is a considerable population in the county outside of the city, it should be dealt with as a separate unit. In sparsely populated states, the unit may consist of several counties. Each of these units should have a local board of public welfare, in general, like the board first organized in Kansas City, to perform the various functions of social service, such as the care of public health, the relief of the poor, education, child protection, probation and recreation. The standards of service provided by this board as far as they would not be embodied in law would be prescribed by the state boards of health, of charity, education and of children's guardians. The present method of keeping these various services separate has made it possible to keep mediocre public servants at these tasks. The county, which is on the whole the most feasible administrative unit, has for that and other reasons become a discredited department of our government. By centralizing the work and its responsibilities, a better grade of public servant can be hired and the whole social service task so co-ordinated as to render each department much more effective than before.

The county board of public welfare should consist of not to exceed seven members; not more than two to be chosen in any one year. They should be unpaid and chosen by vote of the people as our boards of education are now chosen in most of the cities of the country. This board should choose an executive,

not from among their number, who should give all his time to the work and who should choose his deputies and assistants subject to the approval of the local board. The local board of public welfare should act as the agent of the state board of children's guardians in investigating all instances of dependence or neglect, in administering public aid to mothers, and in investigating maternity homes and maternity hospitals, but all children committed to the state board of children's guardians should be placed by agents of the state board and be subject to the visitation of a state department.

X. *Defectives*

1. *Mental Defect and Epilepsy.* All unprotected idiots, imbeciles, morons and epileptics require commitment before reaching the age of adolescence, but when the community is unable to provide for them all, preference should be given to women and girls of child-bearing age. Such commitments should be made by the juvenile or the domestic relations court for an indeterminate period, and they should be made to that department of the state which has control of mental defectives and should be assigned to the institution best suited to their individual needs. All the homes and private institutions for the care of defectives used in part or in whole should be subject to the inspection of this department of the state. Attached to this department there should be a board of parole from among its membership, clothed with powers of return of the defectives to their own homes under supervision, of placing them out under supervision in other homes, or of absolute discharge. This department should have a staff of trained field workers for the supervision of those on parole and for the development of a detailed program of protection in the various communities of the state, so that the work of the special classes of the public and private schools, the protection that families are able to provide in their own homes for their unfortunate members and the work of the state institutions may be correlated into a complete scheme of community protection.

Delinquents who have been certified as defectives by the alienists attached to the courts should be committed to the same state department for defectives and placed by them in the appropriate institution and be under the control and supervision of that body, to be paroled by them when that board shall be satisfied that they may be safely entrusted to the community.

2. *The Blind.* The care of the blind is very largely an educational problem and should be entrusted to the state department of education. Every state requires a training school which

shall provide them with the training and education for which they are by nature fitted. Such a state school is, however, much more needed for the service of the rural communities than for the training of the blind city child. Each city department of schools should equip special classes in various parts of the city where blind pupils and those having partial sight may go for individual instruction and training and which should not be differentiated from the classes for the seeing, except in the method of instruction, in order that seeing and sightless may as rapidly as possible mingle together on the same basis. This department of education should also provide a staff of workers for after-care and supervision of the blind in their own communities very much as school departments are now beginning to provide for vocational guidance and direction of the seeing who have passed through its schools. Further it should have a staff of social workers for the conservation of eyesight which should have for its purpose the development of preventive measures and the creation of sentiment for the rigid enforcement of laws against ophthalmia neonatorum, against accidents, and other causes leading to blindness.

3. *The Deaf Mute.* Work for this group of defectives should be under the direction of the state department of education. With this group, as with the blind, an institution for the care and training of children from sparsely populated communities, and public school classes where there are enough children to make this plan feasible, must be developed side by side. Whereever possible the day school plan should be encouraged and the children live at home, in order that they may be differentiated as little as possible from the other members of the community of their own age.

4. *The Crippled Child.* Every state needs a public institution for the medical care and training of the physical cripple, but his care and training are largely a problem of education and should be placed under the direction of the state department of education. The work of this institution should aim to accomplish three things:

First. That all may be done for the crippled child that medical and surgical science can do to restore him to normal health and stature.

Second. That he may receive all the intellectual training he may reasonably acquire.

Third. That he may be taught habits of industry and may be brought to a position of self-support whenever possible.

Access to such an institution should be made easy and no child should be deemed a pauper because of his admission

to such an institution; but the institution is intended to be both a hospital and a training school and not an asylum for cripples. A staff of field workers for vocational direction and placement and for after-care should be provided so that whenever possible before the cripple has reached his majority he may have been integrated into the community on a self-supporting basis. But, if this has become impossible, he should be transferred to institutions for adult dependents.

XI. Infant Care

No community plan in children's work is complete withoout making provision for the protection of infants. The success of this work depends upon prompt and accurate birth registration. County and city boards of public welfare should provide nurses for pre-natal work; should safeguard the milk supply and furnish nurses who, in co-operation with physician or midwife, should undertake instructive nursing in the homes of all those who are not under the care of nurses supplied by the families themselves. Private societies for infant welfare may very well undertake the exceptional cases of nursing and of convalescence for mother and child, but no community may consider itself equipped for infant care until it has all the essentials attached to the public service.

XII. Medical Inspection

In this field as well as in a number of others, the interests of the social agency overlap with those of the physician and of the school. Although the schools have undertaken welfare responsibilities, these have not yet become such an integral part of the school program as to call for systematic service on the part of experienced physicians. A careful examination of every school child should be made by an experienced general practitioner at periodical times in the child's school life, not less frequently than once a year, and by specialists when he deems it necessary. The details of such examinations should be recorded for permanent use; the physical needs of the child should be reported to the parents with recommendations; and nurses and school visitors should be entrusted with the task of seeing that the needs be understood by the parents and that as far as possible the remedies be provided.

XIII. Conclusion

Long before this stage in the report has been reached, the condition is forced upon us that a community plan which will provide for all the contingencies of child life is so extensive as

to reach into almost all the departments of a community's organization. Only some of the most serious aspects have been discussed. The report does not undertake to discuss religious, intellectual, physical, vocational and industrial training and education, amusements, recreation and athletic sports, and a number of other sides of a child's development that are of the greatest importance when we come to consider his whole life; nor has the distinct preventive work of the community, which is beginning to receive great attention from social workers with children, found a place in this program. It is the hope of the Chairman of your Committee that this imperfect presentation may be the beginning of a more adequate statement and that out of this humble beginning there may come an impetus for a children's charter with a series of drafts of laws consistent with each other, to which our various states may turn for direction when they are ready to take steps forward for the better care of the next generation.

A CHILDREN'S CHARTER

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Six years ago the White House Conference set forth in a definite statement the principles governing the care of dependent children as agreed upon by representative social workers. In the one department of child welfare work which it considered its conclusions have been of great value. Later, the National Child Labor Committee drafted a standard child labor bill which was adopted by the United States Commissioners on Uniform Laws and has been enacted into law in part by a number of the states. Again, under the direction of Bernard Flexner, a model juvenile court law has been drafted and submitted to the country, having already been adopted by Monroe county, New York, where Rochester is situated. These three efforts to standardize certain child welfare activities show that social workers have come to a realization of the need of a definite program, based upon accepted principles, whose adoption will result in a greater degree of uniformity.

In our complex political organization, with power divided among nation, states, counties, townships, and municipalities, with half-a-hundred legislatures and hundreds of city councils constantly passing laws and ordinances, it is no wonder that we have built up a legislative structure designed for the benefit of

children that exhibits every type of mental architecture, ancient, mediæval and modern, and can best be described as rambling, for when one goes into it he can never be certain where he will come out or that he will ever come out at all. The building up of a body of protective legislation is a jerky and uncertain process, slow and evolutionary as a rule; and yet if the enactment of one state happens to strike a popular chord at the psychological moment it is quite likely to be accepted by the others in quick succession. The mother's pension laws are a typical example. There are many others. A good many years ago one of the states passed this law:

> It shall be unlawful for any person having the care, custody or control of any child under the age of 14 years to exhibit, use or employ, or in any manner, or under any pretense sell, apprentice, give away, let out or otherwise dispose of any such child to any person, in or for the vocation or occupation, service or purpose of singing, playing on musical instruments, dancing, rope or wire walking, begging or peddling, or as a gymnast, contortionist, rider or acrobat, in any place whatsoever, or as an actor or performer in any concert hall or room where intoxicating liquors are sold or given away, or in any variety theatre, or for any illegal, obscene, indecent or immoral purpose, exhibition or practice whatsoever, or for or in any business exhibition or vocation, injurious to the health or dangerous to the life or limb of such child, or cause, procure or encourage such child to engage therein.

At first glance, this imposing act seems equal to any emergency. It sounds capable of taking care of itself and everybody else at the same time under any and all circumstances. One might well be afraid to bring it into action because, like Mark Twain's revolver, the thing is so blamed comprehensive. This law was adopted with very little change of wording by no fewer than 37 other states. Even Congress fell a victim to its charms and adopted it for the District of Columbia. Technically it's known as the "Mendicant and Acrobatic Act"; and as proof of its acrobatic ability, it first prevents a child's singing or dancing on the stage of a theatre and then jumps clear over its speaking on the stage. Hence we now have this ridiculous distinction in a number of states—freedom from restraint so long as a child takes a speaking part in a theatrical production but violation of the law the moment he begins to dance or sing.

In another state, sleeping at night in the open air makes a child liable to arrest—which suggests the slogan "Votes for Tuberculosis." Nearly every state in the Union has on its statute books today a great mass of legislation for the welfare of children. Some of it is archaic, some is extreme, much is lacking to make it coherent and comprehensive; and not a little is contradictory and unenforceable. Fundamentally, the difficulty lies in that old and vital defect of lack of vision, lack of the power

of co-ordination, failure to appreciate the essential inter-dependence of social activities. The relationship among the various branches of child welfare work is remarkably intimate but quite often escapes observation, and still oftener escapes realization by us workers, ourselves.

At the National Conference of Charities and Correction in Memphis, last May, our present child welfare legislation was described as chaotic and the compilation of a national children's charter was urged, to embody all the recognized principles of child-caring, which could be used as a guide by the several states and individuals generally. The need of such a charter is now generally admitted and at the recent conference on child labor in Washington there was a further expression of the increasing demand for a clear, complete and well-ordered program for child welfare in America. In Ohio two years ago all the state laws affecting children were codified by an official commission appointed by the governor. After suffering many amendments, the report of this commission was adopted by the legislature, and today Ohio has the only children's code in the United States. This marked the first official step taken in this country toward standardizing, simplifying and classifying child-welfare laws on a logical plan. The excellent example of Ohio should be followed by her sisters. This winter a commission submitted its report, restricted to only certain phases of child welfare, to the New Hampshire legislature. In Colorado the proposition was before the people at the election last November but was defeated.

So far, the practice in our states has been on the basis of individual effort. A society interested in education has a school bill introduced into the general assembly and lobbies actively for its passage. Another association, interested in dependent children, urges a mothers' pension bill. The child labor committee advocates a measure to protect children from premature toil. But each works independently of the others and ignores the close relation that exists among the different interests they seek to further. In their enthusiasm for improving conditions they forget such elementary principles as, for instance, that the periods for compulsory attendance at school, for prohibition of child labor and for public relief of children from want must be the same, and if one is extended the others must be changed to correspond. This applies to other branches of child-welfare work with equal force and shows that coöperation is essential to effective reform. Because of the absence of this essential our laws are in confusion and our work is seriously hampered. It would seem that our social legislation has been

enacted in this haphazard way that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet Isaiah saying, "Shall the thing framed say of him that framed it, 'he had no understanding?' "

Coöperation in the field of child welfare activity can probably be best promoted through the medium of a general children's charter, for in it there could be grouped all the recognized standards for work in behalf of children, the basic principles of each department could be clearly set forth, the best methods of dealing with each general problem prescribed, and the relationship among all the branches of social work for children revealed and emphasized. The task is not an easy one, and yet the elements of such a code fall into relatively simple groups.

First, and most important, there is the group of activities that might be listed under the heading "preservation of life and health," such as the segregation of the mentally unfit, to insure a reduction in the birth-rate of abnormal children; the requirement of physical fitness of applicants for the marriage license; freedom of mothers from toil before and after confinement; control of infant mortality; insistence upon responsibility for illegitimacy; birth registration; medical inspection of children in school, in institutions and at work; and suitable organization for the administration and control of these functions by the community.

The second group of activities might be termed, "protection from want, abuse and crime." It would include the care of dependent, neglected and defective children; protection from cruelty and premature toil; regulation of work conditions; correction of delinquency; fixing the age of consent; the administration of juvenile courts and probation; provisions for public relief; safeguarding property rights; protection from the use of objectionable merchandise, and the control of these functions by the community, whether administered by public or private agencies.

In the third and final group would be found the constructive efforts for the welfare of children under the heading, "education and recreation," comprising provisions for schools, compulsory attendance, industrial training, vocational guidance, social centers, parks and playgrounds, libraries, and their organization and administration.

The administration of all these functions, however, cannot be so clearly divided, because the agency having the control of an activity in one group may also have charge of another in a different group. For example, the public school authorities enforce the compulsory school attendance law and also, as

a rule, issue work permits to children under the child labor law. But the organization of state and local machinery for the administration of all branches of child welfare work and their inter-relations should be logically and simply revealed.

The preparation of the Ohio code and the fight for its enactment not only served to educate the public in matters of child welfare better than anything else that had ever been attempted in that state, but it brought the social workers together on a broad plaform, because every individual and society engaged in child welfare work was affected by its provisions; and their joint action on the general program, faulty though it was, has accomplished as much in the way of coöperation and broader vision on the part of the workers as the code itself has achieved in the field of legislative reform.

And now let us have a national children's charter—not a compilation of rigid laws recommended for universal enactment, but a collection of principles, a definition of standards and a clear setting-forth of the best methods to pursue and the best organization to adopt in each field of social work for children. In this way we shall promote a sane solution of all these related problems upon the sound basis of coöperation and increased intelligence.

This year, when the forces of reaction are trying to break down the standards so laboriously built up in decades past, a charter would help to keep intact these measures of protection and to inspire an even higher standard. A children's charter will not be a panacea—it will be simply an aid. It cannot relieve the suffering of children in institutions who have to scrub floors every day and then at the Sunday chapel service are made to sing, "To the Work! To the Work!" The object of the charter is not like that of one of the state conferences of charities and correction which innocently announces on its letterhead that it is a body "to promote the need of betterment"—in other words, to make conditions worse.

Legislation is today generally regarded as our most effective remedial agency. But as Prof. Kerby has well said, we must not lose sight of its relation to and dependence upon other powerful factors, the institutions and processes by which it must finally be molded and controlled. The danger is that we may rely upon legislation alone. While we struggle for laws that are essential to the structure of progress we should, at the same time, recognize the limitations of this legislative method and emphasize the co-ordinated duties of home, school, religion and government, holding to this broader conception and more complete vision of our function as parents, teachers and citizens.

The law *alone* is impotent and fatal to democracy—but, kept within its proper sphere as only one of the related social instruments for maintaining order, it is the best means for the expression and guarantee of social justice, and serves as the balance by which we weigh ideas. The children's charter must get its power from outside forces; it must constantly absorb and throw off; it must ever be renewed, so that it can renew. Law cannot operate successfully except in relation to these directive influences; and the best way to insure the adoption and successful execution of the laws embraced in a children's charter will be to strengthen the social forces that find the charter the best expression of their faith in the accepted principles of child welfare.

UNIFORM LEGISLATION: DISCUSSION

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Mr. Carstens' paper is a thoughtful and courageous statement. It puts clearly the needs of various types of children who are not having an even chance in life. For most of those whom he mentions an even chance is impossible. Society can only help the child a little and protect itself a little at the same time. In the end, as he indicates, we must help these children by helping all children, by the great social measures of prevention, which means social construction.

The needs of children are the same in whatever state they live, while the provision made for them in the forty-eight states, each sovereign over its children, is widely different. In one state an offending child of 10 may still be treated as an adult criminal; in another he may be treated as a child until the age of 18—considered, even when guilty of crime, as in need of protection and guidance, not punishment. One state has several institutions for the feeble-minded, another has none. In this state the effect of a mothers' pension law may be to encourage thrift, in that to discourage it; in a third there is no such law. One state holds adults responsible for certain types of juvenile delinquency; in another there is no such offence as contributing to delinquency.

Within the same state laws are not always consistent. Thus laws for compulsory education and for child labor do not always dove-tail. A juvenile court law may be wisely and liberally carried out in certain large cities of a state, while in

remoter portions of the same state every facility for protecting the wayward child may be lacking.

It is now proposed to standardize these laws, to set up a body of model laws forming a code, in the hope that new interest may be aroused in the states less advanced, and more effective correlation secured within the states most advanced. The great desire to help children which has resulted in existing fragmentary laws will surely be enlisted in an effort to make these laws into one complete and effective body. In various states a movement is under way for reviewing and unifying laws regarding children. The most significant beginning is that of Ohio, which has already made a codification covering a considerable area of children's needs. In New Hampshire a Children's Commission was provided for by act of legislature in 1913, whose report was made this year to the governor and legislature. Missouri has a commission just appointed by the governor which is now at work. In Montana also a child welfare commission has been appointed by the governor. In Minnesota an effort is under way which will undoubtedly result in securing a commission to study and unify the state's legislation regarding children.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the state is the law-making unit in the legislative program the chairman has outlined. There are forty-eight of these units. In each the laws should be consistently woven into a whole, and for all the states they should be in so far consistent as needful, in order to give equal opportunities to the children of the nation wherever they may live.

May I illustrate both the difficulty and the success of movements for uniform legislation by a reference to the movement for better vital statistics? The United States lacks vital statistics because of the lack of uniformity of state laws on this subject. The drafting of a "model law" for vital statistics was undertaken some years ago by a committee composed of representatives of the American Medical Association, the American Public Health Association, the American Bar Association and the federal Bureau of the Census. The first draft of the model law was published in 1907 and it has been revised from time to time as from experimentation seemed necessary. The Children's Bureau, since its establishment in 1912, has aided in the popularization of the law. Every year sees new states accepting its principles. Although it is always necessary to revise it to fit state constitutional provisions, it is always possible to secure its principles under any state constitution. Everywhere good laws are replacing poor ones, and administration improves as laws

improve. Much further work is, however, still necessary. At present the federal Bureau of the Census recognizes birth registration as adequate in but eight states, the New England states, Pennsylvania and Michigan, although there is increased interest in the subject and a steady movement toward better legislation.*

Perhaps I may also point out that the Children's Bureau is directed by law to report upon "all legislation affecting children." The Bureau has entered upon a beginning of this work, which must evidently keep pace with changing legislation year by year. Thus far it has tabulated the child labor laws of the country, the text to include the 1915 statutes; it has published the texts of the mothers' pension laws; and is now engaged upon a preliminary index of all legislation affecting children. This index of legislation will afford the indispensable basis for the study of the many existing statutes which must be considered in the actual framing of new models and codes, and its preparation at this time will, it is hoped, serve the needs of those engaged in studying the laws of the various states.

As a next practical step in the standardizing of laws affecting children, should we not seek the extension of the idea of state commissions to review legislation in each state and to make recommendations? If a considerable number of such commissions could be appointed during the coming season, a meeting during the current year would be timely, to which might be asked also representatives of the National Child Labor Committee, of the American Bar Association, of this Conference, and of other national bodies. Such a meeting would reveal at once the common needs, and, equally important, the various legislative expedients by which they can be met. For though we have a common end, we may arrive by various paths.

If I were to select the two sessions of this Conference within my own experience which are likely to appear in the long run most significant, I should mention the one in which Mary Richmond urged that there should be scholarly training for practical social work, and thus gave expression here for the first time to the demand which has secured the School of Philanthropy in New York, the School for Social Workers in Boston, the School of Civics in Chicago, the School of Social Economy in St. Louis and other educational facilities for giving social work a wide scientific outlook, so that those engaged in it may have the power to see the field as well as the furrow. And, second, I believe this session should be mentioned, in which the

*See Children's Bureau bulletin: *Birth Registration: An Aid in Protecting the Lives and Rights of Children.*

demand has been formulated, by Mr. Carstens and Mr. Clopper, that the laws affecting the children of our country shall be studied, correlated and standardized so that they may express a growing effort to receive common justice for the common needs of all children.

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THE GOOD GIRL WITH A FIRST BABY, WHO IS NOT FEEBLE-MINDED*

Mrs. Cora V. Shuman, District Supervisor, Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

Unmarried mother; white, native American. Age, 18 years in February, 1911, when the case was brought to our notice. Health, at time good, but undersized. Now only fair due to lacerations at time child was born. Education, did not attend grammar school after about fourth grade. Employment, clever dancer and singer on stage. Later cash girl in department store. After child was born domestic service and office cleaner. Family influence, mother invalid. Has since died. Father died when girl was very small. Mother remarried. Girl lived with strict, grandfather, fairly well-to-do. Aunt aided and abetted deception as to the music hall amusements. Any pleasure obtained surreptitiously. Associates, people in neighborhood which had deteriorated. Mostly foreign element. Habits, temperate, moral, but indiscreet.

Unmarried father; white, American, born of foreign parentage. Age, passed 16 years in 1911. Health, good. Education, at the time of the trouble was student in high school. Since won scholarship through college. Employment, good position in western part of the state. Family influence, good, ambitious parents, good influence. Associates, fellow students. Habits, temperate. No record of previous immorality. Fond of gayety and frivolity.

Because of a wide diversion of religious faith the grandfather of the girl strongly opposed the girl and boy friendship, so that they met clandestinely. He discovered this and shut her out of his home so that she was obliged to return to the home of her mother and stepfather. The mother at that time was an invalid and could not properly supervise the girl. It was in this home that the immoral relations took place.

The case was taken into court after the birth of the baby boy. The father's family repudiated the girl, but are paying regularly $1.50 per week for its support. The child is now almost four years of age and has been entirely in the care of the mother. After the boy's birth she worked in a family home for three years at $7.00 per month. As the child grew she found that she

*Speaker's notes used. Section meeting Thursday, May 13, 11:00 A. M.

could not live on this amount, so, while looking for a better place at service, took a job at office cleaning. Is now working at service again and doing very well.

The boy is a healthy, handsome, and well disciplined child. The father would now marry the girl, but she refuses because of the difference in their religious beliefs and also through fear that he wishes to gain the legal custody of the child. The mother bears an excellent reputation now; is a good plain cook, a good laundress, neat, honest, straightforward, temperate and moral.

A GIRL WITH A SECOND OR THIRD ILLEGITIMATE CHILD

H. Ida Curry, State Charities Aid Association, New York, N. Y.

On September 21, 1910, a Protestant white woman, 32 years of age, applied for a position where she could take her 14 months old infant son with her. She stated that she had an older daughter 9 years of age, who was cared for by relatives. She claimed to have been deserted by her husband. A position was secured for her. As the woman was not strong, convalescent care was secured for her during the summer of 1911, and other positions were found for her in the autumn of the same year. In November, she was referred to the A. I. C. P. for additional convalescent care, and was by them sent to the Caroline Rest. Upon her return the Mothers' and Babies' Department again secured a position for her. In March, 1912, after leaving this place she located herself in a good position through answering an advertisement.

In the summer of 1912 she was employed as a waitress in the Caroline Country Club. The Mothers' and Babies' Department officially heard nothing of her until November, 1913, when she appeared with a baby boy one month old. She then stated that her two year old boy was at a hospital with skin trouble, while the little girl, now 13 years old, was in an orphan asylum. She secured a position for herself, however, and passed from the attention of the Mothers' and Babies' Department until July, 1914, when she again applied for a position.

The Mothers' and Babies' Department feeling sure that the last baby was illegitimate, began an investigation, which revealed the fact that the woman had been under the care of the A. I. C. P. from December, 1913, to October, 1914, and that she was recorded by the Department of Public Charities, where

she had applied for assistance. To both of these agencies she had claimed to be a deserted wife, but neither of them could prevail upon her to file a claim against her husband in the court of domestic relations. During the period from December, 1913, to July, 1914, the A. I. C. P. had given her material relief on seven occasions. Neither agency had doubted the woman's story as to her husband and her desertion.

Investigation at this period, however, revealed the fact that she had never been married. It was learned that she had been brought to this country from Germany when she was 5 or 6 years old by her mother and father. Her mother had died and her father then married her mother's sister. She was placed out to work when 14 years old. According to the girl's statement her grandmother married her grandfather immediately before the birth of their oldest child. Her mother also had an illegitimate child before her marriage which died.

It was learned that the father of her first child was a professional man, in whose family she worked, who had taken advantage of her when his wife was away from home; that his business associates had allowed him to remain in his position on condition that he support the child. This man had paid regularly for the support of the child since her birth. The father of the second child was a man of business standing with whom she had become acquainted while she was working in an institution. She had taken no steps to recover support from this man. This second child was the 14 months old baby who was with her at the time of her application to the Mothers' and Babies' Department.

This department also now identified the applicant as a 23 year old girl who had applied to the department for a position in 1901, having with her a 4 months old baby girl, and who again came to the office the following year, but who found work for herself both times, and was not placed in service by the department. This baby girl was the 14 year old girl in the orphan asylum at the time this discovery was made.

The father of the third illegitimate child, born in November, 1913, was found to be a young boy whom she had met at a moving picture show in a nearby town during the time she was employed in the Caroline Country Club. The Mothers' and Babies' Department thought, considering her age and experience and that of the youth, that neither prosecution for support in this case, nor marriage should be pressed.

The department found it impracticable to place the woman with two children, but succeeded in arranging for the woman's stepmother to care for the boy, the mother to pay regularly

for his support. The woman was then placed in a position with the baby where she is receiving $12 a month, paying $7 a month to the stepmother for the board of the boy. The stepmother herself being a poor woman receiving help from the A. I. C. P., the Mothers' and Babies' Department has made arrangements with a benevolent individual to pay $3 toward the support of this boy. The little girl is still in the orphan asylum that had been caring for her for some years past, relatives paying regularly for her support therein.

This case has been selected for discussion because of the obvious faults it presents. In the first place, the investigations prior to 1914 were exceedingly faulty, so that the treatment of the case was based on an entire misconception of circumstances. The City Department of Charities, the A. I. C. P., and the State Charities Aid Association were all equally deceived, which speaks well for the plausibility of the woman, but does not offer a satisfactory explanation for the failure in obtaining accurate data.

The superiority of recent records and methods of record keeping is illustrated by the applicant of 1910 not being immediately identified as the applicant of 1901. The need of a confidential exchange, which was established in New York in 1912, was shown by the various agencies dealing with the case not coming together closer before it was established.

In reviewing the early records of the A. I. C. P. and the State Charities Aid Association, it would seem impossible that the suspicions of both would not have been aroused had both records been read by either. As the last baby was due to indiscretions on the part of the woman when employed at the Caroline Country Club under the supervision of the A. I. C. P., a question is raised as to how much supervision can be given to such women in situations, and what steps can be taken to prevent their further irregularities.

From the time the full investigation was made, until the present time, the case has been handled in a fairly satisfactory manner.

THE UNMARRIED MOTHER OF BORDER-LINE MENTALITY

Herman Newman, Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, Chicago, Ill.

Upon first acquaintance, Bertha Ross gives one the impression of a young woman just entering her twenties, though as a

matter of fact, she is thirty. She is fairly good looking, slightly undersized and dresses with average good taste. Her father has been a resident of one of Chicago's suburbs for a third of a century. He holds a clerical position under the government and is honest, sober and industrious. By strict economy he has gained possession of a modest home, though he is not entirely free from debt. Bertha's mother was a delicate woman, who suffered much from headaches, from which she sought relief through the use of chloroform and morphine. She died with lung trouble, leaving three children, Bertha aged three, an older sister, who is now married and living in New York State, and a younger brother, who has never been able to hold a job of any consequence, and who is at present doing errands at $6.00 a week. He is very boyish in appearance for one of twenty odd years.

After her mother died, Bertha was sent to her maternal grandfather and step grandmother, in Mississippi, and her father married again. To this second union six children were born, "all," so the father says, "a little queer." The most talented one is a musician who earns money easily but who is of a roving disposition and saves nothing. Bertha's grandfather was well-to-do and she was given every opportunity a girl could wish; in fact, it is the opinion of some, that she was spoiled. She made little progress in school, never passing beyond the third or fourth grade. She early developed a fondness for being "popular" especially with men—a weakness which has remained with her. She gadded about much, and grew up the "talk of the neighborhood."

Her grandfather died in 1908 leaving all his property to his second wife, and Bertha was sent back to Chicago. She returned to her father's home but could not get along with her step-mother. She refused to work and proved herself so incorrigible that she was finally turned into the street. Some time after this she found work in a ladies' outfitting establishment, later in a department store, and finally began training as a nurse in a Chicago hospital. What the entrance qualifications were, we are not informed. While there she became pregnant for the first time. This was near the close of 1909.

New Years day, 1910, she met Charles Ross, a divorced (?) man, with whom she went to live, a month later, in his room on the north side. After two weeks they went to Crown Point, Indiana, and were married. On August 1, 1910, Charles, Jr., was born, and, at the suggestion of Mr. Ross's employer, a visitor from the United Charities went to see Mrs. Ross. She needed nothing, however, and the case was dropped.

About this time Mr. Ross invested their savings, $200.00, in a Texas farm, and in October he left Chicago ostensibly to begin improvements. Not long after, Mrs. Ross appealed to the Legal Aid Society for assistance in securing support from her husband. A long correspondence followed, revealing the popularity of both Mr. and Mrs. Ross, with members of the opposite sex. Meanwhile Mrs. Ross exhausted the generosity of her friends and relatives both in Chicago and Terre Haute, Indiana, and finally landed in the Home for the Friendless, where she soon became obnoxious for her petty thieving. After sundry appeals made to at least five different agencies, Mrs. Ross secured free transportation to Texas. Thither she went in February, 1911, with a letter of introduction to a United States Senator, who became much interested in her case and assisted her in locating her husband. She found Mr. Ross poverty striken and living in a shack with the parents of a new consort. After two weeks Bertha returned to Chicago.

The Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society tried placing her at domestic service with her child, but her employer, complaining of her inefficiency, dismissed her, and after a brief stay at the Home for the Friendless, she was sent to the Model Flat, an institution maintained jointly by the Mary Crane Nursery and the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society to train girls for housework. There she remained through the spring and summer, with the exception of an outing at Algonquin. At least three unsuccessful efforts were made to secure her a position near the Flat, where the superintendent could keep in touch with her. On account of her popularity she became troublesome. She would flirt from the windows, "pick up" men in the parks, and offer to take other girls out for a good time.

An extended investigation by the United Charities and the Legal Aid Society revealed the futility of any effort to compel Mr. Ross to support his wife and her child. The Juvenile Protective Association was called into conference and it was agreed that efforts should be made to place Bertha in an institution where she could work with her child under supervision. Before any definite arrangements could be made, however, it was found necessary to send her to a hospital for an operation. From there she went for a time to the Convalescent Home. When strong enough to return to work, the superintendent of the Mother's Co-operative League tried without success to get her admitted as a helper at the Beulah Home and at the Home for the Friendless. Meanwhile the United Charities placed a friendly visitor on the case, who secured a good private board-

ing home for her and the child, and a place for her to work at a fruit stand and later in a butter store.

This arrangement continued until early in the spring of 1912, when Bertha was unceremoniously expelled from her boarding place because she attempted to corrupt a young boy of the family just entering his teens. She then found board for herself with Madame LaBeaux, an ex-vaudeville actress, whose reputation among the neighbors was not of the best. Not long after she and her baby contracted measles, and were taken to the Cook County Hospital, where her eyes and teeth gave her considerable trouble, and the Northwestern Dental Dispensary extended professional service.

Upon his recovery from the measles, Charles, Jr. was placed with his grandfather and step-grandmother, who kept him only a short time. He was taken to the Home for the Friendless, while an effort was made to have him admitted to the Chicago Orphan Asylum and the Chicago Nursery and Half Orphan Asylum. These efforts failing, he was declared dependent by the Juvenile Court and sent to the Kinderfreund with power to adopt. The child is now in a family home doing well. .

Bertha's next position was in a hotel, but her stay was brief and she again became a domestic. In January, 1913, her employer charged her with stealing a bracelet and other jewelry and she was convicted and sent to the House of Correction for three months. Four weeks later the order was vacated and she went to the New Future Home. While there the Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene had her examined by an alienist who pronounced her feeble-minded and hysterical and needing institutional care. She was also found to be pregnant.

A supreme effort was made to find some institution to care for her, and the Foundling's Home came to the rescue. It was at this juncture that an effort was made to get in touch with her husband, with the idea that she might be sent to Texas and there be committed to an institution. The case was also sent to the secretary of the Women's City Club to be used before the Illinois Legislature as an argument for an institution for feeble-minded adults. After more than a year in the Foundling's Home she was discharged, October, 1914. Since then the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society has placed her in three positions at domestic service. At present she is staying at the Sarah Hackett Stephenson Memorial and is under observation by the Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene.

By way of review it will be observed that during the last five years at least seventeen private agencies have worked on the case, demands have been made upon two of the county

courts and also upon the House of Correction. In the meantime Bertha has given birth to two children, neither of which belongs to her legal husband. She is without friends, and with no promise of a permanent home. The best social service talent in Chicago has given much time to the case and today, so far as we can see, we are no nearer a solution than when we started. All this futile effort, because the state of Illinois has no institution for the care of, nor adequate laws for dealing with its feeble minded adults.

A CASE OF ILLEGITIMACY, WHERE MOTHER AND BABY HAVE BEEN DEALT WITH SEPARATELY

A. Madorah Donahue, Henry Watson Children's Aid Society, Baltimore, Md.

During the past three years about 6 per cent. of the mothers dealt with in the Mothers and Infants Department of the Children's Aid Society have given up their babies permanently. These cases are among our failures. The plan of separation has never been our plan, save where necessary for the baby's physical welfare. In some of these plans we have, however, acquiesced.

Mary Adams, aged 19 when her illegitimate girl baby came into the world, was the child of her father's second marriage. Deprived by death of their own mother in early childhood, Mary and her younger sister were reared by their father and two half-sisters considerably older than themselves. The family were in moderate circumstances and eminently respectable. Mary was employed in a factory, where her salary was not high, her efficiency being impaired by eye trouble. The home was of Puritanical type. Mary was not permitted to have any young men call there, so she met at least one outside.

When the family became aware of the fact that Mary was to become a mother, their energies were directed toward one object, viz., keeping the matter secret. Accordingly arrangements were made with a registered midwife. The sum of $50.00 was deposited in advance, for which the baby was to be transferred to an institution, and it was agreed that a weekly rate of $5.00 be paid. The expectant young mother left her father and sisters and entered this so-called maternity, where conditions were most unsanitary; where the only care given patients was that provided by themselves, and where the anxiety natural to women in their condition was furthered by the presence in the house of

the midwife's mentally defective daughter, a woman sometimes violently insane, and not always confined. The sisters had arranged that no one except themselves be permitted to see the patient.

Under these conditions the little baby, Eleanor Adams, was born, two weeks after the mother's entrance. Contrary to the expectation of the family, Eleanor was not destined to oblivion in a foundling asylum. This midwife was shrewd—her business was money-making, and she foresaw the possibility of commercialising an attractive baby. The sisters were now informed that the $50.00 paid was for confinement fee, and an additional $50.00 would be required to place Eleanor in an institution.

One week after the baby's birth, Mary's half-brother, married and away from home, was called into counsel to help provide the necessary money. He was directed to the offices of the Children's Aid Society, where he applied for assistance in disposing of Eleanor. He told us the mother's story, but could give no information about the baby's father, save that his name was Evans and that he was worthless. This brother listened with interest to the worker's suggestions. He acquiesced in our plan for the mother and baby, and left the worker, to arrange to take her to see Mary next day. That must be done through his sisters, for he had been denied the privilege of seeing Mary when he previously called at the midwife's home. Later in the same day, Mr. Adams returned to tell the worker that his sisters had borrowed the money, and the baby had already been transferred to an institution.

Mary's sisters would not arrange to have the worker visit her and she was seen for the first time in the father's home in the presence of her sisters, two weeks later. A girl of refinement, gentle, retiring, almost silent, apparently unhappy. She frankly stated that she wanted her child, but was compelled to acquiesce in her sisters' plan. She was unable to take the little one and she must work to repay the money borrowed to carry out her family's scheme. Too, she could not bear to have her child know, in the future, what her mother had done. The family were determined that Mary must not have her baby. They interposed every possible objection. No information was gotten about the father, save a repetition of what the brother had said. This from the sisters—Mary was silent on the subject. Eleanor was still with the midwife, who had made Mary sign a surrender. The mother was disturbed by the thought of her child's surroundings, and asked the worker to have her removed to an institution.

Investigation disclosed bad conditions; but Eleanor was not removed because two other mothers, inmates of the same maternity, were referred to the department by a police magistrate, one of whom was devoted to the baby and taking excellent care of her.

For six months the whole case remained in *status quo*, the worker seeing Mary alone whenever possible; the brother and his wife co-operating to the point of offering Mary and her child a home with them, which Mary refused to accept, saying she could not live there. This brother was always in difficulty with some of the family. Mary was obsessed with her own unfitness to mother her child because she had done wrong, and with her duty to her family.

At the expiration of six months, Mary's brother reported that she had left home, as the result of a quarrel, and was living with his married sister. Visiting the worker found this sister ostracized from her family because she, too, years ago, had been guilty of the same indiscretion as Mary. She was now married, had a family, was as far as could be learned quite respectable. Mary had left her, and was located with a maternal aunt, who warmly welcomed the worker's co-operation and advice. For the first time information of Eleanor's father was gotten,—Henry Evans, one year older than Mary, of a most reputable family. Knowing that the young couple were meeting, this aunt arranged that Henry should call at the house. He was doing so regularly, and abided by the aunt's wishes in the matter of the length of calls and any further suggestions made by her. She had talked over the situation frankly with them, and they were planning to marry soon. They would have done so, but Mary had postponed the event, saying she was not ready. In her estimate of Henry this aunt differed from the family. She had found him respectful, gentlemanly, and, though lacking a proper sense of responsibility, she believed he would do the honorable thing. She had been wanting to confer with his mother, but was prevented by Mrs. Evans' serious illness.

Eleanor was again visited. She was not looking well, though quite attractive. The midwife was counting on her adoption into a family, who would pay money to secure the child.

Matters again stood still. Various dates were set for the marriage, and always it was put off. The death of Henry's mother seemed reason for further delay. The patient aunt, herself far from well, began to lose faith in Henry, and Mary went to live with her paternal uncle. The worker decided to see Henry, but found it a difficult task. His work took him away a great deal. His family were located, and, though promising co-operation,

did nothing. At last Henry was gotten to call—a nice looking, well dressed, refined young man. At first he was resentful, but later became friendly. He admitted his responsibility, spoke of Mary with regard and of the baby with affection. He seemed to want to do right, but was very weak—a spoiled boy, who could not see beyond his own needs. He intended to marry Mary and would have done so long ago, had it not been for her family. They would not permit him to see her at the time of Eleanor's birth. He visited the maternity, prepared financially and in every other way for marriage. On Mary's supposed refusal to see him, he became discouraged and left the city. They did not meet again until some months after the baby's birth.

By the workers' arrangement, Henry visited the baby—seemed charmed with her, and obligated himself to pay the midwife for past care, and to assume future responsibility. Affairs now looked most promising. The midwife was induced to give up Eleanor, who went into a boarding home and was given much needed medical care. Henry had agreed to pay the board and Mary was to provide clothing. The young mother became really cheerful. She bought materials and began to sew. Both visited Eleanor and apparently cared about her.

Some six weeks passed. Henry failed utterly to meet his responsibility. Mary became discouraged and announced that she had severed her engagement with him; that she was going west to live with a relative, and she asked that Eleanor be placed in a foster home. Henry was seen. He had business troubles. The families were again appealed to. Two more months passed, and Mary said unless we placed Eleanor, she would do so herself, as she would leave Baltimore soon. Accordingly Eleanor, then aged 16 months, was placed in the custody of the Society pending adoption.

Four months later an unusual home was found for the baby, with a childless couple, people of moderate means and of a marked degree of culture. Their wish was to legally adopt Eleanor. The mother's signature must be obtained. She was found in her father's home—she had not left the city. She was the same quiet, apparently unhappy girl, shrinking from the necessary meeting with the attorney. The business ended, Mary asked if the worker had a picture of Eleanor. A post card picture was shown her. Gazing at her baby's face, the mother's countenance underwent a change—her lips trembled and her eyes filled with tears. When told that she might retain the picture, the mother's expression was one of real gratitude. "O, may I? Thank you!" she exclaimed. That was all. And so she left the office and went forever out of her baby's life.

Now comes an interval of twenty months. Recently Henry and the worker met. He and Mary were married, nine months after Eleanor's adoption. They had a baby son. Are they happy? They would be entirely so, if they could see Eleanor. Mary refuses to talk about her. Frequently Henry finds his wife all-absorbed with the picture given her by the worker. He has suggested that Mary come to the Society and ask for their child. Mary says she cannot; that Eleanor was absolutely given up. They both feel that consideration is due Eleanor's adopted parents. Still Henry asks that they may know their child in the future. He believes that Mary was actuated mainly by her idea that she was unfit to rear her little girl, and the dread that in the future Eleanor would be stigmatized as an illegitimate child.

To Summarize: Where Lies the Failure?

1. The community failed to recognize the rights of the unmarried mother and her child.

2. The families failed to give any consideration to the claims of the child.

3. The state failed to throw any protection around this baby.

4. The baby's father failed utterly to take any responsibility for his child, in spite of his regard for the mother.

5. Failure on the part of the maternity hospital. The community permits a type of maternity which is a menace to morals, to health, even to life itself. This baby would in all probability not have survived had it not been for the care of a patient. Shall babies, because they are illegitimate, be freely traded in by private individuals?

6. Where were the failures in the case work? Why did not the worker capture this mother? Why could she not be gotten to live with her child? There was the maternal instinct, surely. Why, then, the failure to get her to think in terms of maternity, which brooks no opposition to its natural functions? Why could not the families have been influenced? Was failure perhaps due to defective plan? Should the child have been longer retained in the care of the Society? Would more time given by the worker to this mother have averted the failure? Was failure on the part of the organization, itself, to equip the worker with sufficient time to deal adequately with pressing human needs?

In conclusion: This case emphasizes in our minds two points. First, in most instances where separation of mother and baby has occurred in the beginning, the task of affecting a union is a difficult, almost an impossible one. We have accomplished it but

rarely, and only where the mother has most unusual strength of character. Second, where there is a spark of the maternal instinct, we cannot lend ourselves to any scheme of separation.

DISCUSSION: The discussion was led by Mrs. Ada E. Sheffield, representing the Boston Conference on Illegitimacy.

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INFANT MORTALITY IN INSTITUTIONS*

Philip Van Ingen, M.D., Secretary, American Association for Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality, New York, N. Y.

For many years there have existed in this country institutions devoted to the care of that unhappy army of children variously classed as foundling, orphan, and dependent. Appeals in the name of these children have always aroused the pity and generosity of thousands of people, and in more recent times public funds have been directed toward this purpose. It is only just and right that such should be the case. But every year we are spending millions of dollars to provide for the mental, moral and physical needs of this host of unfortunates. Are we spending our money wisely? Are our methods the best? What are the results of our efforts? Does anybody really know?

The Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality through its committees on pediatrics and social and vital statistics has made a brief preliminary study of some of the methods and results. Without the active interest and hearty cooperation of the New York City Department of Charities this study would have been impossible. Certain of their findings were presented at the last meeting of the Association in Boston. In mentioning results, I shall confine myself to the mortality among these children.

In New York State the death rate among children under two years of age based upon the estimated population at that age, averaged for the four years 1909-1912, inclusive, 87.4 per thousand. During the five years 1909-1913, eleven large institutions in the state had under their care 28,210 children under two years of age, of whom 11,918 died before their second birthday, a rate of 422.5 per thousand, or approximately five times that of the state as a whole. In one large institution in the western part of the state, 57.6 per cent. of all the babies admitted died before they were two years of age. In another, in the central part of the state, 54.3 per cent. These children did

*Section meeting Friday, May 14, 9:15 A. M. Mr. Homer Folks, presiding.

not have an even chance. One of these two institutions has been tersely described by a trained investigator who went through it as follows: "Few, if any, mothers are there with their babies. The wards are large and crowded. The attendants are few and very ignorant. The hospital wards are sadly neglected, and the whole place smells to heaven."

Study of Institutions in New York City

We were unable to make any investigation of the institutions in the state at large, but we did make a few interesting preliminary studies in New York City. There are three large institutions there where children are received and are paid for by the city. The first point we were interested in was, how do these children get there. We were able to get the facts about 1,738 babies under one year of age admitted in 1913.

If the institution has a maternity service, babies born there and remaining are called "born-in" babies. Their mothers often remain with them, at least for a time. In this series they numbered 209.

The city commits to these institutions from time to time, babies occasionally with, but more often without their mothers, when, after investigation, it is found that they cannot be properly cared for at home. Such babies are known as "committed" cases, and they constituted 414 of the 1,738.

Babies abandoned by their mothers, usually unmarried or deserted women, and left in some momentarily deserted spot, with or without the hope that they will be found by some passer by, are termed foundlings, and of them there were fifty-nine—fifty-nine out of a total of 1,738.

To abandon a baby on the street is a crime. It was to prevent this that the regulation was adopted that children whose mothers had been residents of the city for one year, and who were unfortunate, might leave them in an institution or go there with them without consulting the city authorities, the city paying for their care a definite sum. If the mother stays with her baby the case is known as an "accepted" one. Accepted cases numbered 166.

Babies deliberately abandoned by their mothers, not on the door-step of the institution—which is a crime, but within its doors—which is perfectly proper, renouncing thereby all right to and responsibility for the child, are called surrendered cases and numbered 890, or 51.2 per cent. of all admitted. These figures are for city charges. The institutions' own figures, which include all admissions, show 1,042 surrendered babies out of 2,147, or 48.5 per cent.

These figures are shown in the following table:

Babies under 1 Year.
Method of Admission.

	Born in.	Committed.	Foundlings.	Accepted.	Surrendered.	Total.
Number	209	414	59	166	890	1738
% of all admissions	12.0	23.8	3.4	9.6	51.2	100.0

Each one of these babies was followed until it was a year old, left the institution or died before that time. If it left the institution it was considered as having survived its first year. Of the 1,738 babies admitted 897, or 51.6 per cent. died during their first year.

Let me call your attention to the mortality according to the method of admission:

Deaths under one year according to method of admission.

	Born in.	Committed.	Foundlings.	Accepted.	Surrendered.	Total.
Total Deaths ...	102	187	38	45	525	897
% of all admitted	48.8	45.1	64.4	27.1	59.0	51.6

Of all "accepted" babies admitted with their mothers who did not give up all right to their children, remaining to nurse and care for them, only 27.1 per cent. died; while of the "born-in" babies 48.8 per cent., of the committed, 45.1 per cent., of the foundlings, 64.4 per cent., and of the "surrendered" 59 per cent., died.

So much for our results. Homer Folks has stated:

> The foundling is a child who has been actually abandoned in a street, hallway, park, field or other public place, of whose parentage nothing is, or is likely to be, known, and as to whose parents there is, therefore, no opportunity either for friendly conference or for legal proceedings. The pseudo-foundling, on the other hand, is a child who is taken by his parents or relatives to a so-called charitable institution, sometimes miscalled a foundling asylum or foundling hospital, and turned over permanently to that institution, ordinarily under pledge of secrecy, with the understanding that it cannot be reclaimed, and that its whereabouts will not be known to the parent. There is a vital difference between these two events. The real foundling is thrust upon us; the so-called foundling we achieve by our voluntary action. For the real foundling our responsibility as a community and as charitable agencies is, at most, indirect and remote. For the so-called foundling our responsibility is direct, complete, and unescapable. We take him from his parents with our eyes wide open, deliberately, and with full knowledge of what we are doing.

Are our methods the best? Why do we have such a frightful mortality? It is claimed that the reason is the poor physical condition of the babies on admission. This is doubtless true in many cases. A careful tabulation of the duration of life after admission was made for the 987 babies who died. 7.9 per cent. of all admitted died in less than two weeks and 22.7

per cent. in less than a month. These figures would seem to bear out this explanation. But the "born-in" babies upset it somewhat. It is a well known fact that the mortality during the first month of life is very high, being 30-35 per cent. of the total for the first year of life. Among the "born-in" babies only 7.6 per cent. died during their first month, while before the first year was over 48.6 per cent. died. The mothers of these babies had had good care, during several months, in many cases, before the baby was born. The mortality during the first month was low—and yet all this good start was overcome and the death rate was frightfully high. These babies were not in a poor physical condition on admission. What *is* the reason?

This same fact is brought out in the experience of the Poor Law institutions, in England, where the mortality from 1 to 6 months of age is greater than during the first month of life.

The American idea of caring for these babies is to put them in an institution, with little or no attempt to keep mother and child together. Sophie Irene Loeb, in her report to the New York State Commission on Relief for Widowed Mothers, says, "New York, and, in fact, the United States have more institutions and less family life for children than any other country in the world." In the institutions studied in New York City some babies are kept in the institution all through their first year. Others are sent out to board with foster mothers, sometimes to be nursed, sometimes to be bottle-fed. We have no definite information as to the numbers in each group or the comparative mortality. Such information is urgently needed.

The fact is that we here are clinging to obsolete methods —methods which have been given up in almost every other country. Miss Loeb, in her report above mentioned, says, "The general feeling expressed is against the institution in all these countries (England, France, Germany, Denmark, Switzerland and Scotland). With the exception of England the institution is only for delinquent, backward or sick children. The normal child is only put into an institution as a temporary place until something better can be arranged for him." James R. Motion, for sixteen years Director of the Glasgow poor relief, stated: "Let me catch a child in an institution for more than a couple of weeks and the officials of that institution have to answer direct to me."

The Plan in Hungary

Nowhere has the plan for the care of the dependent child been more carefully worked out than in Hungary. You may be familiar with it, but a few words may not be out of place. The law of 1903 declares that every child in Hungary under

the age of 15 years has a right to care, nourishment, education and a home. If the parents of the child cannot give it what it is entitled to, it is the child's right to receive this from the state. There are seventeen state asylums in various parts of the country which act as the headquarters for this work of caring for children. Each institution is in charge of a medical director. Any person bringing in to the institution a child and declaring himself unable to properly care for that child, can secure its immediate admission to the institution. An investigation is then made to determine the ability of the parents or guardians, or unmarried mother, to provide for the child. If it is found that it is a proper case, it then becomes a charge of the state.

If the child is sick, delicate, or in need of special care, it is kept in the state institution until it is in fit condition to be sent out. Healthy children are immediately placed under the care of foster parents carefully selected in special localities chosen for the healthy climatic and living conditions. There are 374 of these so-called state children's colonies. When boarded out, the children are under the immediate supervision of a physician residing in the neighborhood and are constantly watched by the visiting nurse assigned to each district. In the case of infants, if the baby is admitted to the institution, every effort is made to induce the mother to stay with it to nurse the child, the mother receiving support in return for nursing her baby; she also nurses another baby if able. If the nursing mother consents to remain with the child, in most cases she is sent with it to a foster home and while she remains money is paid for her care and she receives necessary clothing, etc., from the state. If it is impossible to keep mother and child together, the baby is boarded out with a nursing foster-mother. In 1910 statistics showed that over 57 per cent. of young babies remained with their mothers.

In 1910 there were 9,695 infants cared for by these institutions and their "colonies" with a mortality rate of 208.3 per thousand. Of these children 80.7 per cent. were illegitimate, the mortality among such children always being higher than among the legitimate 50 per cent. were under 1 month of age when received, while in the New York City figures given 60.4 per cent. were under 1 month. This would naturally make the latter figures somewhat higher, but would not account for the difference between 516.1 and 208.3.

A similar work under private auspices is being done by the Speedwell Society. For twelve years they have been sending marasmic, sickly babies, babies convalescent from serious ill-

ness, into the country to selected foster homes where they are under the constant care and supervision of a visiting nurse and a physician. The mortality among the babies under one year was 28 per cent. and under two years 19.7 per cent. It has steadily fallen each year as methods have improved.

When we do place children in foster homes through institutions we practically always separate mother and child. As already mentioned, in Hungary, 57 per cent. of the young babies stayed with their mothers. In Germany the Poor Relief Law states: "Mothers who are not in a position to support their children receive foster relief." The report of the Commission of Relief for Widowed Mothers states that at the present time there are 46,059 children chargeable to the poor rates all over Scotland, of whom 36,799 are under the guardianship of parents. An example of our attitude is what was brought out in the hearings of the committee already mentioned, where a woman, unable to support her six children, put four in an institution and received four others to board from the same institution to eke out her slender income.

I have no intention in these remarks to cast any reflections upon the motives, or devotion, of many of those carrying on these institutions. I do believe that it is time we faced the problem and attempted to protect the most helpless of the helpless.

THE CARE OF DEPENDENT INFANTS IN BOARDING HOMES

Edwin D. Solenberger, General Secretary, Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

Everything possible should be done to prevent the unnecessary separation of infants from destitute widows, deserted wives, and unmarried mothers. Such mothers, when otherwise suitable, should be helped to keep their children. Other sections of this conference are discussing how best to do that.

Our special subject is the care of young infants who are dependent and neglected because the mother has died, deserted, become insane, is in prison, or is sick. While the father in such cases should be required to contribute to the support of the child as far as possible, he is often unable himself to provide the right care. In the case of so-called foundlings and other deserted children careful inquiries should be made to locate the parents and relatives. This will help to safeguard the rights of

the children and to prevent imposition upon charity. Care in hospitals rather than in boarding homes will usually be best for dependent infants when they are found to have syphilis or other communicable diseases. Vaginitis in female infants, certain types of feeding cases, and other special conditions may, on the advice of the physician, be cared for in a properly equipped babies' hospital in preference to a boarding home.

Considering, then, the care of dependent infants under three years of age in family boarding homes, we have two methods to present.

For the newly born infant, experience shows that wet-nursing is preferable to artificial feeding. This is especially true of foundlings and particularly during the summer months. Wet-nurses may be found by advertising and by the co-operation of doctors, visiting nurses, social settlements, and charitable organizations. If a directory and registration bureau for wet-nurses can be established, it will be a valuable source of information for all charitable agencies dealing with dependent infants. It will also be of use to doctors in private practice.

After finding wet-nurses, care must be taken to have them properly examined before they are certified. When a social worker has approved the home there should be a general medical examination, including the Wasserman, tuberculin, and other tests, and such other precautions as may be necessary to safeguard the infant. The same careful examination should be given to the infant before placing, as well as to the wet-nurse's own baby, if it be living. When two babies are with the same nurse, care must be taken to see that both are properly nourished. Discrimination as to age and condition must be used in assigning infants to wet-nurses.

The supervision of the wet-nurse after the infant is placed is, of course, very important. A social worker should maintain general oversight but regular calls by a trained visiting nurse and medical direction are essential. In addition to paying the wet-nurse according to her services, suitable clothing should be furnished for the infant. A supervising physician will decide when the child is in fit condition to be taken from the wet-nurse and given some other kind of care. Some infants may then be returned to a mother who may have been sick, or be placed with a relative. The majority, however, are likely to be homeless and friendless. Such infants, when weaned, can be placed at once for adoption, or sent to board in families, preferably in the country.

Older infants from one to three years of age may be sent direct to country boarding homes and, under proper super-

vision, placed on artificial food. This plan is also good for healthy younger infants just past the early nursing stage when received. Thus the boarding-out system makes it possible for an agency to meet the needs of many different kinds of infants and to secure individual care for them until some permanent disposition is made.

Carefully selected free homes, with or without adoption, will often be the best solution for the permanent care of many of these infants. Until such homes are secured, care by wet-nurses, and later by artificial feeding in country boarding homes, is shown by experience to be increasingly satisfactory. This method is being successfully used both to prevent infant mortality and also to put the infants in suitable condition to be offered for adoption.

Competent caretakers, discrimination in placing the children, constant supervision to assure proper food, cleanliness, and general sanitary conditions are essential to good results. The progress of the child should be carefully noted as a guide for further treatment.*

DISCUSSION: INFANT MORTALITY

J. H. Mason Knox, M.D., Baltimore

It must be assumed that it is the desire of any community to save infant lives. The death of healthy infants is a great economic loss because of their potential value to a community. On a higher plane every defensless infant has a right to life and such surroundings as will give it a fair chance, whether it be rich or poor. A recognition of this led to the establishment of asylums and similar institutions. The public considered its duty accomplished when the doors of a reputable asylum were closed upon the homeless infant.

It is only within recent years that the results of institutional treatment are becoming generally known. It has been learned that institutional care for the young infant is usually fatal, that the new born baby has a better chance in a rather indifferent home than in even a fairly well conducted institution. In Baltimore, for example, out of more than 200 foundlings placed in institutions in recent years ninety per cent. died within a few months and those who lived owed their lives to influences outside the institutions. These figures can be

*See also *Standards of Efficiency in Boarding-out Children*, in Proceedings of National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1914, pp. 178-183.

paralleled in many cities. When the public realizes the fact it will insist upon a different method. This is fortunately at hand. It is to find suitable foster homes for these babies.

The paper presented this morning shows how feasible this plan is. It only awaits an aroused public sentiment to be put into almost universal operation. At the Thomas Wilson Sanitarium for children near Baltimore for a number of summers it has been found that convalescent children improved more rapidly when placed in boarding homes if they could not be sent to their own homes, than when kept longer at the sanitarium. A prolonged stay at an institution is usually detrimental to young infants. They fail to gain, become pale and are especially likely to contract infections. Among other things they lack the individualizing care that is a baby's birth-right.

A modern children's hospital, however, has an important function to perform—to determine how best an accurate diagnosis can be made and proper lines of treatment begun, and how the food can be adjusted to each patient most readily. But when these matters are attended to, the well or convalescent infant should be taken home to his own or to a foster home.

It is essential that their homes be carefully supervised, by physicians and nurses. Not more than two babies should be given to any one foster mother. If this oversight is neglected the results must be disappointing. The care of a young infant must be learned by the foster mother. It is in Baltimore apparently possible to secure satisfactory homes if the right kind of effort is made. It opens an honorable career to some women who have difficulty in earning a livlihood in other ways. Then homes should be licensed and the license required to be renewed each year if conditions remain satisfactory.

The illegitimate child also has rights which are being ignored in Baltimore. The antiquated method of social ostracism for the mother and speedy institutional death for the child is still largely in vogue. No better way has been found and practised than by the Henry Watson Children's Aid Society, through which homes are found for both mother and child. In the last three years more than 700 such cases have been treated with an infant mortality of about 4 per cent. Surely the experience indicates clearly the means at our disposal if we have the vision to see whereby an institutional infant death rate of from 50 to 80 per cent. can be very greatly reduced.

DISCUSSION: In the discussion that followed, the following delegates took part: Mrs. Ada E. Sheffield and James E. Fee, Boston; Dr. Hastings H. Hart, New York City; Sherman C. Kingsley, Chicago; Mrs. M. W. Searight, Birmingham, Ala.

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THE REACTION OF CHILDREN'S CASE WORK IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONSTRUCTIVE AND PREVENTIVE WORK OF A COMMUNITY: IN LAW ENFORCEMENT*

John Edward Ransom, Superintendent, Central Free Dispensary, Chicago, Ill.

Promoters of the public welfare are often wont to feel that victory has come with the enactment of constructive legislation. Experience teaches us that good laws are useless unless they are enforced. The placing of a law upon our statute books is today no guarantee of its enforcement. Constructive social legislation is usually framed by a group of people interested in a particular social problem. It is introduced as a bill by some legislator for one or more of divers reasons. Its passage often is accomplished by legislative reciprocity or political expediency. The executive branch of the government now becomes the guardian of this newly made law and upon the activity and integrity of the law enforcing power its real value depends.

We are establishing, esecially in our cities, a principle that it is either impossible or inexpedient to enforce a law against which there is any considerable public opinion. Now in some way the laws that are thus made inoperative are almost always those intended to check some abuse or to forward some constructive social program. Rarely do we find a really bad law becoming a dead letter because, let us say, the police, listening to the demands of the clergy and the social workers of a community, decide not to enforce it.

Another speaker will discuss the value of case work in securing the enactment of laws for the welfare of children. It is for us to show that children's case work does furnish or can be made to furnish the basis for the better enforcement of these same laws. The value of case work in any program for human betterment lies in the basis of fact which it furnishes. There can be no more convincing evidence that a law is not being enforced than actual cases of its violation with impunity. In fact there is no other evidence. Consequently those of us who would have our child welfare laws enforced must usually employ the case-work method. Societies for the prevention of cruelty to children or for the protection of children find a large part of their work closely related to law enforcement. In case such organizations have secured legislation to

*Section meeting Saturday, May 15, 9:15 A. M.

help solve the problems of child welfare, they must in a measure become prosecuting agencies in order that the children and the community as a whole may receive the protection the law affords.

An excellent example of the relation between case work and law enforcement may be found in the history of a law much used by the charitable and correctional agencies of Chicago. In 1905 the General Assembly passed an act providing for the punishment of persons responsible for or directly promoting or contributing to the conditions that render a child dependent, neglected or delinquent. It was an excellent law. The Juvenile Court had been established several years previous and was doing effective work with dependent and delinquent children. This new law was to be a preventive measure—to strike at the causes of dependency and delinquency. But though this good law was in force in 1905, there are no records of any cases of its violation being tried in the courts of Chicago until 1908. It was about this time that the Juvenile Protective Association was organized. This organization has as its chief function the suppression and prevention of conditions and the prosecution of persons contributing to the dependency, truancy and delinquency of children, and the promotion of the welfare of children in every respect. It very early began to make use of this law in its case work. Other organizations and agencies did likewise. Parents who wilfully failed to safeguard the physical and moral welfare of their children, and other persons who in one way or another were responsible for conditions making for the dependency or delinquency of children were brought into court and many of them were punished. The records of the Municipal Court of Chicago show that in 1908, 470 cases of violation of this law were disposed of. In 1909 there were 361 cases; in 1910, 634 cases; in 1911, 733. It was in this year that the Court of Domestic Relations was established—and this was another achievement of this same group of social workers. The establishing of this court made this and other laws for the protection of children much more effective. All cases of the violation of this law are tried in this court by a judge who becomes an expert in deciding such cases. Volunteer organizations working in coöperation with the court have investigated thousands of cases at the request of the judge and in this way have helped the court in deciding the best course of action in these cases. In a single year 2,081 cases were thus referred for investigation. This was in addition to the large number of cases in which the prosecution was started by these organizations. Naturally, the

number of cases under this law greatly increased. In 1912 there were 1,119 and in 1913 there were 1,610.

Last year the Supreme Court of Illinois handed down a decision that this law applies only to parents or guardians and that others who may contribute to a child's delinquency or dependency do not come under its provisions. Now the friends of Chicago children are working for the amendment of the law so that it may more adequately meet the situation.

This is only one of many instances which might be cited to show the value of case work in promoting the welfare of children through law-enforcement.

Most child protective agencies find a part of their work related to child labor and its prevention. In many of our states the laws regulating the employment of minors in factories, shops, mines, etc., are well enforced by factory inspectors or other administrative agents. In some of our cities, street trades are not nearly so well regulated as other types of child employment. Children are exploited by their parents and others who make money out of their industry. Here again private organizations are accomplishing much. Our laws regulating street trades have been passed often in the face of well organized opposition on the part of newspapers, telegraph companies and their sympathizers. Usually when such laws have been passed the newspapers and telegraph companies comply with them so far as actually employing children below the legal age is concerned. The elimination of the individual child-merchant is not such an easy task. He works for himself and his hours are as he makes them. He has a *nom de plume* and an impossible address.

Eight-year-old Tony sells chewing gum on a down-town street late at night. He has an appealing look and a sweet voice which his avaricious father knows how to capitalize. The police officer who sees him has more important tasks than to take the lad home and see to it that the father no longer violates the law in sending forth this little merchant into the commercial world at so early an age. Mr. Good Citizen sees the little peddler, too, but it is not his business to interfere. Somebody, however, must make it his business and this somebody must in most cases be a child welfare organization. Tony is but one small boy, and if his father is brought into court for his offence, his story of poverty and ignorance of the law is likely to free him from the charge. With a shrug of the shoulder and grumbling because he has been arrested he goes back home to send his child out as before. But if today, Tony's father, and tomorrow Ignatz's, and the next day Louis', and

the next Nathan's and more fathers next week and the next, find that there are people in the city who place the welfare of children above the pennies they can earn, and if by constantly hammering at the problem in this way we convince judges that the law is really being violated, so that fines and punishments follow, there is likely to be a decrease in such law-breaking. A really live child welfare association, bringing case after case to the attention of the police, is likely in time to convince that sometimes not too easily enlightened body that its efficiency as a law-enforcing agency could and should be increased.

Education is the final solution of most of our social problems. When we all know that the good of each is the good of all and put that knowledge into effect, we shall at least approximate the ideal community. Until there are no more men and women who will exploit the labor of children and make them the victims of neglect, abuse and vicious practices, we must protect our boys and girls through the enforcement of laws made for their protection. The citizens are the final arbiters in law enforcement. Through volunteer organizations, armed with the convincing evidence of specific cases they can secure, through cooperation with the public authorities, the enforcement of any law. Or, failing in this, they can see that these same public authorities are replaced by those who will do their duty.

Case-work—insignificant as it may sometimes seem in comparison with the immensity of the problems before us, is and will continue to be the basis from which we must work to secure those conditions which shall usher in the better community which is to be—a community which sees its own future greatness and prosperity secured through giving to its boys and girls the largest measure of opportunity for development.

THE REACTION OF CHILDREN'S CASE WORK IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONSTRUCTIVE AND PREVENTIVE WORK OF A COMMUNITY: IN THE REMOVAL OF DEGRADING CAUSES

Mrs. Alice B. Montgomery, General Secretary, New Hampshire Children's Aid and Protective Society, Manchester

The state of New Hampshire received much unwelcome advertising some years ago from Mary Boyle O'Reilly's magazine articles on *Baby Farms in New Hampshire.* A story of real

life enacted in the same state within a few months shows a "degrading cause" of the same type, which we have every reason to believe has been permanently "removed." We will call it *The House of Abomination.*

This house was located on a quiet street in the city of M——. It was the last house on the street and comparatively isolated, with a large grove in the rear. To the neighbors it seemed a House of Mystery, for automobiles and carriages were seen to arrive at all times of the night, and often during the day time bright-faced young girls were to be seen going into the house, suitcase in hand, as if for a visit. Then, too, these same girls would be seen leaving some time after, weak and wan, and looking as if the visit had not, after all, been a pleasant one. Of course, the neighbors were curious, but equally of course they did not regard the affair as any of their business.

And so it might have gone on indefinitely if we had not received the confidence of a young girl, to whom must be given the credit of starting the investigation which changed the name from the House of Mystery to the House of Abomination. This girl was an institution child, motherless and friendless, and on leaving the Home (with a capital *H*) she took a position to do housework. The man of the house, taking advantage of her ignorance of the ways of the world, seduced her, and when he realized that she was pregnant, told her of the House of Mystery, where, for a consideration, all traces of their sin would be obliterated. She paid a visit to the house and found that its services were quite beyond her means—$25 a week for board, and $50 for the murder of the unborn child. In her hopelessness she came to us for help, and we came into possession of the secret of the House of Mystery.

A representative of our society immediatley took up the matter with the police department, repeating in detail the young girl's story. "Not enough evidence," was the verdict, and the prosecuting attorney said the same thing when the matter was placed before him. It was clearly up to us then, to get sufficient evidence. So, late one afternoon, two social workers appeared at the House of Abomination. The bell was answered by a young girl who plainly showed that she was soon to become a mother. Inquiry for "the lady of the house" elicited the information that she was down street. They said they would wait and were ushered into a comfortably furnished living

room, which had, opening out of it, another room, the doors of which were closed, but from which voices could be plainly heard. It was apparent that one of the voices belonged to a sick woman. The young door-tender vouchsafed the information that the lady who kept the house was a nurse and that she had a number of patients.

Soon the woman returned and expressed great delight in meeting the young women, but took every precaution to ensure secrecy before asking for their story. They told her that they had come to ask her for aid for a young girl in distress. What would her charges be to perform an abortion? At first the ferret-eyed woman showed suspicion, and asked who sent them there. Their answer proving satisfactory, she gave her prices; spoke of the excellent care she gave her patients, and of the fact that she was backed by the best physicians of the city and state, and of other states. She cautioned them that they must never tell, as it might cost her a great deal of money if it got out. She told them with much pride of her success, but said that if they decided not to send their friend to her they must forget that they had ever seen her.

The precious evidence had been obtained—even the police admitted it, and that night two officers of the law appeared at the House of Abomination. This time the murderess, herself opened the door. She first showed righteous indignation, and then became hysterical. In spite of her protests, the house was searched. Instruments, medical appliances, and all the necessary equipment for her infamous business was found, as well as letters from prominent physicians asking for reservations for young women, and even some married women, mothers of children. There were also letters from broken-hearted young girls and their parents, all furnishing the evidence desired. A sick girl was removed to the hospital, and for days her life was despaired of.

Then came the long wait for the trial. Conscience-stricken physicians were afraid that their names would be used in the matter, and good citizens were afraid that nothing could be done because of the prominence of some of the people involved. Then came the hard-fought battle between the police officers, the prosecuting attorney, and the good men and women of the city, opposed to the counsel for the woman who had conducted this vile business. We are thankful to say that she was convicted and given the maximum sentence under the law. No one will ever know how many babies were murdered in this place, nor how many helpless infants have been disposed of

in other ways by this one woman, but we do know that the awakening caused by the bringing of this woman to justice will go far toward preventing the continuance of this nefarious business.

It was indeed gratifying to us to see in the local paper the night after the trial and conviction the following article:

A NOTABLE VICTORY FOR DECENCY.

It is no secret that New Hampshire harbors a large number of such institutions as that which Mrs. Harris was convicted of maintaining. Indeed, so numerous have they become, and so defiant of successful prosecution, that these lying-in hospitals of New Hampshire are drawing some of their nefarious business from adjoining states. There has been a very general feeling among law and police officials that conviction in such cases would be extremely difficult, and as a consequence but trifling effort had been made to check their spread. The success, therefore, which attended the attempt to bring the H—— woman before the bar of justice does not consist solely in the punishment of single offender, richly as the testimony indicated she deserved punishment, but in the fact that it was to all intents and purposes a test case whose successful issue will make prosecution of other keepers of such places more frequent and increase the likelihood of conviction.

There is much in the social fabric on this state which will not bear scrutiny, much of crime of which the general public is ignorant, much of evil that might be prevented, or cured, if the light of publicity could be let in. It is in its capacity as an unofficial and disinterested searchlight that such an organization as the New Hampshire Children's Aid and Protective Association finds its greatest opportunity for usefulness. As a generator of moral light as well as an incentive to civic righteousness and a corrective of social injustice this association is a godsend to all of the state.

ORGANIZING A COMMUNITY'S RESOURCES

J. Bruce Byall, Children's Bureau, Philadelphia, Pa.

Thinking of the larger cities, the resources of a community include scores, probably nearly a hundred institutions doing the kind of work that we are interested in, a similar number of boards, and back of the boards a large number of contributors and probably millions of dollars invested in plants and endowments; departments of health and charity and poor boards doing work for children, public and private hospitals, juvenile courts, etc. Ten minutes does not suffice to tell how all that can be organized.

I will tell first what the growth of the Children's Bureau of

Philadelphia has been. The Bureau was organized in 1907 through putting into effect the fund of the Seybert Institution. Instead of organizing an independent staff for investigating purposes, the Seybert Institution proposed to join with other agencies and organize a central investigating staff and office. The Children's Aid Society joined in this. The Seybert fund made it possible to set aside a certain amount of money each month for temporary care. This was a fairly important factor in making the start. About a year later the Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children from Cruelty came in as one of the supporting agencies. At first the investigating work was chiefly for the Seybert Institution and the Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society, but the bureau held itself open to make investigations in children's work in any other way, especially for other institutions in the city. The development was not very rapid at first, but it has steadily increased.

The second year of the organization of the Bureau, the board members representing the colored institutions with whom the Bureau had become best acquainted and on best working terms, decided that their work was not to their satisfaction, and organized a colored roundtable meeting, which met once a month for six or eight months and took up their own problems in a very definite way. The first thing they did was to ask themselves whether the institutions provided for the colored children in the best possible way. A study of their work showed that all the institutions received children of all ages and both sexes. They saw immediately that this was not a good arrangement and changed their work, some taking older boys, some taking girls, some taking young boys and girls. By this step they increased their usefulness and decreased their administrative troubles.

The white institution board members organized a similar roundtable. In Philadelphia there are about sixty institutions caring for white children, so that made a very considerable group. It soon grew too large to meet in the Children's Bureau offices and was organized as a separate round table in 1911. This organization meets now four times a year and takes up at each meeting very definite problems. The children's institutions of Philadelphia, working through these two self-constituted organizations, are now willing to study and question any phase of their work. They are willing to ask themselves publicly whether or not they are doing the right thing in the right way. Our next meeting next week takes up vocational guidance for institution children, and at that meeting every institution there will ask itself whether or not it is doing what it should to get its children properly started industrially.

While at first the applications were largely from the Children's Aid and the Seybert Institution, with a certain number coming in from individuals themselves, the number received from institutions has gradually increased. Our applications from institutions began with the difficult children. When the Bureau placed a child in an institution, if that child proved unsuitable and they re-applied to the Bureau, the Bureau assumed some responsibility for readjustment. Prior to the organization of the Bureau they had to be careful in receiving children because, if the children once got in and proved difficult, no other institution would accept those children from the institution where they were placed.

Until two years ago the Bureau had been officially represented by just those three agencies mentioned. At that time a number of institutions expressed their willingness to join the Bureau on a nominal support basis and since then 14 children's institutions have joined the executive committee of the Bureau, being represented on that committee by one board member and the executive of the institution, so that we have at present officially in the bureau 17 organizations' representatives, meeting monthly with the original executive committee and the members, all having the same vote in the committee meetings.

Following the establishment of the Bureau the joint shelter for temporary care of children, under the supervision of the Bureau, was developed. In this shelter all children received by the Bureau are taken for temporary care and medical attention. In this way the institutions are protected from contagious disease by not receiving children until our physician has approved them.

Another step in co-operation took place a year and a half ago, when it was decided to publish a monthly bulletin. While the heavier part of the expenses of this bulletin rests on the Bureau, other institutions, both members of the Bureau and those not members, paid annually for the maintenance of this publication. These agencies are Catholic, Jewish and Protestant, each paying six dollars a year for the support of the publication and having it mailed to all the members of their boards. The material in this little paper is all provided by the institution and Bureau representatives, board members and executive officers writing signed articles.

It seems to me that there are two ways of organizing the resources of a community both of which will accomplish something. One method is to decide in advance that you, yourself, know everything about children's work and that the rest of the people know little of anything. Prepare an elaborate paper

program, bluff through a nominal acquiescence to this program, and then if you are a publicity expert you can accomplish considerable. It is not a permanent method, nor the best method to get results; for in the final result, upholding standards in the community depends upon the intelligent belief of the community that the standards should be upheld. General secretaries are not eternal and, even if the work lasts while the secretary lasts, the time soon comes when he will go, and the results obtained in that way are not really permanent.

The other method of organizing the resources of a community is to accept the fact that anything which has existed for any great length of time probably has a little to be said in its favor. It may not be entirely right, but things which have existed for a long time usually have had some excuse for existence. People who have been in this work, though probably not quite as professional as ourselves, may have just as much interest as we and some definite ideas which are well worth considering. Any plan which is agreed upon has to be carried out by these different boards, not by ourselves. Absolute concentration of children's work in a community would not be a good thing, so that the general approval of the work in the community depends upon the general acceptance by the various boards of the plans recommended. If we do not take that attitude, the time soon comes when the other boards begin to believe that there is a string tied to everything that is being done, and the end of the string is in the office of the central bureau. Nothing is more fatal to really permanent good work than just that conviction. On the other hand, if the central agency acquires the reputation of bringing out the best that is in children's work, when that conviction settles in, you will be surprised at the willingness of conservative boards to agree in joining you to carry out your plans. In addition, we have to be willing to do the difficult work which the other institutions find impossible to do. We have to be willing to take into our care the boy or girl who has proved unmanageable in the institution, and then pick out the conditions under which that child will respond and make them effective. If we do that we will find the institutions more and more coming to us for co-operation.

There are 14 institutions in the Bureau officially. We make all the investigations for all but one of these. One has recently employed, under the influence of the Bureau, a trained social worker who comes to us for counsel at all times. But we also make most of the investigations for half a dozen institutions who are not members of the Bureau, and occasional investigations for at least 20 other institutions. Another pleasing fea-

ture which took place at onr last executive committee meeting was a suggestion on the part of one of the institutions that they should pay more toward the support of the Bureau. Up to date, 14 institutions have been paying $10.00 a year annual dues. At the last meeting one suggested $50.00, and a committee was appointed consisting of three institution people to work out a plan and bring back recommendations at the next meeting. The three appointed are institution people who can go back to other institutions and say, "We are getting this and this from the Bureau and should pay more for the service."

A SEARCH FOR FUNDAMENTALS CAUSING FAMILY BREAK-DOWNS

Joseph C. Logan, General Secretary, Associated Charities, Atlanta, Ga.

I have considered this subject from the standpoint of the results of the search for fundamentals rather than from the standpoint of methods of searching, because the general subject of this meeting relates to the reaction of children's case work upon the community. The most successful search for the causes of family break-downs is wasted, so far as its influence upon the constructive and preventive work of the community is concerned, unless the results of such search are brought to the attention of the right people, in such manner and under such conditions as to motivate action by them. The fundamental and powerful emotional appeal of the child puts peculiarly within the reach of social workers with children the power to influence their communities.

The most valuable reaction upon the community, with the widest possibility of influence, frequently comes from the enlistment of some strong personality in a life-work for the whole cause of human betterment, first through the simple individual need of a child, unrelated to any community problem. We should bear in mind this power of the simple need of the child to win knights-errant for our whole cause, and apply it in our daily work without waiting for the dramatic case, except perhaps to climax some long-planned constructive project. Such

work stocks the social resources of the future. I recall the story of a man who shortly after being shouldered with the responsibility of a useful and struggling organization, summoned one of its workers to his home to discuss details of his new job. The worker, wondering and anxious as to how this busy man of affairs would take hold of his new gratuitous and disagreeable job, was greeted by him with this remark: "Mr. Smith, I was just thinking while I was sitting here alone waiting for you, what you have done with my life." That man had been first interested to the extent of a small gift for the benefit of a widow and four children. It could not have been predicted at that time what he would do, but what he actually has done comprehends a wider program than he would ever have deliberately undertaken in a single decision.

The early work of our association in Atlanta furnishes one instance of community reaction through the enlistment of an individual which I have perhaps mentioned before at a conference, but it is striking enough to repeat especially to a different group. A minister told us of a girl in his congregation who was tired of putting flowers on the altar and even of hearing him preach, but wanted something else to do as an expression of her religilon. That girl became friendly visitor for a difficult family, and, to make a long story short, she put her father, a wealthy, retired railroad president through a course of social reading; made him president of the Associated Charities and its largest contributor; organizer of the Anti-tuberculosis Association, and moving spirit in the establishment of a city and of a state sanitorium for tuberculosis; an initial influence in the establishment of charity organization societies in several other cities in the South; and, at his death, the founder of a state foundation for the study and prevention of tuberculosis. His brother reorganized and became the president of an Associated Charities in the city to which he removed. Her sister is giving her life to the suffrage cause, after several years of volunteer charitable work. And, I tell you, it all came from that one girl's interest in four young children whose mother was a flighty little simpleton and whose father drank up his earnings.

Please remember, every one of you to agree with me at this point that the business man and the girl friendly visitor were through their individual wills the means of influencing other wills, and accomplishing large community results. I don't want to have to argue with you later that the germ in the milk and the leak in the roof, or even the shortage in the income has all to do with the breakdown of the family, and deficient character

nothing to do with it; or that personality which is powerful enough to shape community life as it wills to do, is not also powerful enough to overcome deficient character, and shape individual life, notwithstanding unfavorable environment.

Every family into which we go should inspire a search for fundamental causes that are bringing sorrow and injustice to mankind; malajustments in environment, and defects in character. Discoveries should be as free to the community and to the social profession as are those of the medical profession. There should be no cornering or waste of knowledge because perhaps our own organization cannot use it. The idea of getting credit for ourselves or our organization for community work is pernicious, and causes antagonistic divisions of work and in many ways subtly hinders progress.

Before I illustrate what I have just said about continually searching for causes and giving the results of our work to others who are in better position to use them for the benefit of the community, I want to point out that our interest in discovering causes in our community should in no wise be abated because similar causes have in other communities been studied and analyzed, and removed, and the facts published. Knowledge gathered elsewhere or even in our own community is of little power until it is seen to bear down upon lives we know and bring sorrow to those whom we love or for whom we have a responsibility.

Last Friday night a committee from the organization with which I am connected appeared before an investigating committee of the police board of our city to urge a far-reaching reform in their system of handling offenders. Four years ago, three children, the oldest a tubercular girl, 15 years old, were reported to us as having been for two days alone in their house without food. Two nights before their father had stopped on his way home at the corner market and bought a steak for their supper. As he came out of the market door he was arrested and taken directly to the police station, the children's supper still in his hand. The neighbors say the children waited and waited and waited for him, until hunger and anxiety could keep them awake no longer. What disregard of love and parental responsibilities lies in a system which could, under any circumstances, confiscate the food of motherless children and leave them utterly unprotected, in the name of justice! We gave the story of these children to the local prison association and it is being used as the foundation of an important reform. Citizens can forget that men and women are made to suffer by the police method of handling offenders, but they can-

not forget such a concrete instance as this when once it has been brought to their attention, nor will the suggestion of reform which it carries ever entirely fade.

An antiquated penal system, tuberculosis, too many children, the germ in the milk, the hole in the roof, and the shortage in the income are causes of family break-downs, but the fundamental cause lies in defective character. This fact throws a responsibility upon social workers dealing with the family which has been and is being largely ignored—the responsibility of strengthening weak and deteriorating personality by character-building resources other than physical environment. This is the specialized function with respect to the young, of church and school jointly; with respect to the adult, of the church alone. I charge neglect of the resources of the church in this connection and believe you will admit the justice of the charge when you compare the exacting and insistent demands we have made upon the school with the casual and querulous reliance which we have placed upon the church.

Consider for a moment those defects of character which are not controlled by physical environment, that lead to family break-downs — intemperance, lack of thrift, ill temper, vice, selfishness, laziness (which is largely lack of interest), gambling, dishonesty, extravagance, lack of consideration of responsibilities of home, impatience, cruelty, and what not. All of these defects are more or less influenced by physical environment; but in the same environment different people react differently; by virtue of their own will power or of the will power of others acting directly upon them. My thought is well illustrated from the Lord's prayer where the petition is first for deliverance from temptation (environment), but, this deliverance not having been granted, for strength to overcome it: "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." The professional worker cannot hope to directly supply the need for personal character-building influences which shall deliver people from evil any more than they can hope to supply them medical attention, or legal aid, or manifold other advantages for which they must draw upon the various institutions of modern life. He should rely upon the church for this service for it is the peculiar responsibility of the church to inspire and develop it.

The patient and intelligent reliance of the social worker upon the church for this service will have a stimulating influence upon the church, and through it upon the community, comparable to the influence which the social worker has had upon the school. The opportunity is now at our door, Paul

More Strayer says, in a book just published, called *The Reconstruction of the Church* that

> The church has this stake in the (present) situation; it cannot permit the impression to continue, that social service is something apart from its task, because the religious impulse dies unless it functions in social relationships and because it is only in service that personal religion can find adequate expression. The welfare worker has this at stake: the church is the greatest organization in the field today, and its members have in large numbers been infected by the new social feeling and are ready to be brought into action. Immense social forces are in readiness in the church, and social welfare would in the long run be most profoundly promoted if the welfare workers turned from their immediate task and for five years gave their time and strength to organizing and directing the social service resources of the church.

We cannot lay down our special tasks, but we can greatly hasten the day when the church's passion for emotional conversion will be transformed by consecrated service into the passion for the development of divine personalities.

DISCUSSION: The following took part in discussion: H. Ida Curry, Henry W. Thurston and W. H. Slingerland, New York City; A. W. Abbott, Orange, N. J.; Robert C. Dexter, Montreal, Can.; B. B. Brown, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.; George L. Jones, Baltimore; David J. Terry, Philadelphia.

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THE RELATION OF PRIVATE SOCIETIES TO JUVENILE COURTS AND TO STATE BUREAUS OF PROTECTION *

Cheney C. Jones, General Agent, Cleveland (O.) Humane Society

The fascinating feature of social work is that no one can foretell what tomorrow may bring forth. During a recent session of the legislature our morning's mail was given spice by a letter from a fellow executive of a private society in a neighboring city. The letter was headed by a bold-type cry of alarm and command: "Important! Get busy quick." It then stated that a senator had introduced a bill stipulating that all cases of failure to provide should be prosecuted in the juvenile court. We were told that we could see at a glance that this bill would "put an end to the work of the humane societies in our state in regard to prevention of cruelty to children," and that "the life of humane societies in Ohio depends upon whether or not we are successful in opposing this bill." At that time our society had established a fixed policy of taking all non-support cases to the juvenile court, foregoing profits from fines, and getting greater results for children than ever obtained from police courts or

*Section meeting Monday, May 17, 9:15 A. M.

justices of the peace. There are many zealous and jealous private society folks who sound the alarm every time they hear of proposed legislation which would assign to the juvenile courts or state bureaus some of the functions previously assumed by private agencies. They seem to foresee great disaster to "our work," failing to recognize victory when it knocks at the door.

On the other hand we have some placid public officials who look indifferently, or even favorably upon the leaving of as many social welfare duties as possible in the hands of private agencies —being quite content to allow the more enterprising citizenship to enjoy both the opportunity and burden of welfare tasks. The situation is further involved by the fact that we have some impatient citizens who are for having all child-welfare activities assumed by the publicly supported and territorially extended public agency. They have seen the limited jurisdiction and the failure of the private society and have dreamed of power, consecration, and efficiency in the public agency whether or not the community mind is enlightened enough to take such a step. We are quite familiar with the common statement of the indignant citizen whose mind is outraged at some unsocial act and who writes to say that "there ought to be a law," covering such a situation. Having a law, however, does not solve the problem of bringing order out of social chaos. We have learned that it succeeds only when the principles expressed by the law have become a part of the brain-fibre of the community.

Somewhere among these extremes is the practical medium. While it is fashionable just now to put private societies on the rack and to look with enthusiasm upon public administration, the need for private enterprise continues. The fact that there are child-protection problems needing the services of a private society, even in a community where we have a good juvenile court and a state board of child welfare, cannot be better emphasized than by noting some of the tasks that come to the office of a private society daily. Recently there came to our office in one day the following complaints:

1. A wife and mother called and said that she and her husband had lived with his people practically ever since their marriage; that her husband is a teamster and works for himself, making good money. The wife, however, did not have the handling of any money and was made to do the housework by the man's mother, which was a greater task than she could perform, as there were many relatives and boarders living in the same house. The wife had finally become disgusted and moved away a few days before. She asked that the man be compelled to support her child, but she said she would be willing to live with him if he would make a separate home for her.

2. A babies dispensary nurse reported on the 'phone that a laboring man who lost his wife a short time ago is boarding with his child, paying $10 a month for both. The child is not receiving

proper food and care. The nurse visited the home recently and found the child in a neglected condition. One knee was raw, the child's bed clothing was wet and dirty and the child was afflicted with a club-foot and hernia. The boarding woman refuses to take the child to the nearby dispensary for treatment.

3. The probate judge reported on the 'phone that a man who had been sick fourteen months had died recently in the city hospital. The Associated Charities have known the case, but from what the judge has heard the children are sadly neglected by the mother and he thinks the situation needs looking into from the standpoint of the Humane Society, with a view to the protection of the children.

4. A neighbor telephoned that a professional man sleeps with his ten-year old daughter, and every night the neighbors hear the child crying as if the man were abusing her. The child is well developed and mature for her years.

5. The City Hospital telephoned that they were sending a woman to the Humane Society office who wishes her illegitimate child of three years placed for adoption. The child, who has been a patient in the hospital, is ready for discharge. Complainant thinks that by proper treatment the surrender of the child may be avoided and the mother restored to more normal living.

6. A woman reported that her sister-in-law, twenty years of age, unmarried, and in a pregnant condition, was sentenced to the workhouse about three months ago by the Juvenile Court for contributing to the delinquency of a young girl, the two having been caught together in a hotel with young men. She was paroled after two months of her sentence. She has since been living with the complainant, who cannot continue to keep her. She claims not to know who is responsible for the woman's condition.

7. An unmarried mother of a month-old baby with her sister called at the Humane Society office with a card from the Babies Dispensary. She stated that she is now caring for her baby in a small room in the lodging-house district. She is not able to get sewing enough to pay her room and board, so she wishes to have the Society find a boarding home for her baby to enable her to work out by the day as chamber-maid. She is nursing the baby and, though the agent told her emphatically she should continue to do so, and she admitted that the doctors at the Babies Dispensary had insisted upon her doing so, she insisted that she must wean the child. She was persuaded to keep the baby with her two weeks more, however, as its eyes are sore and she is having them treated at the Babies Dispensary.

8. A nurse from a private hospital called and stated that a child, aged thirteen, has a very much enlarged and swollen ankle-joint with a discharging sinus on the outer side of the heel. The complainant visited the home and found the woman was antagonistic to her efforts to have the child given medical care and surgical treatment. She learned that the injury had taken place some time last summer. A doctor saw the child two or three times in June, but since then there has been no medical care. The boy has a pair of crutches and gets around, but cannot bear the weight of the foot on the ground. He does not go to school and is in the house most of the time. The mother refused even to send him to the dispensary for examination and treatment.

9. A woman called, accompanied by an Associated Charities visitor. She stated that her husband is a skillful flag-layer, and not only makes $5 a day wages, but finds time for small contracts of his own. He is a heavy drinker and seems to have no sense of handling money. His temper is bad, and he does many eccentric

things which are wearing on the wife's nerves, and she feels that she cannot endure the situation any longer. At one time last winter it was necessary for the family to be assisted by the Associated Charities, as the man was out of work for about twelve weeks. When he drew his first pay the other day, instead of bringing home substantial food to the family, he brought home a basket of bottled beer, candy for the woman and the children, and several packages of chewing-tobacco for himself. The woman said that last summer when she needed a pair of shoes he brought her candy at sixty cents a pound instead. When he is working he orders two cases of beer a month for the house, although he never drinks beer himself, but merely keeps it on hand to entertain his friends. He comes home at twelve or one o'clock at night five times out of the week and insists on his wife getting up and preparing him a supper. She complained that he likes to visit with her at those hours and talks in a loud tone of voice so that he wakes the rest of the family, and if she does not talk with him and agree with him there is trouble. She insisted, however, that in spite of the man's late hours he is up every morning at five o'clock and is a splendid workman.

These nine complaints, related in the form in which they appeared on the desk of the general agent for assignment, furnish a typical cross-section of the daily appeal for service in the way of child protection, and express the general community notion of the business of a private society. In each case the welfare of a child or children is threatened, and the service needed is of the personal and flexible sort that few courts or state bureaus, as at present organized, could assume. We may differ as to who should undertake the various tasks, but let us bear in mind that the appeal is urgent, the need various, and that, at the time, the community from which it comes considers the private society the proper agency for the service. If we think the court and state bureau should perform the service, we must not expect that by saying that they must do so, they will be prepared to do it tomorrow. If we want it all done by these public agencies, ultimately, we have a long process of community and institutional education ahead and must so relate the three agencies as to work in that direction without neglecting the child of today. In its broadest sense, child protection must finally concern itself with the welfare of all of the children of all the people. Juvenile court, state bureau and private society, all face the same big problem. We merely meet it at different angles.

Our discussion of the relationship of the private society to juvenile courts and to state bureaus should be set largely within *the practical;* that is, on the basis of things as they now are and will be in the near future. We can profit most from discussing the present possible working relationship. We may dream of a future ideal community organization, but we must now plow the field directly before us. Our community life is today scrutinizing itself. Community organization is in the air. People are

complaining at haphazard, piecemeal, inefficient and wasteful welfare efforts. Through federations, councils and other get-together movements, our communities have consciously set about correlating and co-ordinating social efforts. All phases of social work ought to join hands in this greatest social evolution. This means that in the field of child protection private and public societies should definitely set about a survey of the present field and the present accomplishment, and relate themselves to each other and to the tasks in such a way as to cover the ground, to stimulate efficiency, and to explore intensively as well as extensively.

Our particular concern, therefore, becomes the proper division of labor, the correlation of tasks and the establishing of a clear, definite notion as to our several working functions. Following the example of our committee, we may well place in the background of our discussion some fundamentals, quoting in part from the report submitted last evening:

> While friendly rivalry may serve a good purpose, there is no room for jealousy.
>
> The lack of intelligent co-operation is inexcusable.
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> At times there is value in two agencies working side by side at similar tasks reacting upon each other for the raising of standards.
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> Private groups are usually the people of quicker social sense who detect community ills that the average body politic has not yet discovered. The development of civilization has followed the detecting of injustice and social ills before unnoticed,—most great public evolutions having been initiated by private individuals or groups. Public protective work for children has been developed largely through the enterprise of private societies.
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> While the tendency of the twentieth century is to extend the sphere of public control, and to place the responsibility for securing proper social conditions upon the official organization of the community, because of the frailty of our human institutions we have to go slow.
>
> "There is no task which the community in its public capacity may not and, under certain circumstances, should not undertake."
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> "For the near future, public boards or departments should devote themselves to such children's work as is based on principles that are well established, require the more permanent care, are more general in this application, or contain an element of compulsion of control, while private organizations should seek development in directions that are more experimental, require more temporary care, are more unusual in their application or are carried on with the co-operation of the families benefited."
>
> "The transfer to the public of a service which is being well done privately but which the state needs as a whole and for which it is ready to equip itself, is to the community's development essential."
>
> "Private societies and institutions for dependent children should seek development in providing for the exceptional child problem or temporary relief, but where standards are satisfactory, the state should give the private organizations as wide an oppor-

> tunity as possible to develop their own resources and their methods of work in selected fields or even in lines parallel to the work of the state, for the purpose of stimulating interest, developing standards and undertaking new experiments."

These fundamentals, on which I think we will generally agree, perhaps furnish the broad answer to our question. The conditions of law and fact differ so widely in different states that we cannot in a short paper be too specific in assigning functions. But we can be somewhat more definite, and, in the light of these inadequate statements, I offer a brief outline of thought and action for each agency under discussion, inasmuch as we cannot think of the relation of one without considering the response of the other.

Relations of the Juvenile Court

Let us consider first the juvenile court. In its relation to the private society, the juvenile court should be non-partisan and non-sectarian. It should undertake to handle all juvenile delinquency cases that have reached the stage where an official interference in a child's life is justified. The court should resolve to look with favor on the private society as the natural expression of a community social sense which a court should not fail to use. We may all agree with the judge* who said that "Men who are not big enough, nor broad enough to appreciate that social workers are part and parcel of the court system of today, are not big enough nor broad enough to sit upon the bench." The court cannot afford to forget that in the United States and in Europe the private agencies have furnished the incentive and assistance necessary to the establishment and development of juvenile courts. The history of the juvenile court cannot be told without telling of the Juvenile Court Committee and the Juvenile Protective League in Chicago, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the Children's Aid Society, and others in Massachusetts and New York, the Juvenile Court Committee combining the workers and resources of eighty private societies in Berlin, the Society for the Protection of Children in Frankfurt, the Children's Society, le Patronage de l'Enfance, in Paris, and the introduction through private initiative of the juvenile court idea in Florence. And the story, however long continued, would illustrate the same relationship and suggest the full answer to our question.

The court may well call upon the private society to undertake necessary tasks outside of the court's legal jurisdiction and to undertake experimental work with cases, and preventive work with conditions, which the court itself is unable to undertake. The undertaking of investigation furnishes one of the best op-

portunities for the application of this policy. It should use care, however, in assigning tasks to the private society, to make sure that it is not using the society simply as a crutch for its own lameness, or asking for the performance of impossible tasks which the court ought to face itself. In some juvenile courts there is confusion and inefficiency because of the lack of a definite program, operated under certain well-defined policies, which include the private society as a resource. In direct line with this policy the court may well watch the work of the private society for suggested new tasks for its own undertaking.

There appears no doubt that efficiency demands that the court should insist on getting jurisdiction of parents and contributing offenders as well as of children. The private societies have definitely established their work upon the basis of the family and if they cannot prefer a charge against neglecting parents in the juvenile court to which they bring the neglected children, their work is necessarily handicapped.

The court should avoid attempting home-finding and child-placing work. If it places children through parole or probation in the care of the agents of a private society or of individuals, it should check up on results in each case frequently and rigidly. In this connection we may say that the court should not only give the private society the opportunity to spend its effort in attempting to hold the family together, but it should insist that such a society make this effort.

While the court may use agents of a private society for probation work for a time, it should look forward to assuming all probation duties itself and it should resolve more and more to make its probation service intelligent, efficient and humane. It does not seem practical at this time for the court to attempt to make any extended use of voluntary workers. Rather should it leave the training of such to the private society.

While the court must of necessity be more or less judical and correctional, it should join with the private society in working toward the educational, in its attitude both toward individual cases and toward the public, and it should join with the private society in keeping such records and data upon the social facts involved in its work that it can show more and more to the community the causes of family failure resulting in neglect, dependency and delinquency of children. Recognizing the chronic indifference of people to the activities of public agencies, the court should make constant effort to use the private society as well as its own machinery to combat this.

Relations of the State Bureau

We may now turn to the state bureau in its relation to the private society. In this discussion, we must think of the state bureau as thus far developed and of its practical development in the near future, rather than of the state board of children's guardians with the extended powers suggested in the report of our committee. In Ohio, the director of the children's welfare department of our Board of State Charities has recently written me as follows:

> It is our policy in Ohio in seeking to relate the work of this Department to about 250 different organizations or associations receiving or caring for children, to take into consideration the existing agencies, both public and private; to control standards through visits and through our power of certification; to encourage and to develop local initiative, believing that it is possible thus to accomplish better service than it would be to undertake to build up a great state machine to do the same work. It is impossible for the government to undertake all charity work. It can do much but it can't do everything. Private philanthropy should be developed along certain lines. Minimum standards should be secured from every agency through the supervision exercised by the state. But the stream of private benevolence should not be permitted to dry up through the failure of the state to develop the charitable spirit of the individual.
>
> In Ohio, as in every other state in the Union, the state is confronted with a problem which it is not meeting, in the care of certain classes of defectives. I am laboring under the impression that it would be a calamity for the state to lose any of the service which is now rendered by private citizens, providing it is properly rendered, in view of the fact that the state should make some provision for the crippled, feeble-minded and others who do not at the present time receive adequate care.
>
> There are real differences of opinion concerning the advisability of the state taking over this child-caring work. But the subject should not be given serious consideration until the state is able to properly finance a scheme which will permit a sympathetic and an intensive study of all of its wards.

This policy seems comprehensive and sane. Here again we find, as fundamental, intelligent co-operation—a duty on the part of the state bureau to use the private society as a community resource. The state bureau has the best opportunity to correlate all child-protection work, using the private society for local information and contact both with conditions and work, and in turn for the education of each and every community. It, in turn, may be of the greatest use to the private societies in the way of furnishing information, and gathering the best ideas and methods developed by the various societies and putting them into the practice of all.

The bureau should be the agency which watches for desirable legislation which aims to enlarge its own powers and to enable the private society to do better protective work for chil-

dren, and the bureau should be the chief spokesman in the state for such legislation. It must be careful, however, to avoid getting tasks assigned to itself by legislation which have no real setting as yet in the public mind, and whose operation is, therefore, impractical, if not impossible. It is a better practice for the state bureau to use the private society for doing the more rudimentary, experimental or laboratory work.

As long as our states are unable to care for all defective and dependent children, every private effort must be stimulated for the sake of human conservation. For the same reason, when the state bureau finds itself short-funded, as too often happens, necessity demands that the private society should go to the rescue of the children. There is no better way of educating the public to the point where they will make the proper appropriation for a public agency, than by encouraging financial support for a similar work done by a private society.

One of the important functions of the state bureau in its relation to the private society is the duty of supervision, generally assigned by law. Perhaps we cannot better define the duty of the bureau in this matter, than to say that the qualities most essential are high standards, tact and rigidity. We cannot leave the subject of the state bureau without calling to mind the need of its realizing that it has always before it the greatest opportunity for wide and far-reaching public education, gathering from all and giving to all.

Relationships of Private Societies

Finally, we have to consider the private society in its relation to both the juvenile court and the state bureau. First of all, the private society should realize that its greatest excuse for being is that it should represent the vision and purpose of those citizens of the quickest social sense, those who have been called "the keen-sighted, forward-looking men and women who stand in the look-out towers of their day, who were the first to see the enormity of the offences that society was committing against the children, those who were regarded as idealists, yet who proved to be far more practical than the reluctant public which failed to count the cost of waste and decay." When the private society fails to be the representative of these invaluable citizens, as we must admit it too often has done, it fails just so much to maintain the proper relationship to a juvenile court or any other public agency. Let the private society look itself squarely in the face and be sure that it holds a clear notion of its own function. Let it look for the waste places, both with respect to those who are in need of help and

those who ought to be helping, and resolve to do what society through its public organization does not do and to do in a better way that which the public is doing inefficiently. The development in the immediate future of adequate protection for the children of our rural communities challenges the private society and offers unmeasured opportunity for service. It is the function of the private society to jar the community thought on child welfare and to so arouse the community mind that it will effectively support and use an efficient juvenile court and state bureau. It need feel no humiliation in being ever ready to lend a hand to the court or state bureau, or in seeing the work it has developed taken over by the public agency.

The private society can be of great service in keeping social work from suffering from wholesale handling, this being a danger which the public agency always faces. It can contribute greatly in the training of recruits for service in the court or bureau. Many fine public organizations have been set up only to fail for the lack of experienced service. Let the private society not allow its need for workers to serve as a chance for a "job" for some misfit who needs a position, at the instance of supporting friends. Public agencies have suffered enough from this evil. By example let the private society combat this tendency and set higher standards for child welfare workers.

To the private society particularly comes the opportunity to study conditions and suggest legislation. It is also assisting the juvenile court and state bureau when it is intelligently active in behalf of proper legislation.

Another thing the private society shares with the other agencies is the duty of combating the chronic indifference of people to social maladjustment and to efforts at reform, and in this respect the private society which is continually carping at the alleged inefficiency of the public agency is decidedly out of order. A certain amount of friendly criticism is justifiable, of course, but the continual slurring of the efforts of the community to help itself through public organizations is not only unbecoming but unpatriotic and malicious.

The private society should always realize that the inevitable call for financial support has its benefits as well as its difficulties and in planning an effort in this direction it should aim first at getting understanding friends and secondly at geting their money. The court and bureau need the interest and support of these same people, and the private society, by cultivating their understanding of child protection rather than their

pride in giving to an individual society, will do more for child welfare in the long run.

While the records of the private society should be held confidential, the obligation rests upon such society to make them of use to the juvenile court and state bureau and also to assemble from them and interpret to the public, such information as will be of community service in making child protective work far-reaching and effective. In this connection, I hope that the time is near when we will revise our way of counting up results and begin to cultivate and spread the notion of counting other things than figures.

The private society is entirely within its rights in keeping a careful eye on the standards of work done by the other two agencies and should not be content to gauge its own standards by those of the others, but should make a constant effort to keep its standards of work and efficiency so high that the reaction through its association with the other agencies will be a raising of their standards.

In line with what I have said about the court and bureau, the private society should not only undertake investigations on its own account, but should be ever ready to do the same sort of thing at the suggestion of either the court or the bureau. For some time to come the private society will be the agency more able to deal with those problems of neglect which require only advice, guidance and supervision or other social service in the home, avoiding litigation.

In general, in the procedure of our courts we can charge many failures of justice to the seeming identity of the prosecuting agency and the bench. In many children's cases demanding court action, there is a distinct advantage in having action brought to the juvenile court by a separate society. It is as well to remember at this point that the private society assists the court and the community in the sifting-out process which it properly performs, keeping many cases from being thrown into the court machinery. This saving and protecting of the court is at the same time doing a distinct service to the individual children. It can emphasize and demonstrate more and more the wisdom of preventing litigation in domestic relations.

The private society, if properly managed, has an advantage in being able to keep its policy more or less permanent, and in this connection it should avoid abrupt changes. If the private society develops its policies through representative committees who are given actual problems to consider and actual decisions

to make, thus avoiding the evils of a one-man concern, the desirable evolution will result and the undesirable revolution will be made unnecessary.

To some extent the private society can be of service not only to the court and bureau, but to the body politic by offering an opportunity for the voice of the minority.

Another way in which the better private society could be of service to the courts and state bureaus would be to make a definite effort to raise the standard of intelligence and service which exists in many private societies. In my state, I am sorry to confess, there are humane societies not only unworthy of the community respect, which they do not have, but both incapable and unworthy of the co-operation either of the juvenile court or the state bureau. These are, of course, exceptional cases. There are other stronger societies that need, however, to broaden their vision and change their methods of thought. If we set our minds to it, I feel sure that the high-grade private society can help other private societies in this respect more advantageously than the juvenile court or the state bureau. Of course, if we neglect our fellow societies the court and bureau will have to assume this task.

In many localities it is not inappropriate for protective societies to undertake the development of child-placing, provided no other agency is undertaking the task. I would not narrow the functions of a private protective society, but would call upon it to undertake almost any child welfare task which its particular community needs and for the doing of which there is at the time no other proper machinery.

The greatest opportunity that comes to the private society in its relation to the juvenile court, the state bureau and to the public is that of being an educational force. At this point we must confess that we have not yet cut very deeply into the tap-roots of neglect. All of us have been dealing too much with results. Perhaps there are no better illustrations of this than the general problems of non-support and illegitimacy, both of which are sources of great numbers of neglected children. As regards non-support, we have improved the prosecution and probation service given such cases, but we have not solved the problem in an extensive or preventive way. We have not made our treatment of individual cases such that it really cures. The responsibility now rests upon the private society to work out a more intensive social treatment of the average non-support case. This means the development of a finer technique which will be used not only in the office and court, but in the home and at

every point of vantage. Perhaps by doing this the private society can in time bring the courts and state bureaus to the point where they will fully realize that the non-support problem is not solved by prosecution, imprisonment, or routine probation, but that it demands from the court a skilled service which cannot be given by an inefficient and over-worked probation officer. Let the private society work under the conviction that in the non-support case we face a social disorder which calls for the kind of diagnosis and treatment that the most skilled physician would give the most serious disease.

As regards illegitimacy, the private society has another opportunity. Anyone who attacks this problem realizes what a fruitful field for neglected children it is. He should realize also how much there is in the community mind that must be overcome before there can be any marked progress. The first big task in this problem is the leading of community thought out of the wilderness. The public as a whole has as yet no clear-cut program for the protection of the child born out of wedlock. We have had enough sentiment and religion of a certain sort applied to the mothers of these children, and we have had enough neglect and legal technicalities applied to the father. Thus far, however, the child has borne the burden. At this time we have pending in the office of the Cleveland Humane Society an appeal from a mother of an illegitimate child who, herself, was an illegitimate child, and at one time a resident of a children's home in Baltimore. She has lived in Baltimore, Buffalo and Cleveland, and now at the age of thirty-one admits having given birth to ten illegitimate children. As far as we can learn she is neither feeble-minded nor insane. A list of the agencies which have touched her life would doubtless form an honorable roll. Somehow or other, some of us must have blundered.

In the matter of enforcing the responsibility of the unmarried father we have been having some interesting experience in Cleveland which suggests progress, if not the solution. The practice in the state has been the usual bastardy procedure with the usual results. We found our non-support and neglect statutes such that the parent of an illegitimate child is charged with the full responsibility of its support. Before proceeding in non-support we must have a clear case against the man. We began with a case where the paternity was admitted, the young man stating frankly that he was the father of the illegitimate child and declaring that he would pay no money for the child's support, preferring to serve a short term in jail. Our agent charged him with non-support in the Juvenile

Court. He was sentenced to two and one-half years in the work-house and $500.00 fine. This jarred not only the young man, but his family. When they asked the court what they could do to save him from this sentence, they were informed that they could furnish a bond covering the total amount he would be expected to pay for the support of the child at the rate of $3 per week until the child is sixteen years of age. An adequate bond was furnished. We have had a number of similar cases and are now defending one in the Court of Appeals which was successful in the Juvenile Court and which involved a jury trial on the question. This furnishes a fairly good example of how the private society and the juvenile court may work together to solve children's problems in a new way. Our next step will be to make our state bureau familiar with the results of our experience in the matter, and ask them to do everything possible to stimulate the practice throughout the state.

Our conclusion on the whole matter is that the private society, the juvenile court and the state bureau, one and all, face the same problem, and the time has come when we must make an intelligent effort to so relate ourselves to each other and to our tasks that we can correlate our work to cover the ground and avoid waste and inefficiency. Let the three agencies form, as it were, a triangle about all of the children of each state which insures their protection at every point. Let us bear in mind that the best methods we know have grown out of co-operation. We may apply Mr. Devine's suggestion, that the national legend, *E pluribus unum,* may be translated: "From many campaigns against specific causes, one victory." To the present tendency in our community life toward real community organization, seeking to apply every resource to promoting the welfare of the whole, the private society, juvenile court and state bureau can make a great contribution, by effecting the complete organization of child protection.

The most important element of unity is that of ideals. And this leads us to say that, somewhere in our talk about organizing for community service for children, we must begin to speak of something else than machinery to protect, rescue and care for children. Did not Judge Lindsey get at the heart of the problem when he said: "There can be no real protection, no real justice for the child, until justice is done the home. Could I help do justice to the child unless I could help smash some of these causes that were smashing the homes, crippling the parents and robbing the child of his birthright?" Ought not the private society, the juvenile court and the state bureau of child protection to join in sounding throughout the

land an appeal for providing opportunity for parents of children to obtain employment at a living wage—and this living wage not the lowest mark on which it is possible for human life to be sustained? The injustice in our present industrial arrangements produces more neglected children than all our machinery can protect. Ought not the agencies which have as their ideal the protection of all the children, begin some sane attack upon John Barleycorn, the arch enemy of child life? We must also become the allies of our child-labor committees. If we are looking for children to protect, if we have any fear of being without work to do, let us turn our eyes to the armies of children who are employed at tender years, sacrificing their lives to the greed of a civilized land.

By assuming the right attitude toward each other, we can better realize the inter-relation of all forms of injustice and misery, which will enable us to organize the forces of the community to protect the child. Let us then help each other in meeting the full measure of our responsibility. As long as we can find neglected children in any out-of-the-way place, there can be no laying down of arms.

In coming years we should find ourselves discussing the neglected child in a new light, thinking of the full life of all the children of all the people. While thinking of the child of the poor, let us not forget the child of unearned and misguided prosperity. Even when we have so perfected our machinery that we can keep the child from being robbed of bread, abused by the cruel, and polluted by the unclean, we shall still have to give our attention to the neglect of his soul, resolved that potential capacity shall not be cramped by either penury or privilege.

> Let not young souls be smothered out before
> They do quaint deeds and fully flaunt their pride.
> It is the world's one crime its babes grow dull,
> Its poor are ox-like, limp and leaden eyed.
> Not that they starve, but starve so dreamlessly,
> Not that they sow, but that they seldom reap,
> Not that they serve, but have no Gods to serve,
> Not that they die, but that they die like sheep.

DISCUSSION: Mr. Jones' paper was preceded by one on "The Scope and Functions of Children's Protective Societies," by Mr. Arthur W. Towne, Superintendent of the Brooklyn Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. The following spoke in discussion: Commissioner W. D. Matthews, Oklahoma; Alfred F. Whitman and Ray S. Hubbard, Boston, Mass.; Marcus C. Fagg, Jacksonville, Fla.; A. W. Abbott, Orange, N. J.; James F. Bagley, Augusta, Me.; Mrs. F. B. Lewis, Greenwich, Conn.; D. F. Shirk, Topeka, Kan.; Edna A. Beveridge, Baltimore, Md.

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A STUDY OF RESULTS OF A CHILD-PLACING SOCIETY*

Ruth W. Lawton, Research Worker, and J. Prentice Murphy, General Secretary, Boston Children's Aid Society

This paper is the result of a most careful consideration of certain phases of our work as a social agency. It was written partly to present some findings of our study which we have been conducting for the last year and a half, and partly as a protest against the tendency of social agencies to under-state the great fallibility of their work. If social work is ever to develop into a profession, searching analysis and criticism of methods and results, no matter what the consequences may be, become prime essentials.

On October 1, 1913, the Boston Children's Aid Society added a research worker to its staff; the expenses of her work for the first two years being met from a special gift coming from one of the directors. This director, and others of the board and staff, were anxious to have the society study in a broadly interpretive way some of the economic and social problems represented in the lives of the children coming to its attention. There was also a desire to see if our particular services as a child-placing society could not be stated in certain exact terms, with the hope that in so doing we might be able to establish certain standards by which we could measure our own work, and which might be of some service to other children's organizations, also inclined to self study. We hope to publish in greater detail certain portions of the study which are only slightly covered in this paper.

Moreover, in this process of measuring our own standards there was a still further desire to see wherein we were failing in our work; for social agencies do frequently fail: often because their professional technique is crude or faulty, and often because no methods short of a fundamental change in social institutions will correct the unsocial conditions so often found. A quick reporting of faulty lines of approach to better social conditions is something that society at large has a right to expect from every social agency, and this can only be done through careful interpretation of the work as it progresses.

Our society has been in existence more than fifty years. During the greater part of this time care for many of the children coming to it was given largely in institutions. For more than ten years, however, it has done no institutional work, providing for its children in normal family homes selected with care. It

*Section meeting Tuesday, May 18, 9:15 A. M.

has aided children without reference to age, sex, religion, or color. A large number of its wards have been delinquent; their treatment by the society being possible because of the plan of family care followed, and the fact that its visitors have not been given more children than they could reasonably care for. It is a fact that many of the delinquent children we have received would have been considered straight institutional problems by most of the children's societies in the United States. The society has also received many children considered as possibly defective mentally, but in need of more careful observation under normal family life before final and accurate diagnoses were possible. A large number of the children received every year are over twelve years of age, and many young, unmarried mothers have been included in this group. This statement of the range of work is necessary in order that accurate comparison may be made with the work of other child-caring organizations.

Before giving any of our findings it must be said that we have here put down certain statements of interest that appear bare and uncorrelated, but that as the analysis progresses there will be further correlations of facts and additional interpretations.

We began our study with the idea that the many thousands of families that had come to the society during, say, the ten years previous to 1913, and certainly the two thousand and odd children who had been received into care during the same period, presented in their varied and tragic needs an array of ills and results which, if once focused, would produce one or many social documents of very great value. So strongly was this felt by some of us that in the 1912 report of the society explicit reference was made to the wealth of social data buried in the history records of our families. To our great surprise and disappointment we found in 1913, after superficial examination, that our histories as written records were of little value; that, although they represented many evidences of good and bad work, there were too few facts on which sound, wise studies could be based. The task, moreover, of getting supplemental data was, of course, entirely out of the question, for a number of reasons—chiefly that of expense.

Most social agencies are prone to indulge in this same bromide, namely, that, given sufficient money, they could do so much in an educational way with their old history records. We do not feel that we are exaggerating when we say that it is perhaps possible to rattle off on the fingers of one hand the children's organizations, and the family treatment organizations as well, scattered over the country, whose records have any general social value whatsoever.

Consider, for example, the unmarried mother problem as American children's charities have handled it. There is the group that believes in the separation of mother and baby, and there is the group that believes in keeping the mother and baby together; yet nowhere can we find a society able to say: here are the careful histories of several hundred mothers whom we have treated in our way, showing results which we think support our plan of treatment. Literally millions of dollars have gone into the care of unmarried mothers in the United States, and yet one looks in vain for a frank and truly scientific statement of what has been done with this problem, and what seemingly can be done. We hoped, for example, when we began our research work to be able to make an immediate study of what we had done for unmarried mothers. The society for years had tried to be flexible in its treatment of the illegitimacy problem; yet we found little in our records from which even rough generalizations could be made.

So we forthwith decided on three things: (1) a statistical schedule to be used in interpreting records from October, 1913, on; (2) the completion of at least a certain number of our history records, so as to build up a certain amount of information adequate for future research work; and (3) the making of an intensive study of the children over twelve years of age in care on October 1, 1913. Although some of these children, numbering 129, had been with us for periods varying from five to fifteen years, it was necessary, as the study developed, to gather supplemental information for the great majority of them. As it is, there is, even now, much that we do not know about the children or their families, and which we can never ascertain; yet the 129 children included in the study, coming from 117 families, had involved up to October, 1913, an expense approximating $100,000. In spite of all that has been said on the value of careful initial reception inquiries, many of these children were taken on meagre information, often engaging us in the task of fitting round pegs to square holes, and in some cases exposing communities to great dangers from the acts of exceedingly difficult children.

For certain reasons we consider that careful, searching inquiries are, if anything, even more necessary in children's work than in general family relief work. The poorly investigated child problem may so easily result in a gross misuse of charitable funds. A relief agency will think long before it agrees to a pension of $400 or $500 a year for a family; but a children's agency will spend that much, and more, for the care of the scattered children of one family, without any realization of the financial extent of their problem.

In making these comments about our own society, we do not think for an instant that we stand alone. Our society has been one of a very small group of pioneer agencies which has tried hard to develop and maintain good standards of work for needy children throughout the country. It is evident, however, that in our own case we have not always succeeded, and that there is still much for us to do. It seems fair to add at this point that we consider the standards by which we have measured our work in this study to be high. In the standard by which we have judged our own work we have included searching inquiries before final acceptance of children; complete medical examinations and treatments; mental examinations where there is any indication of defect; an exact adjusting of a high type of foster family to each needy child; visitors of broad training, adequately paid, and not so burdened with children as to be unable to think and plan wisely and unhurriedly for those in their charge.

On the reception-inquiry side we found that we had accepted children in very critical need of special kinds of care without knowing the particular defects in heredity which made certain of our treaments unwise or dangerous. For example, we had one exceedingly nervous girl in charge for several years before we discovered that she had an insane grandmother; that her father and mother had both died insane, and that this strain of insanity explained certain characteristics which we had most incorrectly interpreted. We also discovered during the study that another, none too robust, girl suffering with congenital syphilis had three generations of ancestors with almshouse records, a grandmother who was insane and at one time a state ward, and a mother who was both epileptic and an imbecile. The need of a most protective kind of care, expressed in quietness, careful medical supervision and freedom from strain were indicated as clear essentials; yet in one instance we were planning to put the child under very great discipline because she seemed stubborn.

We also discovered, purely by chance, through one of the visitors from Cold Spring Harbor, that one of our wards, a nervous, sensitive girl of great refinement, had a heredity strain of appalling extent, going back three generations, and showing that nineteen of her immediate ancestors had been alcoholic, epileptic, neurotic and sexually promiscuous. These facts were only meagrely known to us when we began our long, expensive, and what now promises to be successful service.

With an extremely difficult girl it was found long after we had received her into our care that, in addition to having two feeble-minded sisters who were sexually promiscuous, there were,

among the brothers and sisters of her parents, and their parents, eight individuals who were sexually promiscuous, five of whom were alcoholic.

In 1912 we received a boy, then fourteen years of age, whose father had been cruelly abusive to him. The boy indicated no marked objectionable tendencies and was supposedly progressing in one of our families. Coincident with the charge that he was showing precocious sexual habits, involving girls in the school he attended, we learned that sexual perversity had been a prominent family characteristic for over two generations. The boy in question had been born illegitimately, his father having lived with the boy's mother before he married her. He had also lived immorally with the wife of one of his own brothers. There was another daughter in the family who had been sexually promiscuous before our boy was taken from his home, and at that time was pregnant. There was an aunt who served a term in prison for having caused, through cruelty, the death of a nephew. This aunt and her husband were both worthless, the man being an alcoholic and a bum. Another brother of the father was also sexually uncontrolled and had married three times. With such a background it was dangerous for us to have placed this boy except with a foster mother and under a visitor completely informed.

In no instance would it have been easy for us to have secured all this information when the children were first received; but that we learned much of it years afterwards is proof that in some cases we could, and should, have had it from the start.

A number of eugenic charts were made during the study; something every children's worker should do for at least the families of the most difficult children in care. The strains and taints of families when plotted out in such a way stand out strikingly, and there is not as much danger that one will fail to provide against them in after treatment. Not to know these facts, and many more, is a great weakness in child-caring work. It is often remarked by certain children's agencies that they care only for good, wholesome orphans, and that really careful and searching inquiries are therefore unnecessary in their work. The true social worker knows, however, that the destructive causes affecting families work broadly, and that any of the conditions noted for this small group of children might just as easily be found in a church home or a day nursery.

In the matter of applications made for the children involved in the study, we discovered that 30 per cent. of the families involved made two or more applications before we took action; thirteen families applied three times each, and five families ap-

plied four times each before anything happened. We do not know just how significant this is, but we have wondered why we did not see the need for removal when we made our first contacts. There is much error in all of our diagnostic work, and it seems that it would be of value for us to determine whether the conditions which permitted final action were present at the time of the first application, and just why we failed to take account of them. It is beyond question that in some instances we had determined that the children should be removed from their homes because of conditions found there, but we were unable to act because the parents refused to give their support to our plan. In some instances months elapsed between the first and last applications, the children finally coming to us in much more serious plight than at the time of the first application. We also discovered long waits between the dates when the last applications were made and the dates when the children were placed in families; very few children being placed within ten days after the last application. It will be of value to study this further in comparing the family home type of care with the institutional type of care, because the institution may accept a child at once, whereas in difficult cases some time is required for the family agencies to find the home that exactly fits the child. It should be remembered in this connection that no one institution would have been able to receive all the varied types included in this study.

During the time the children were in care up to October, 1913, the general physical condition of 91 of them averaged good or excellent; for 38 the average was fair or below. A total of 440 visits each year from physicians are recorded for the period studied, less than one-third of these visits being by local physicians. The general tendency was for the children longest in care to show the highest health averages. It is against our credit that only 37 general physical examinations and 4 mental examinations were made for these 129 children before they were first placed. Two, and probably three, girls out of the 60 in the group, one-half of whom were over twelve years of age when received, contracted gonorrhea while in our care, and two became pregnant while in our care; one of these two became pregnant twice.

We ascertained, on the mental side, that 26 had been examined; for the other cases we are giving the visitors' estimates. One hundred and three children were considered normal, six backward, twenty subnormal and defective.

At the date of the study, October 1, 1913, 45 of the 69 boys and 25 of the 60 girls were attending school; 26 of the girls and 13 of the boys had left school before coming to us; 10 of the

boys and 8 of the girls left school while in our care; and 1 left school and went to work at the date of application, although he remained in his own home as a probation oversight case. During placements the children attended a total of 194 different public schools, 163 of which were studied. All but 5.5 per cent. of these schools were standard graded schools; 113 were within one-half mile of the children's homes and a total of 139 within a mile. It is of value to have this information respecting the schools because fears have often been expressed that we, along with many other placing-out societies, were sending most of our children to ungraded schools located at great distances from the children's homes, and thus offering them school services far below those offered to them in their own city schools. Of the 73 children in school the greatest number were fourteen years of age or under; 24 were attending high or normal schools. The children were on the whole about a year behind the average grade per age for children living in their own homes—which indicates nothing for our children except that they started under handicaps which do not hold for most children.

It is our special task to provide for needy children in family homes. We are emphasizing the family type of care for children as contrasted with the institutional type of care emphasized by certain other children's societies. In the performance of this work we have tried to standardize the service of the family plan agencies. To repeat again, one very important motive back of this special study has been the gathering of material which would make it possible for us to compare the family plan of service with the institutional plan of service on something more than an emotional basis.

The material gathered during the study with reference to our use of foster homes and the supervision of our children in these homes does seem of very special value. We found that up to October, 1913, these 129 children had been cared for in a total of 498 homes or families, this being an average of almost four homes for each child. This, of course, includes the homes selected for temporary care as well as the home selected for permanent care. For the 498 homes there were 528 placements, which is an average of more than four placements for a child. Thirty-seven per cent. of all the placements were temporary, which may indicate one weakness in our family plan. In other words, more than one-third of all placements were made temporarily in families, without thought of their special adaptation for the children, in order that the visitors might have time to find other families to provide the particular and special training needed. Of the 528 different placements, 330 were made with the idea that they

would be permanent, 319 homes being used in this connection, and 179 were only temporary, 128 homes being used for this purpose. It was found that the girls had a higher percentage for temporary placements than the boys, the difference being 4 per cent. less for the boys.

We were surprised to find the average number of placements per child so small. We felt before the study began that we should find a much greater shifting about. It would be of interest to know how our average compares with the averages of other child-bearing societies and institutions doing some child-placing work. It seems that here is one way in which we can compare the stability of service rendered by child-placing agencies with the stability of service rendered by institutions. The study has included a great many of the aspects of our approach to this problem of child care—including a careful analysis of the 498 homes used for the children covered by the inquiry. Through this information which is just being assembled we expect to get a very comprehensive picture of the actual training places we have been using—for such we consider our foster homes to be.

Most of our children are placed within fifty miles of Boston, a fact which holds for practically all of the private child-placing societies in Boston. It is doubtful if very many other child-placing organizations scattered over the country are as close to their placing territories. This nearness of homes to office makes possible frequent telephone conversations with the foster-parents, and frequent visits on the part of the foster-parents or the children to Boston to see the visitors.

The actual number of placements for certain groups of children were acertained to be about as follows: 11 boys in care for a year were found to have had 18 placements in 13 different homes; 12 boys in care two years were placed 21 times in 21 homes; 4 boys in care four years had been placed 11 times times in 15 homes; 3 girls in care five years had been placed in 11 homes; 6 boys in care six years had been placed 18 8 times in 8 homes; 8 girls in care two years had been placed 11 times in 11 homes; 4 girls in care ten years had been placed 9 times in 9 homes; and 1 girl in care twelve years had been placed 5 times in 4 homes.

It was found with the boys that the tendency was to transfer directly from one permanent home to another without an interval of temporary placement in one of the families in or near Boston. There are several reasons for this: first, wage or free homes for boys are apt to be at a far greater distance from the office than the wage or free home used for girls; secondly, the man in the country gives more warning for the removal of a boy than the

woman does who is in charge of a girl; the reasons for removal do not appear to be, and actually are not as urgent in nature as those in a girl's case.

It is our purpose to select our families so carefully, and with such concern for the special fitness of the particular children to the particular homes selected that the caring families, under the oversight of our visitors, will be generally responsible for the training of the children received. It is necessary, of course, for our visitors to make certain visits to these families from time to time. This is another point for which the family plan agencies are criticised; namely, that their supervision is not close or adequate enough. It can not be stated too strongly that numbers of visits alone are no indication of supervision efficiency. Days may be spent in finding a home with the right training adjustments for a child, and by very reason of the care exercised at the start there can safely be fewer supervision visits than in the case of a child hurriedly placed in a home possessing no special qualifications.

We discovered that with each of our visitors having an average of 45 children in care (this has held for the last five years, but was as high as 100 when some of the children studied first came to us), the homes of the boys were visited every three months and nineteen days; the homes of the girls every two months and nineteen days; the average for both being three months and five days. The averages indicate that our visitors are seeing the boys in their homes less than four times a year, the girls in their homes less than five times a year. These visits cover all personal contacts made directly with the homes of the children, and represent 75 per cent. of all contacts between the children and the visitor, the remaining 25 per cent. representing occasions when the child was seen away from the home. We might expect that the percentage of visits to the homes for boys would be even larger if there were not a tendency to make temporary placements for boys in or near Boston when, because of our knowledge of the homes and the fact that the boys were coming frequently to the office, close oversight was not required. But this tendency is partly offset by another tendency: given, a boy in a temporary home in the metropolitan district, especially if he is placed near the office, he frequently reports to the visitor at the office; possibly this happens every day for a week or two, if the boy is that long awaiting permanent placement. For the girls, on the other hand, more contacts are made outside the foster home than in the case of boys. First, because the girl is not placed as remotely from Boston, and therefore comes into the city for shopping, at which times the visitor sees her. Secondly,

there are many girls who must be within reach of out-patient clinics or physician for the purpose of receiving medical treatment and close oversight of hygiene.

Our visitors in considering the children studied agreed that out of the total 129 involved, only 70 had been truly and adequately supervised throughout the whole period; 14 were inadequately supervised for only part of the time and 42 inadequately supervised for practically all of the time. When we say that only 70 out of the 129 children were considered to have been adequately supervised over the whole period, we do not mean that the remainder have all necessarily suffered through inadequate oversight, because the majority of the remainder have been, and are, doing very well in the homes to which they have gone; but their progress is something for which we can not ask praise because of what we have done. Adequate supervision calls for intimate and continuous oversight and knowledge of the children and the homes under care.

The reasons given for the inadequate supervision of 42 of the children noted were as follows: too many cases assigned a new visitor during her first year; too many cases assigned to a visitor throughout her whole term of service; ineffectiveness of a visitor as to training and personality; too frequent change of visitors; changing of visitors at a critical time when the child would not accept the new authority; too long lapses between visits of two different visitors; inadequate and insufficient reception inquiries so that the placing visitors had no information with which to do their work; case work handicapped because of reorganization in the office; too frequent change of homes and too distant placements; vocation plan for and preparation of child neglected; visiting sufficiently frequent but careless in interpretation; frequent visiting but insufficient for certain difficult children; conflict of authority in the minds of foster parents because the authority of previous visitor who had retained guardianship was held above that of the new visitor; placing undue confidence in the foster home and thus visiting less frequently than later results indicated to be wise; interference of child's family with the work of the society; failure to recognize mental defects and less difficult cases overshadowed by more difficult sisiters or brothers.

We found that the average period a child was under one visitor was one year, six months and fifteen days, so that every one of these children had a change of visitor every year and a half. This, of course, as every placing-out worker knows, is a very serious condition of affairs, because the supervision visitors for placing-out societies hold a control and a knowledge of the

children and their special families that can not be passed on to other people with ease, or with any degree of certainty. The continuity of service for visitors of a placing-out society for at least five-year periods is an absolute essential. We found that the mere fact of visitors leaving our staff for the purpose of getting higher salaries with other agencies was responsible for 122 out of a total of 230 transfers of children from one home to another. We feel the study proves that payment of better salaries and more careful selection of visitors, with the view of their terms of service averaging higher than those which we found for our own society, will tend to remedy some of the most serious weaknesses indicated in this paper. Undoubtedly some of the failures in our services were largely due to the fact that we were not able to take up the slack in the line quickly enough between the time when one trained visitor left us and the time when her successor became experienced enough to handle given problems with efficiency. This is a powerful argument for more careful training of workers before entrusting them with the supervision of different and difficult children.

These results as submitted challenge the services of every child-placing organization. If, with an average of 45 children per visitor for most of the period studied, we are forced to report such findings for our own society, what must conditions be with organizations averaging from one to two hundred children for each visitor?

A STUDY OF RESULTS OF INSTITUTIONAL CARE

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At the outset it might be well for me to go on record as stating that I am fully aware of the fact that to me has been assigned for discussion a rather difficult and most delicate subject.

Furthermore, experience of the past serves most forcibly to remind me that, in its presentation, almost unwittingly, I shall be compelled to inflict pain upon the finer sensibilities of a large number of devoted men and women who, animated by deeply conscientious motives, have given generously and unselfishly of their time and means to the advancement of the interests of the institutional care of children. Perhaps, in my make-up, had I been possessed of more caution than hardihood, or call it courage or temerity, if you will, I would have

hesitated long before consenting finally to accept the assignment which some unknown, but well-minded person, practically thrust upon me.

Harsh and over-critical, as some perchance may see fit to designate me, I do sincerely trust that all, whether or not identified with children's institutions, will believe me when I make the assertion that, in presenting the subject in the form I intend to adopt, I am actuated solely through conscientious motives, with a sincere desire to help the cause and with an impelling ambition to associate myself with any movement which will eventuate in the adoption of better and more progressive standards in our public and private child-caring institutions.

In a word, after an experience of fifteen years in handling the output of institutions and one year as a public official in dealing intimately with the methods entering into the conduct of children's institutions, I feel it a duty due the community to exert every influence possible in an endeavor to secure a square deal for a large number of destitute, dependent, and neglected children whom fate or other circumstances, over which practically they have no control, commits to the care of some of our children's institutions of the present day.

In the treatment of this subject, it occurs to me that two methods are permissible. One method involves a discussion of the topic in a purely theoretical or abstract form in which usually the writer draws upon the general knowledge gathered concerning the commonly accepted theories of the disadvantages of institutional care of children. Where such a course of treatment is adopted, it is quite customary to find that, with the very meagre data available for the purpose, an attempt is made to make some sort of prognosis of the results which might be expected naturally to follow.

In so far as my studies have gone, in the past, this, in great measure, has been our method in dealing with the subject. As a result, while partially we may have succeeded in convincing certain members of the community that institutional care of children is not the most approved, the most desirable or the most advantageous method of child-care, the proofs advanced in defence of the argument have lacked that compelling force so essential if we are to convince the public at large. They lacked force because of the fact that they were based, not upon concrete evidence resulting from an extensive and exhaustive study but, quite generally, upon scattered instances or debatable conclusions. The net result of such method of treatment had been to arouse a spirit of bitter antagonism on the part of the proponents of the system of institutional care of

children. Those in favor of the continuance of this form of child-care assert, and with some measure of justification, it would appear, that their opponents base their criticisms and conclusions, not upon concrete facts acquired by actual contact with the problem, but upon general assertions or theories which have no proper basis or foundation. Furthermore they state that usually it is to be found that the most bitter among those who assail institutional methods have had absolutely no experience whatever in dealing with institutional children before or after discharge. Consequently, they argue, such persons are not properly equipped or qualified to pass judgment upon the question.

The other method of treating the subject is to view it in a practical and concrete form, to outline the methods of child-care actually prevailing in certain institutions and then to draw conclusions or make deductions. This, to my mind the more satisfactory and just method of handling the subject, will be adopted in the presentation of this paper.

In any institution, if the methods of child-care adopted are of an acceptable standard, it is quite safe to predict that the results or effects upon the children concerned will measure up to the requirements. On the other hand, if the child-care methods in vogue are indifferent or bad, their effects, necessarily, will exert an indifferent or evil influence upon the future lives of children unfortunate enough to come within their scope.

Even the most radical opponent of children's institutions, if he has had any opportunity to study the question at close range, will have to admit that there are some exceedingly good institutions working along most progressive lines for the advancement of the temporal and spiritual interests of the dependent children consigned to their care. Speaking for the state of New York, where exceptional opportunities have been afforded me, during the past year, to look closely into things institutional, I can bear cheerful testimony to the fact that we possess some exceptionally fine children's institutions whose work is of such a high type as to reflect credit not alone upon the institution itself but, likewise, upon the community wherein they operate. The men and women in charge of these orphanages realize fully the responsibilities they have assumed in offering to act *in loco parentis* to the children entrusted to their care, and are measuring up to them. One has but to visit such institutions, pass judgment upon them and come away fully convinced that any child committed to their care, quite generally, will be turned back upon the community well trained, physically, mentally and morally, thoroughly equipped to take

his place in society, a proper subject for useful and right citizenship.

Among the congregate institutions visited, despite the fact that they are laboring under serious environmental disadvantages and may never hope to approximate the conditions existing in model cottage orphanages, those in charge of the Good Counsel Training School at White Plains, St. Joseph's Home at Peekskill, the New York Hebrew Orphan Asylum, and the Brooklyn Hebrew Orphan Asylum are bending every energy to measure up to the standards of progressive and enlightened child-care. On the other hand, it is a fact that there exist a number of institutions where the methods in operation are of such a low standard as to render them practically incapable of producing results worth while in the advancement of the interests of the children committed to their care. In some institutions of this type the authorities are content to work along the lines of least resistance, extending to their wards the very minimum of requisite care, training, and normal home life. In still another group, the managers cling fondly to traditions and adhere tenaciously to methods of child-care which long ago were thrown into the discard by progressive institutions.

From the standpoint of education and public utility such institutions, apparently, are conducted on a water-tight compartment system in which correlation and unification of all the separate sections of the life and work of the place are sadly lacking. In dealing with such institutions it is absolutely futile to attempt, by way of command, to infuse higher standards and ideals because the very primary and essential elements of proper child-care are totally lacking. Before attempting to introduce newer ideals, a thorough housecleaning would have to be undertaken.

Prior to 1914, when Commissioner Kingsbury came into office, the authorities of the Department of Public Charities, responsible for the commitment of more than twenty thousand dependent children, apparently never had made it their business to learn anything of the results being accomplished by the institutions to which children were committed. Apparently, because these institutions were inspected by the State Board of Charities, it had not been considered any part of the duty of the Commissioner of Charities to consider any distinctive feature of institutional equipment or methods, save that of capacity and the fact that the institution had received the customary certificate from the State Board of Charities. In justice to Mr. Homer Folks it must be said that, during his term as Commissioner of Charities, he established the custom of securing from

the State Board of Charities detailed reports of their inspections of private child-caring institutions, which he forwarded to the superintendents of the children's bureaus responsible for the commitment of children, requesting them to read the reports carefully and to take them into account in selecting the institutions to which they would commit the various children. Mr. Folks often regretted that he did not have a deputy expert in child-care work and a staff sufficient and competent to enable him to inspect these private child-caring institutions.

Commissioner Kingsbury, appreciating the weightiness of the responsibilities imposed upon him, determined to ascertain for himself the character of service maintained in these institutions and nature of the results obtained. For this purpose he organized an advisory committee on child-caring institutions, composed of Dr. Ludwig B. Bernstein, Dr. R. R. Reeder, and Brother Barnabas, men actively engaged in the conduct of children's institutions and recognized throughout the country as leading experts in progressive child-caring work. Since its organization it has been my privilege to direct the work of the committee.

With a view to establishing eventually a uniform standard of minimum requirements of proper institutional care of dependent children, the members of this committee have been engaged, during the past year, in conducting an exhaustive study of conditions and methods actually existing in child-caring institutions receiving children by commitment from the Department of Public Charities.* In addition, though with little success thus far, an endeavor has been made to ascertain just what actually does become of the children after their discharge from institutions. It is a fact that,with some possible exceptions, very few institutions can give any competent or reliable data concerning their discharged wards.

Thus far the committee has inspected some twenty or more child-caring institutions under private control. As the study still remains incomplete, no reports of the work of the committee have been published. The following, however, is a brief summary of some of the methods and effects of institutional care observed by the members of this advisory committee. In the main, with some few notable exceptions, I am sorry to say it constitutes a woefully pitiful commentary upon the inefficient

*Copies of the questionaire, or plan of inspection, used by the Department of Public Charities in the inspection of children's institutions may be had upon application to the author.

standards prevailing in some of our institutions of the present day.

In setting forth the results of this study, I have purposely selected for treatment only such matters as are recognized as elementary essentials for the proper conduct of a children's orphanage.

I. Health and Hygiene

(*a*) *Medical Service.* The amount and character of the medical service rendered children varies greatly. In some institutions the attending physician makes a daily visit, while in others the physician calls but once a month; in one institution, caring for more than three hundred children, the attending physician makes a professional visit only when summoned. Among the institutions visited only once each month by the attending physician, one has a census of four hundred children and another a population of more than five hundred. On no institutional staff, thus far visited, is an orthopedic surgeon listed, though the necessity was quite apparent in some institutions. In one institution the Board of Health physicians reported that 64 of the 200 children under care were in need of tonsil operations, yet no record could be found tending to show that any effort had been made by the institutional authorities to remedy this serious condition. Perhaps the explanation will be apparent when it is stated that this institution, thus far, has not perceived the necessity of employing a nose and throat specialist.

(*b*) *Dermatological Service.* Dermatologists were found on very few institutional staffs. In one institution, in which there are housed nearly eight hundred children, 68 were found suffering from various scalp conditions. While these children are segregated in a special cottage, at meal time they are allowed to associate with other children in a general dining room. There is no skin and scalp specialist engaged at this institution.

(*c*) *Eye Service.* The eye service in a number of institutions was found most inadequate. In one institution, where no eye specialist was engaged, it was said that the children's eyes had been examined "about a year ago" and, where necessary, glasses had been supplied. Of course, the glasses, when broken, were not replaced. In another institution, which likewise did not engage an eye specialist, nearly one hundred children were afflicted with various eye troubles for which they were undergoing daily treatment in the infirmary. In this particular instance it was reported that the regular attending physician examined these children about twice a week. Of course

it was easily understood why there should be so many cases of children afflicted with sore eyes. They are not segregated and sleep in common dormitories.

(*d*) *Dental Service.* In most institutions, the dental service given is of such an entirely inadequate character that, in the main, it is greatly to be feared as much as harm as good has been done. In a large number of the institutions inspected, the dental equipment provided is very meagre indeed. As a rule, wholesale extractions of teeth apparently is the order of the day. In very few institutions is any attempt made at preventive dental work. It is a fact that in not a single institution thus far visited do the authorities think it worth while to have their dentists, even one a year, cleanse thoroughly the teeth of the children.

(*e*) *Physical Examinations.* Periodical physical examinations of children rarely are made. Save in two of the institutions inspected it is not customary to have the children weighed and measured either upon admission or thereafter. Even where children were found to have been subjected to a physical examination upon entrance to the institution, in a number of instances no provision was made for follow-up work to correct or remedy conditions noted.

(*f*) *Health Reports.* While all institutions are required to report diseases treated to the State Board of Charities, no account is to be found of the use of measures to prevent the recurrence of these diseases, or to remedy the conditions responsible for their spread.

(*g*) *Mental Examinations.* In the majority of the institutions inspected, no systematic effort is made to ascertain the mental condition of the children. Though the Department of public Charities has established a Clearing House for Mental Defectives where such examinations could be made free of charge, the institutions have made very little use of its facilities.

(*h*) *Institution Hospitals.* In some institutions the facilities for caring for sick children are crude and inadequate. In the hospital wards of a number of institutions, no records of admissions and discharges or of diseases treated could be found. In others, where cases of serious illnesses were treated, bedside records and even clinical thermometers, apparently, were considered non-essential. In the hospital ward of one institution a child was found seriously ill with pneumonia, yet his temperature was taken only when the physician called. In the infirmary of another institution where comment was made on the absence of records concerning the condition of the patients under

care, the attendant replied that she knew the condition of each child and so did the doctor, hence why keep records?

(*i*) *Bathing.* Some institutions have yet failed to grasp the idea that proper and frequent bathing of children is one means of helping to ward off disease. The bathing facilities in some of the institutions are extremely crude and antiquated. In one institution some thirty or more boys are compelled to bathe at one time in a tank three feet deep. On entering the water each child is supplied with a nail brush and a piece of soap which he hands over to his neighbor when leaving the tank, and so the exchange goes merrily on until the last child is bathed. In a number of institutions, children are required to wash their hands but once each day, usually before breakfast, though, in one institution, the custom was reversed and the children went unwashed to the breakfast table. After breakfasting the morning ablution was performed. In some places a common wash cloth was used by a number of children. While individual towels are quite generally supplied in all institutions, the evidences in some cases indicated promiscuous use.

(*j*) *Supply of Toilet Articles.* Individual combs and brushes were found in but few of the institutions visited. For the use of one hundred children in a certain institution visited, only four combs and brushes were supplied. In one institution, in which combs and brushes were viewed as useless impedimenta because the hair of the children was usually clipped, four fine combs constituted the sole supply for nearly three hundred children. When the inspector reported that the heads of the greatest number of these poor children were in a frightfully filthy condition, the cause was not difficult to ascertain. No tooth brushes were supplied for two hundred children in one institution. The person in charge explained their absence by stating that they had been discarded because the children could not be taught to use them. The racks in the bathroom of one institution contained an extra supply of tooth brushes. When the inspector, a trifle surprised, made inquiry concerning the oversupply, she was informed that the tooth brushes of children discharged were disinfected and placed in the racks ready for the use of newcomers.

(*k*) *Food.* An analysis of the dietaries furnished in a number of institutions showed that, in many instances, the food served was not at all adapted to the needs of growing children and not calculated to develop muscle and bone. Tea and coffee, generally admitted to be harmful to the nervous system undergoing development, were served in a number of institutions,

sometimes as frequently as twice a day. Milk is seldom given children in certain institutions. In one institution milk is such a scarce article that it is served only to sick children.

In one institution visited the dinner served to little children consisted of frankfurters, cabbage, and watermelon. In many of the institutions the supper served children usually consists of bread and molasses, or bread and jelly. Cocoa, made with water, is the usual beverage served.

An examination of copies of the menus furnished by certain institutions showed the same combination of food served at meals over and over again. There is little variety from day to day. In general, fruit is provided only on certain festive occasions.

(*l*) *Dining Room and Service.* Though it had been thought that it was quite generally understood that backless seats and benches were injurious to the spine of the growing child, their use is still maintained in the dining rooms of certain institutions. Bare board tables, likewise, are not uncommon; neither are dishes of agate and tinware. The use of table linen ,and napkins is religiously tabooed in some of the institutions visited. Dreary silence during meal time is compulsory in certain institutions, though in one institution whispering is permitted.

II. Social and Recreational Life of the Child

(*a*) *Clubs and Entertainments.* While literary, dramatic, debating, athletic, and game clubs exist and are encouraged in some institutions, in the majority of the orphanges visited these opportunities so essential for the happiness of the children are conspicuous by their absence. No provision is made to permit the children to exercise initiative in their own affairs, team work is discouraged and no means are employed to develop leadership among the boys and girls.

In most instances meagre provision is made for the entertainment of the children. While certain institutions are notable exceptions to this rule, the majority do not think it should form any part of their curriculum. In one institution the authorities spoke of having provided two or three lectures for the children last year.

(*b*) *Playrooms.* The playrooms, too frequently, were found painfully clean and practically barren save for the presence of a number of backless benches. Dolls and toys usually are brought out upon the scene around Christmas time and sometimes during vacation. In some institutions, while games and toys were said to be supplied the children, they were found new

and fresh, securely locked away in closets. In one institution where no games could be discovered the attendant stated that there was a big supply kept in the closet. Of course the closet was locked, but when the inspector insisted upon having it opened the only games found included a set of the Encyclopedia Britannica, some reports of conferences of charities, some sheets of music and old copies of the Saturday Evening Post. The children certainly must have had much enjoyment playing these games.

(*c*) *Outdoor Playground.* An outdoor playground, fenced in like a chicken coop in some places, with scarcely elbow room for one-half the children compelled to make use of it is surely a dreary place in which to spend so many hours. Yet such obsolete conditions exist in a number of institutions of the present day. The children may feast their eyes upon the green lawns fronting the building but to them is reserved the use of dreary, bleak-looking rear playgrounds, devoid, in many instances, of proper play facilities. While, in one instance, a playground director visits the institution to teach the children folk dancing and to help them in their play, in the majority of the institutions visited no one was found whose business it was to direct the play activities of the children.

(*d*) *Military Drills.* In some institutions, great stress is laid upon the importance of military drills. Even were it possible to convince one that the children could derive a good deal of fun from these military drills, the frequency of the performance must certainly rob it of the charm of novelty. In addition, it must be hard on the little fellows of eight and nine to march and manoeuvre with boys of fourteen.

(*e*) *Children's Libraries.* While, in some of the institutions visited, well-stocked libraries of carefully selected children's books were found, very slight attention, in general, was given the subject of providing reading material to the children other than class books. In one institution, caring for more than four hundred children, a trifle more than one hundred volumes were found in the book closet. In another institution of six hundred children, no attempt was made to keep them posted in current events. Magazines, newspapers and school papers are not in general use. As a rule it was found that no competently trained person was charged with the duty of supervising the children's reading.

III. Education

With a few notable exceptions, the schools of most of the institutions inspected are considerably below the standard of

good public schools. Many of these institution schools are shut in and completely isolated from the general currents of life and events which flow through the ordinary community and find both expression and interpretation in the public school. Practically out of touch with the world around them, these institution schools feel neither the inspiration nor the competition of a great state or city system of education.

This isolation is emphasized still more by the fact that very few of the institution teachers—it is safe to say not more than one in twenty—visit other schools for observation, study, and inspiration. As a natural consequence, the situation resolves itself into a shut-in school, taught by a shut-in staff. Of such a staff, without touch or competition with other schools, without recognized adequate standards of scholarship and goals and, as frequently is the case, without competent supervision, surely no satisfactory results may be expected.

Teachers, because of these extreme conditions of isolation under which many of them are compelled to work, are quite naturally found far from being abreast with the modern methods of school room practice and teaching. Methods similar to those in use in a number of these institution schools, such as shouting out the recitations in concert, studying aloud, repeating by rote after the teacher, cramming the memory without ever appealing to or exercising the reasoning faculty of the pupil, even when he has no understanding of what he has "learned by heart"—all these were characteristic of school instruction of a century and more ago. Though it is a hard thing to say, inspections made it evident that scarcely any of the teachers in the institution schools examined have had normal school or professional training. These teachers, for want of proper training, follow practically the methods used by the untrained teachers of their own childhood days, who, in turn, followed those of their early school days. Hence the crude methods of a century ago, before the establishment of training schools for teachers and before books on pedagogy and the science and art of teaching were written, have continued down to the present and are deeply entrenched in the conservatism of these institutions. Like the straw and the bubble riding at another along the shore of a great stream, they have keep remote from the broad sweep of human progress which has passed by them unobserved.

Many of the institution schools, thus far inspected, get nowhere in particular with their pupils. The result of the inspections went far to indicate that most institutions merely provided schooling for their wards. In the majority of the schools ex-

amined the fact was painfully apparent that no particular aims, goals or standards were set up and efforts made to attain them. There was an utter absence of inducements to secondary or higher education to arouse the ambition of bright or gifted pupils. Apparently the limit upward for all pupils is the end of the elementary course. Children of higher educational promise push their heads against this low roof in vain. It was not surprising to find that, as a natural result of such conditions, a very large percentage of retardation existed among institution pupils. In many of the class rooms inspected more than half the pupils were found over age for their grade. While, perhaps, it may be true that many of the pupils, because of poverty, misfortune, and adverse family home conditions, are already retarded when they enter the institution, yet, after making all due allowances for these, it has been demonstrated that there is a great increase in retardation after admission to the institution, and, as has been found, many of the children retarded have spent practically all of their school life in the institution.

It will be granted, I think, that every institution caring for a hundred or more children, retaining them as wards until from fourteen to sixteen years of age, should have a number of high school pupils. Unfortunately, however, not one institution in ten of these caring for several hundred wards each, sends any pupils to the high school. In one institution school the reason given for not promoting pupils was lack of class room accommodations in the higher grades. These upper grades, therefore, were sitting on the heads of those below, holding them down until older pupils were discharged to make room for their promotion. This form of cruelty is as real as that of stunting the physical growth of the child by underfeeding or limiting his stature by a Procrustean bedstead. It can only result in both individual and social waste. Instead of helping to eliminate it tends, in great measure, to repeat the dreary round of dependency in succeeding generations.

IV. Vocational Training

With respect to vocational training, while a few are exerting splendid efforts in this direction, the larger number of the institutions inspected showed a lack of proper understanding of the real meaning of the term vocational training. In most instances the equipment provided is distinctly primitive and the instruction crude and valueless. In but few institutions did there exist any clearly defined policy to outline and govern a systematic and progressive course of instruction. As a rule the work carried on

under the guise of vocational training, was purely utilitarian in character, lacking even the very elementary essentials of real vocational training. In very few instances was it found that the bulk of the boys and girls over the age of twelve years were receiving the benefits of a well-balanced vocational course. Compared with the total number of children in the care of institutions, the proportion receiving vocational instruction was insignificant. Relatively, a very small number of the girls receive instruction in sewing, millinery, embroidery, and domestic science. The number of boys receiving instruction in wood work is very, very small. In one institution the teacher in charge of the vocational training was originally the institution's tailor. Now he is engaged as instructor in shoemaking and woodwork. In this institution only five boys receive instruction in woodwork and in the shoeshop, whereas twenty-eight, eighteen of whom are little chaps, ten or eleven years old, were found working in the tailor shop.

Child Labor. In certain institutions for the care of girls what was termed vocational training practically amounted to exploiting and overworking children who had no redress. Try to conceive of a girl being compelled to go to work at a wash tub at five o'clock in the morning there to remain until the dinner bell sounded at noon when respite was had, and have such procedure styled "vocational training!" Yet such was actually the condition found existing in one institution, the managers of which roundly scored me as drastic and over-oppressive because I dared to brand their so-called "home" as worse than a penal institution.

In another institution the authorities were strongly directed to abolish immediately the deplorable practice of exacting cheap labor from a group of defenseless girls, fourteen years of age and over, who were found rendering from eight to nine hours of hard service, with no compensation whatever. It was pointed out very plainly that, under no circumstances, could the board and lodging received by these girls at the hands of the institutional authorities be considered a *quid pro quo* for the labor and service rendered. If the service these girls were compelled to render had in it any real educational value it would not be so objectionable; but to keep girls of fourteen years of age busy carrying clothes from the laundry to the linen room, scarcely could be said to constitute a proper preparation for after life.

In still another institution girls, from fourteen to sixteen years of age, receive scholastic training to the extent of two hours a day. The balance of the day is spent by them in assisting with the industries of the institution. In this institution no

outside help is employed. The girls do all the work, some of whom, in return, receive a small remuneration varying from five to eight dollars a month. In some few exceptional cases, ten dollars a month was paid.

In a number of institutions girls who have reached the age of fourteen years are immediately put to work at institution industries. The only education they receive is an hour's instruction in the evening after a day of hard work. In many cases, these girls are obliged to go to work as early as six o'clock in the morning. Some of them are compelled to work in laundries where the heat is intolerable. In the majority of cases, though they work from eight to nine hours a day, very few receive any compensation.

V. After-Care

In but few institutions is any definite and systematic after-care work conducted. While a certain group of institutions refer the names of children discharged to a central agency which undertakes their supervision, in a large number of the institutions inspected the ties are severed between the orphanage and its wards once they have been discharged.

With some few notable exceptions, very little attempt has been made, as yet, to organize discharged boys and girls into alumni organizations. The superintendent of one institution declared that she did not believe in the establishment of such organizations as the children wanted to forget the institution entirely and did not want their new-made friends to know they had been inmates. No doubt the children of this particular institution had every reason to try to forget this experience of their childhood days.

A few alumni organizations, however, do exist and have been especially helpful in securing positions for boys and girls about to be discharged from particular institutions.

Deductions and Conclusions

In the preceding paragraphs an endeavor has been made to put before you a faithfully drawn picture of the conditions and methods actually maintained in a certain group of children's institutions of the present day. While not specifically stated, the probable resultant influences of such systems of child-care are quite clearly indicated. The picture, by no means highly colored or overdrawn, is an exact portrayal of facts, very readily substantiated, gathered as the result of a serious and unprejudiced study on the part of men who, while recognized as experts in their chosen profession, are not theorists but superintendents

actively engaged daily in the management of children's institutions. These men are widely known throughout the country for the intensity of their interest in any movement which has in it capabilities for improving and advancing the work of this specialized form of child-care in which they are engaged.

The facts set forth in this paper are not of an isolated character, but fairly typical and representative of the methods employed in a number of institutions. That these same facts are the result of observations of men recognized as leaders in the conduct of the work of children's institutions, should serve to make their reliability and acceptance stand without question.

Having endeavored to cite the concrete facts, it is possible, as outlined in the opening paragraphs of this paper, to make deductions and to draw conclusions as to what, in all likelihood, will be the probable results of the sort of institutional care we have portrayed. In all this, however, the fact is not overlooked, that, in opposition, there may be cited the cases of some brilliant exceptions. However, when carefully studied, it will ordinarily be found that, when compared with the large number of discharged wards of whom absolutely nothing is known, the number of such exceptions is not entirely representative. It is true that a number of men and women, former wards of institutions, because of some inherent ability have been able to overcome the handicaps of their institutional days and have become powerful and influential factors in the community. In their careers, however, may they not have demonstrated, that after all, there is much truth in the theory of the "survival of the fittest?"

In this very brief outline of some of the observations of the members of the advisory committee on child-caring institutions of the Department of Public Charities of the City of New York, I think it will be conceded that it has been established:

I. That the type of children's institutions and the character of service rendered by them to the little ones entrusted to their care, varies greatly. Probable Result: Good institutions, indifferent institutions, and decidedly bad and useless institutions.

II. Children, in a number of institutions, are not receiving adequate medical, surgical, and dental service. Periodical physical examinations of children are not generally made. Probable Result: At least a certain number of institutional children undoubtedly will be turned back upon the community physically defective and, as a result, seriously handicapped to begin the struggle for a livelihood.

III. A number of children's institutions fail to provide a sufficient amount of nourishing food to develop bone and muscle among their children. Probable Result: Children are sent forth

from these institutions undernourished and impoverished, physically incapable of standing the strain coincident with their battle for existence.

IV. In a large number of institutions leadership among the children is absolutely discouraged and very little opportunity afforded the boys and girls to exercise their powers of initiative and independence of thought. Probable Result: The children, discharged from the institution, are started in life utterly lacking in individuality, possess a very limited degree of self-reliance and have become practically unfitted to work independently. Their inability to fit in with the new conditions in which they find themselves not infrequently lead to discouragement and the development of a strong tendency to abandon the struggle and join the ranks of the submerged.

V. The play and recreational facilities afforded children in many institutions are utterly inadequate. As a consequence the children are given little opportunity to exercise their freedom and play sense, so essential in the development of the normal child. Probable Result: A disgruntled and improperly developed boy or girl.

VI. In many institutions there is an utter absence of home atmosphere and home training. Probable Result: The boys and girls, brought up in an artificial atmosphere, are for the most part totally unprepared to adapt themselves to the customs maintaining in the ordinary normal family home. As a consequence, in growing manhood and womanhood, they are frequently put to shame because of lack of proper training in their early childhood days.

VII. The education given children in most institution schools is utterly inadequate and much below the standard obtaining in the public school system. Probable Result: Children are discharged sadly lacking in proper educational equipment. Because of this serious handicap, unless sufficiently ambitious to take steps to better themselves they will usually be found incapable of obtaining other than unskilled positions.

VIII. Very little vocational or pre-vocational training of any constructive value is given in a number of children's institutions. Probable Result: Children discharged from such institutions are left to their own resources in the choice of a vocation. Not properly educated or trained along any given line, their choice is very limited indeed. The girls, usually, fail to rise above the class of domestic servants.

IX. In some institutions the authorities actuated, it would appear, solely from motives of cheap economy, compel the children, especially girls, to remain too long in the orphanage in

order to use them in carrying on institution industries of no value whatever in helping to equip them for future useful lives. Probable Result: The children's future is sacrificed. As a rule, when discharged, such children find themselves utterly incapable to cope with changed conditions. Not infrequently they drift into the failure column.

X. Many institutions never have perceived the necessity of establishing an after-care department to look after the interests of their discharged wards. Even in some institutions where a certain form of after-care is in operation, its value is problematical. Probable Result: A large number of failures of which the institution has no knowledge.

XI. Some institutions have no faith in alumni organizations, laboring under the impression that, once the boy or girl is discharged, the work of the institution is completed. Probable Result: A number of young men and women who have joined the down-and-out class simply because, entirely friendless, they had no one upon whom to call for counsel and advice.

Responsibility for Conditions

It is a recognized axiom that every effect is due to some definite cause or causes. To what causes, then, may be attributed much of this spirit of conservatism and unprogressiveness in methods maintaining in a number of our children's institutions? Who is responsible for the continuance of antiquated methods of child-care and this utter lack of adequate and reliable data concerning the subject of what actually does become of children discharged from institutions?

Those who have given any thought to the subject are pretty much agreed that there are three distinct contributing causes operating to keep a large proportion of these children's institutions from reaching a high level in accomplishing results worth while.

First, it has been made apparent that the institutions themselves are at fault because those responsible for their conduct, failing to realize the serious consequences of their neglect, have been contented to work along the lines of least resistance, making very feeble attempts, if any at all, to adopt elementary measures which are necessary to the natural development of children. These private child-caring institutions are substantially self-governing corporations having it in their power at any time to change methods and policy. While the direct responsibility for failure to measure up to modern requirements must rest upon the boards of managers of these institutions, experience shows

that a board of managers of a children's institution is apt to make a move in the right direction only when it is far-seeing and fortunate enough to secure a thoroughly competent executive who is likewise an educator. The history of the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society of New York shows what a trained educator can do in this respect. Formerly the authorities of this institution conducted an obsolete over-crowded congregate plant in the heart of the city. A few years ago the board of managers disposed of the city plant and removed to the country where there is now conducted a thoroughly modern, well-equipped, and progressive cottage orphanage, one of the best of its type in the country. If only it would, every institution could do likewise. No institution can expect to make progress unless it recognizes that child-care work is a highly specialized profession and that the man or woman selected as the executive must be a person of proved capabilities. The institutions consider themselves as agencies primarily for the support of children and intended to tide them over the period of childhood. They have not realized that their primary purpose should be to educate and train for life and that because their wards as a rule are exceptionally difficult to train they need exceptionally high grade officers and teachers.

In the second place, the committing authorities of the City of New York have served as a contributing cause in that, apparently, they have never looked upon the problem as of sufficient moment to make it any part of their business to formulate and promulgate any competent standard to govern the service maintained in children's institutions. The service being utterly lax in this respect, the appropriating authorities of this city have no measure upon which to base their estimate of the appropriations needed to maintain these standards.

The third contributing cause is the State Board of Charities. By virtue of the power vested in it by the constitution and the law, the State Board of Charities had, for years, been charged with the duty of inspecting child-caring institutions. In its power to make rules regulating the admission and discharge of inmates, the State Board of Charities could enforce the adoption of its suggestions. Armed with ample authority, it had it in its power to compel children's institutions to put into effective operation proper and adequate standards for the care and training of dependent children. The inspections thus far made by the advisory committee of the Department of Public Charities clearly indicate that either the inspectors of the State Board of Charities charged with examining the methods of child-caring institutions or their directing officers are not thoroughly posted

and alive to the changes constantly being made in progressive child-caring institutions, or else they have failed to grasp any proper concept of the modern acceptation of what is adequate institutional care of dependent children. The plan of inspection certainly must be defective which, while it lays so much stress upon each child having a two-foot space around his bed, fails to insist that he be given at least elbow room in the playground. The plan is defective which insists upon ample fire protection being provided but does not insist, with equal force, upon adequate medical and physical protection being accorded the inmates. Of course, to those intimately acquainted with the subject, this failure of the State Board of Charities to produce results in its inspection is quite readily understood. If in its work of inspections the State Board had the expert service and advice of trained institutional superintendents, progress undoubtedly would have resulted.

Financial Responsibility

Some may contend, as does the State Board, that the city does not pay these private child-caring institutions a sufficient compensation to permit them to measure up to the requirement. While this, perhaps, may be true when applied to some institutions, the sort of care and training given the children in others, measured in dollars and cents, is scarcely worth the price the city pays for it. In certain of these institutions neither the city, practically supporting it, nor the children are given a square deal.

It should not be forgotten that the financial responsibility under the existing system is assumed in part by the institution itself. The institution is expected, as its part of the program, to provide the buildings and equipment. It is manifestly improper, as it would also be illegal, for the city to appropriate funds to these institutions for real estate and buildings which would thereupon become the property, not of the city, but of the institutions. It is up to the institutions to secure the funds wherewith to provide themselves with modern equipment or, if they can not do this, to admit it and retire from the field. Many of them own real estate of great value in the city, probably quite sufficient, if they would give the matter careful thought, to secure country sites and build cottage institutions. Furthermore it is also not to be assumed that the city is to bear the full cost of maintenance. One of the arguments advanced for the system of co-operation with private institutions is that private charity will do its part and will supplement the city appropriations. Some institutions do this to a very notable extent. On the other hand a considerable number of institutions rely almost wholly,

if not wholly, upon city grants. It is to be noted, furthermore, that a very large number of the defects pointed out above are not related primarily, if at all, to the question of funds, but deal rather with the attitude, spirit, and underlying purpose of the institutions. If there were the will to improve the way could be found, and many of the improvements could be made without additional expense, or at least with very little additional expense.

The picture herein drawn is not at all inviting and constitutes rather a sad commentary upon the efficiency of some of our New York institutions. Yet the picture, dark as it may be, has its bright side and already, under the impetus of the inspections made by the Department's advisory committee there is a healthy and most promising re-awakening all along the line. Proper social vision of the welfare of dependent children, on the part of both staff and institution management, gradually is replacing the gloom and haze of dreary decades of barren institutionalism.

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THE SERVICE THAT SETTLEMENTS AND NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSES MAY RENDER IN THE COMMUNITY'S PLAN OF CHILD PROTECTION*

Charles C. Cooper, Resident Director of Kingsley House, Pittsburgh, Pa.

It was with some hesitation that I accepted the invitation to discuss this question because I fear that I shall handle it from the negative side.

The old idea of reformation and salvation—a purely theological one—was that salvation must necessarily be individual, and that all reformation must come by means of the reformation of the individual. This may be exemplified in the statement made by a good old deacon after I had spoken in Pittsburgh on certain social conditions, among them the American saloon. "Mr. Cooper," he said, "you are doing your little work in your line, and we are doing our little work in our line. We believe the best way to solve the drink question is to reform the individual drunkard."

We grew away from this idea, although it has its important place in social progress. Another step was taken in demanding great measures mostly through legislation for social progress, not only in the city and state, but in the nation. For some time

*Section meeting Wednesday, May 19, 11:00 A. M.

we have had an epidemic of broad laws, and, while they are necessary and likewise serve a very useful purpose, still they will not solve the social ills. Some of us settlement workers are glad to see that a shift is coming, and that many workers outside of the settlement movement are beginning to see that these general widespread laws affecting great masses of people are too broad and general to do the work they were expected to do. In other words, they are as far on one side as the individualistic theory was on the other. So we are coming back to the thought of the neighborhood as a unit of work for social progress. We must make the neighborhood react to the conditions and standards of these general regulations, or they are useless.

Probably there is not a large city in the United States that does not find this true in regard to many of its sanitary and housing regulations. The provision for the collection of garbage does not mean that a community necessarily takes advantage of this opportunity to dispose of its waste. The passage of a housing law providing for fire escapes does not mean that these escapes will be kept for this use and not utilized for storage. Likewise, the provision for bath facilities will not prevent the bath-tub from being used as a convenient receptacle for coal. In other words, the community must react to these laws and must approximate the standards of life outlined in them or they are more or less a failure. So we see the necessity for settlement houses to interpret these laws and conditions to the neighborhood, thus providing for the neighborhood's reaction, and the resultant social progress. The settlement house was founded upon this thought. Other agencies, however, are beginning to see the wisdom of it, and even such centralized agencies as the charity organization societies are rapidly establishing branch offices and are approximating as far as they can the work of the neighborhood house.

It is with this fundamental theme in view that I wish to discuss this topic, The Service that Settlements and Neighborhood Houses may render in the Community's plan of Child-protection. The community's plan of child-protection, embracing among other things certain liquor laws, regulations regarding vice, the housing and sanitary codes, the child labor provisions, the school codes, juvenile court regulations, street trade regulations, birth attendance, and milk supply ordinances, factory laws, etc., can be made available for the protection of the children of a certain neighborhood only so far as that neighborhood reacts to this community plan. The efforts with club work, the boy-scout and camp-fire movement, classes in the gymnasium, carpenter

shop, domestic science, and all the other activities of the settlement house, are right in their place, and will do much for the betterment of the individual boy and girl.

But is that the greatest service that the settlement house can render in the community's plan of child protection? There is a fundamental tie between the girl and her mother, that is necessarily one of the strongest in life. Probably this is based upon the fact that one has been a mother and the other is destined in the ordinary course of life to become a mother. This forms a tie which has no counterpart between the boy and his father, or between the boy and his mother, and yet the settlements in their study of the girl problem found that there was a weakening of this bond between mother and daughter in many places and that the home was not exerting its influence over the girls therein as it should.

If that was true of the girls, how much more forcibly can this be applied to the boy problem? If there is any break between the daughter and the home, how much more of a break is there between the boy and the home?

The home influence has steadily decreased. A great many of our institutions doing noble work in themselves have tended to hasten this decrease in the home influence. I do not say this in criticism, because they are necessarily doing the work at hand, and the permanent solution of some of their problems has not as yet been worked out. The easiest way for the officer of the court, or the social worker, to settle some family's case is to disrupt the family. This is natural because the first effort is necessarily for the immediate care of the children. The settlement house is in a position to check this decrease in family influence, and to stand firmly for family welfare.

In the work of the settlement house, we have dealt in large measure with the boys and the girls, and the mothers and fathers that have come to us, as individuals. Now before us is the problem of making the neighborhood react to the general provisions of the community for the protection of itself or of its children. Has the settlement given too much thought and time to its work within its doors, with individual boys and girls, mothers and fathers? Is there still a larger work, outside of its doors in the homes of its people, that it may do, which will not only check the decrease in family influence but make that neighborhood, as a whole, react to whatever may be the community plan for social progress or child protection?

I find the viewpoints of the mothers and fathers of the children that come to Kingsley House to fall in the following

groups: first, those who are absolutely ignorant of the house; they do not know that the children even attend, and have no conception of what the work in the house is. Second, those who are convinced of the service that the house may render in a negative sort of way, as expressed by a little girl passing Kingsley House: "Pap says it is better for Bud to be in there than bummin' the streets." Third, those who believe that the settlement is good because it teaches certain things to the children; for instance, one mother bringing her boy to Kingsley House, who, by the way, was a very small child, and requesting that we put him in clubs and classes every afternoon and evening in the week, a substitution of the House for the home. Then there is a last small class which thoroughly appreciates the settlement in its aims and its hopes and its efforts to better the neighborhood.

I have felt for some time that we were not getting into the neighborhood as we should, that while our work was good in itself it was not going as deep into the neighborhood life as it might. This I realized very much recently when as a matter of experiment, I tried to get a boys' club to meet in alternate weeks at the different homes of the members of the club. I was met with a decided, unanimous refusal, and there lies the kernel of our subject.

The settlement house can do most for the children in its neighborhood in the community's plan of child-protection by re-establishing the homes in that neighborhood, by intensifying the home influences over the children, and by uniting the home effort to the settlement effort, in reacting to the community plan. I am in a foreign district and it is sad to see the gulf, that is becoming wider every day, between the children and their fathers and mothers. This gulf cannot be bridged by work within the settlement house, in clubs or classes for mothers or fathers, or boys and girls, nor by any movement of boy scouts or playgrounds or schools or social centers. The community's plan for the protection of the child will never succeed until those agencies seeking to put that plan into operation, *re-establish the home influence and put that influence to work in making the community plan a success.*

Why cannot we, as settlement people, gradually get our clubs and classes to meet in the homes of the people, at least a part of the time, and thus not only get into the homes in a perfectly natural way, ourselves, and not only make the homes know what the club and class work means, but gradually bring back to the home its old time influence over the child? Then too, we

can inspire effort entirely outside the settlement. If we can educate the parents as to the community's plan for child-protection and then intensify their waning influence over the children, and obtain their co-operation in our efforts, success is bound to follow.

I have now tried to establish, first, that the neighborhood, as a family of families, is the unit of work for social progress. My minor premise is that the settlement house, the child-caring-for-institutions and other agencies, have been substituted unconsciously for the home, and that this substitution has tended to the weakening of the family group, and to the weakening of the neighborhood as a family of families. My conclusion is that the settlement house can best render service in the community's plan for child protection by throwing the emphasis of its work into the re-establishing of the influence of the individual home and the upbuilding of the neighborhood's influence as a family of families. No matter how well we do our club and class work within the settlement house, we can never substitute that for a real group of families understanding the community's plans, and intelligently reacting to them.

THE SERVICE THAT SETTLEMENTS AND NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSES MAY RENDER IN THE COMMUNITY'S PLAN OF CHILD PROTECTION.

Emmet Wallace White, Social Service Club, Baltimore, Md.

It is difficult, in my opinion, to over-estimate the possibilities of the properly conducted neighborhood house as a force for child protection. Its function in this respect is chiefly preventive, and its influence is probably of wider scope than that of any other agency in neutralizing the unwholesome conditions which modern industrial society has imposed upon the children of working people. The juvenile court is essential to the reclamation of those who have over-stepped the bounds of social convention; the neighborhood house can and should so handle the problems of child life in its vicinity as to reduce to a minimum the temptation to cross those bounds. Child saving associations are necessary for the preservation of those children, who, victimized by the present social order, are subjected to suffering, cruelty or immorality. The neighborhood house has untold opportunities for adjusting the life of its community to a standard which obviates the conditions responsible for such abuses.

At every point of contact between the child and the community the neighborhood house can render assistance—preventive, remedial or constructive. I will not attempt to demonstrate the truth of this proposition, because I fear to trespass upon the ground covered by the other speakers; or else to state what is entirely obvious to those who are interested in social problems and familiar with settlement work. Let me say in this regard, however, that the neighborhood house is or should be in a position to advise the community or any community agency as to the status of any of the neighborhood children, in any given case. The neighborhood house knows the life of the child, its family conditions, the relation of the school to it; its recreation, housing, health; its economic condition, the need and demand for its labor; the effect of commercial recreations and its own social life upon it, and is, therefore, in a position to advise intelligently and effectively any agency dealing with the child.

In dealing with the normal, healthy boy, living in, and subject to all the dangers of the modern industrial community, the neighborhood house should lay particular stress upon its recreational work. I may be somewhat of a crank on the subject of recreation because, in the neighborhood in which I have had my only experience in social work, the need for wholesome recreation was very great, and the results of giving moderate opportunities for recreation have been marked. It is obvious that the boy who is deprived of play and recreation and proper social intercourse with his fellows, cannot develop properly either physically or morally. Give the boys of your neighborhood all the supervised play and recreation they have the time for and you will have progressed a considerable distance toward a solution of the boy problem. I am convinced that most juvenile crimes and delinquencies result from a lack of facilities for play and recreation, and I am of the opinion that if we lived fully up to our obligations in this respect juvenile court judges and probation officers would soon be drugs on the market.

To turn to the older boy, the neighborhood house has a very important function in protecting and properly developing his social relations with his own family, with his fellows of both sexes, and with the community in general. The boy in the industrial community craves the company of his fellows. This craving is often manifested by the formation of a "pleasure club." I know of no greater force for evil than the average boy's volunteer "pleasure club." There are exceptions, of course, but as a rule the boys pattern their activities after those of the older clubs of the neighborhood, and the tendencies of these are

bad for adults, and infinitely worse for boys. They tend to establish in the boy's mind the falsest ideals of pleasure; they afford opportunities for indulgence in drinking, gambling and other excesses, and often result in very serious crimes. Only recently in a neighborhood with which I am familiar such a crime occurred—a homicide, growing directly out of excesses originating in a volunteer pleasure club. This crime furnishes grounds for the indictment, not merely of the "pleasure club," but of our whole system of providing recreation for our boys. Here was a group which had not been reached by the settlement's moderate means for recreation. If the community had ten years ago provided for these boys the facilities which are now being initiated in that neighborhood, I firmly believe this crime would never have occurred. And I am not thinking merely of the waste of one or more human lives, but I have in mind the tremendous waste of good material for citizenship which this club has brought about.

If the neighborhood worker can get a hold upon a group of boys in such a club he can do wonders in turning its energies into the proper channels. If he can drain from one of these swamps the stagnant waters of false ideals of pleasure, he will find beneath a fertile soil well worth the tillage. This means hard work and a conflict with many difficulties, but this very work is a process of regeneration. As a maxim of agriculture holds, "Cultivation is fertilization."

The community has been derelict in its duty to provide recreational facilities for its children. It is one of the chief duties of the neighborhood house to show the neighborhood its needs, and the community its duty in this respect; to initiate in its neighborhood activities of this kind which will prove their worth, and which the community will be compelled eventually to take over and administer as proper community functions.

A step has been taken in this direction in Baltimore. We have for many years had an admirable system of playgrounds in this City, and in recent years a splendid organization of athletic work for boys has been developed. About four or five years ago the Ann Street Settlement, was organized in Baltimore, in the centre of a large Polish neighborhood. At that time there was no provision for recreation in an area of not less than 15 by 20 city blocks of the most densely populated section of the city. A small playground for children, athletic and club work for the boys, and dancing classes for mixed groups were provided. The school in that neighborhood was at that time probably the most archaic in the city, and the settlement house set about leavening the forces of the neighborhood, with the idea

that it wanted and must have a modern school. Not only did the neighborhood demand a modern school, but it proceeded to define the term "modern." It meant, according to the new interpretation of the neighborhood, a school with a gymnasium, because in that vicinity there were no facilities for physical development, except those of the factories and the streets; it meant a school with an adequate playground, because there was no open spot suitable for play within walking distance; it meant baths in the school, in order that the people might be aided in their natural tendency toward personal cleanliness; it meant an open-air class-room in order that tubercular children might be educated without endangering their chances for recovery; it meant a spirit of social service in the schools, because the people of the neighborhood were mainly old-world people and needed to be adjusted in a kindly, understanding way to strange American institutions.

I will not say that the neighborhood got everything it went after. There was first a school board to be dealt with, which had never heard of such things in school work, and then there was the school architect, who had never heard of a school building so constructed. The neighborhood house proceeded to tell these public servants something about the service due to the community by the school, and although there was considerable suspicion of these new ideas imported from other American cities, a school was finally built which provides in a measure the facilities I have mentioned. The dancing classes at Ann Street were begun to meet the needs of the boys and girls of the neighborhood for social recreation. The commercial dance halls of the vicinity were extremely bad; there was no regulation of the dancing or of the sale of liquor. About that time the City conceived the idea of building a commercial pier in the neighborhood, and those in charge of the building decided to include in the pier a dance hall and a playground. Thus the neighborhood found itself partially equipped with advanced facilities for recreation.

Last year the settlement house closed its doors, feeling that the neighborhood activities were being administered by the community, itself, to which they rightfully belong. The school, under the direction of the Public Athletic League, provides athletic work; the Playground Association provides supervised play; and the Municipal Dance Hall provides a place where the young people can meet and enjoy social dancing amid elevating and pleasant surroundings.

I do not wish to be understood as saying that the social work of the neighborhood is being fully administered—it certainly is not, but a step has been taken toward moving the community to

shoulder its own burden of responsibility for the social standards of its children. Some of the clubs which originated in the neighborhood house, still exist upon an independent basis, and will, I believe, keep alive the spark which has been kindled. That the community will eventually be convinced of its full duty in the matter and will really make the school modern, in the full sense understood by the neighborhood, I no more doubt than that democracy will eventually prevail in these United States. And in that day we will have social justice, and a full measure of opportunity for every normal child to become a citizen who is entirely healthy, moderately wealthy, and at least wise enough to uphold the dignity of this glorious Republic.

THE SERVICE OF SETTLEMENTS AND NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSES: DISCUSSION

Julia C. Lathrop, Chief, Federal Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C.

I have listened to this discussion of the settlement and its neighborhood with great interest. As a settlement person I want to speak of two suggestions made this morning:

First, a new name for the Conference. The neighborhood successes of a settlement have the charm which comes from dealing with young people to whom individually it is possible to open new enjoyment and opportunity. The settlement has always meant study, serious honest effort to understand the social and industrial difficulties which confront its neighbors. No wonder that the warm human friendliness of daily living on one side, and the belief that social betterment must come through seeking out social justice, tend to draw interest away from the disheartening problems of charities and correction. No wonder we are tired of the words, and wish to choose new ones. But have we yet earned the right? Ought we not to stick a while longer to the task they point out? Beginnings have been made of actually substituting prevention and guidance for correction, yet how fragmentary is the achievement! As an instance, only a little more than half the states have juvenile court laws, and in not a single state, however good its law, is there full and uniform state-wide protection for neglected boys and girls. We may believe that sound plans of public insurance should take the place of all that charity now made necessary by unemployment and the hazards of industry, but what of states which have not

yet created a single charitable institution for the protection of the feeble-minded? There are still in every state, so far as I know, gaps in those institutional provisions of public charity which the interest of the whole state demands. The problems of administration still require much attention. I wish these needs did not exist, I wish the words that commonly describe them were obsolete, but such is not the case. Are there not good reasons why settlement people are especially bound to help make public charity worthy of a better name?

There has been a question as to whether the settlement might tend to draw children away from their families, because it offers more gaiety, larger and finer places for social pleasure. There is a difficulty here, and it has to be guarded against in all sorts of ways, but primarily by expedients for alluring parents to come, also. The settlement does, of course, see the family as the unit of a neighborhood and there is no better measure of the genuineness of its own understanding than the degree of its family acquaintance. Especially in immigrant neighborhoods is it necessary to recognize the family as a whole. The smart sons and daughters who speak English and know their new world will be defrauded of their birthright if they lose respect for their parents' opinions and knowledge of the world. Nowhere else in this country is there such eagerness to get on, such ardor for education as a means to that end, as in the average immigrant family, and the settlement will best serve its neighborhood which does most to help parents and children to advance together.

Mr. Cooper confirmed this when he described so stirringly the handful of people who came to his settlement of their own accord to take counsel with him as to how to serve their own fellow-immigrants best, and then went out quite independently to carry their plans into effect.

DISCUSSION: Mr. James J. Jeffries and Miss Esther Eaton of Columbus, O., also spoke in discussion.

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE STUDY OF THE BOY PROBLEM

Philip Davis, Civic Service House, Boston; Representing a Special Committee of the National Federation of Settlements

One of our first concerns in undertaking the study of the boy problem was to ascertain to what extent and in what ways the boys with whom social settlements and neighborhood houses are working, are suffering from poverty and neglect. What

chances have boys in the average city home for study, play and personal hygiene? Other questions deal with the home conditions which drive boys onto the street, the dangers of the street and methods of safeguarding against them; the neighborhood influences, for better or for worse; the problems in education, industry and recreation which boys often face and are obliged to cope with almost single-handed against tremendous odds.

The need of a community plan for child protection everywhere is demonstrated even by the partial returns to this set of questions. These returns indicate that there still are large groups of children everywhere suffering from the very worst forms of poverty; inadequate food, shelter, clothing.

The higher up you ascend the scale of children's needs, the greater are the numbers whose needs are not adequately satisfied. For example, in the field of education there is the greatest divergence of opportunity existing in the different communities of these United States, in spite of the remarkable educational achievements everywhere. Intolerable degrees of illiteracy and ignorance among children still prevail in many backward communities, in spite of our unshaken faith in the efficacy of a universal system of education.

In respect to child labor, another elementary field of child protection, the divergence is even greater. Some border states represent the maximum and minimum standards of juvenile protection from premature servitude. The settlements of the country have for years been gathering evidence concerning the effects of child labor. The ever-growing, organized force which this Conference represents will, it is hoped, be put behind the great humanitarian movement for uniform laws, affording everywhere at least a minimum standard of protection to all children alike.

The returns to the study naturally show that conditions physical, industrial and educational, vary greatly up and down the scale of opportunity in different communities. Nevertheless there is a low-water mark below which no community can afford to sink.

The Ohio Standard Applied

The state of Ohio now bearing the distinction of being the only state in the Union with a comprehensive, constructive children's code, has very recently added to its honors another code entitled A Standard Children's Home, prepared under the auspices of the Board of State Charities. The home standards presented in this code, embrace the order and cleanliness of the home in strict conformity with the requirements of the State

Board of Health and the Department of Inspection of Buildings. The kind of lighting which eliminates eye strain and is adequate for study and hand work, the proper kind of ventilation, provision for play rooms with a "diddy box," where each child can store his possessions, proper wash room and toilet facilities, a cheery dining room, white table linen and bibs, a single bed with two sheets and weekly change of bed linen, the daily use of a tooth brush as well as the private ownership of a comb and brush. So much for clothing and shelter. As for food, the standard home is urged to provide balanced meals—not to give tea and coffee, but milk and cocoa. Lastly, the standard home should not be satisfied with a negative bill of health, because its children have not been sick, but should aim at a positive health program which does not assume that children are well until and unless they are seen to be ill, but which is founded on the "accurate knowledge of the physical condition of every child as a prerequisite to his perfect health."

It is very clear from the reports which have come in that a very large percentage of the homes of boys and girls with whom the social settlements come in contact fall sadly below this normal standard. Yet the standard is so fair and moderate that it challenges contradiction. No one would be willing to be charged with providing his own child with less than the standard calls for and for that reason everyone must be determined to insist that nothing less shall be the birthright of every other child. To insist on this and work for it is the finest service which social settlement, neighborhood houses and child agencies can render to any community.

It should be axiomatic at this 42nd Conference of Charities and Correction that no child, whatever its race, color or other conditions, whether born of poor parents or not, is entitled to less than three square meals a day, is entitled to less than adequate clothing as a protection from either heat or cold, is entitled to less than a good night's sleep in a clean, preferably in a single, bed, and in absolutely fresh air. Protection from every form of abuse, whether it be in the shape of child labor or neglect, moral as well as physical, or temptation of any kind, is also the birthright of every child. These are the uniform, basic elements in any community plan, regardless of the type of community under consideration. And it is extremely painful to be obliged to report at this 42nd conference that many communities and neighborhoods are still unable to make good these inalienable guarantees to all its children.

Our next step in a community plan for child protection is pre-natal care. If we cannot begin with the grandmother, let us

begin with the mother, preferably the newly married mother. Midwives, in the experience of settlements, because of their incompetency and fatal blunders, have brought more so-called bad boys into the world, than children's aid societies are obliged to deal with. One midwife entered upon her profession only after every one of the five children whom she herself brought into the world were taken away by the state. "All my children are now gone," she sighs, "I might as well help other mothers." In many communities settlements have been instrumental in organizing groups of young mothers, devoted to the study of the elements of pre-natal care. Settlements have also participated in the growing movement to free all mothers from factory work a reasonable time before confinement. A day nursery is often an integral part of the settlement or the result of a settlement campaign. It is astonishing how few states have accorded the child-to-be this elementary human protection.

Next to pre-natal care in our community plan is nursing care. As the district nurse is sure to supplant the midwife, so the school nurse with the aid of the school physician will ultimately put the quack doctor and quack medicine out of business.

Every community is gradually becoming more and more concerned, not so much with the moral attributes, as with the physical handicaps of the bad boy. It is now commonplace that eye-strain, nose trouble, and adenoids should be promptly dealt with for, like the midwives, they too are responsible for many a bad boy.

The Baltimore Exhibit strikingly illustrates this situation, commonly reported on by the settlements of the country. It makes clear that 70 per cent. of the repetition of grades, common among school children in Baltimore, could be saved by closer attention to poor eye-sight, bad hearing, enlarged tonsils, malnutrition and nervous troubles. In this city 40,000 children of this class are now neglected because the school inspection force is inadequate. The lesson of the exhibit to other cities lies in this: that, while educators and social workers have for a decade urged a comprehensive scheme of public health, only a small fraction of the scheme is now under way.

Employment and the Educational Program

The Richmond Survey, like the Baltimore Exhibit, rendered important service in the field of industry. This year the unprecedented amount of unemployment made more obvious the need, constantly advocated by the social settlements, of withdrawing the young boy from the labor market where he often competes with his own father. Many people have been convinced of the

need of more advanced child labor laws in those states where these laws are inadequate. The consensus of opinion is that boys fourteen to sixteen years of age should be withdrawn either entirely or partly from industry, in order better to be prepared during these two years for future self-support. One contributor interprets the cash value of this increased education in the following suggestive terms:

> Boys with little or no schooling earn from $300 to $450 per year, while boys who have been graduated from high school earn from $400 to $600 per year. In forty years the latter will earn $5,000 more than the former. The uneducated man earns about $1.50 per day or $18,000 in forty years. The average man who has spent twelve years in school, completing the high school course, earns $1,000 per year or $40,000 in forty years. The difference between the two, $22,000, is the cash value of an education.

Higher education is therefore a sure kind of individual and social insurance against low wages and unemployment alike. In the experience of the settlement, unemployment is the more serious, especially in the case of boys, because it leads to many misdeeds and misdemeanors which in turn cause the ultimate breakdown of normal neighborhood standards. The effects of unemployment are therefore more vividly felt by the settlements and especially by workers among boys than by the economic students of this subject. It is this unusual opportunity to see the relation between cause and effect which makes the social settlements such strong supporters of better child labor and school attendance laws and vocational education.

Before the unemployment issue subsided, the issue of prohibition, which immediately came to the front as a by-product of the war, brought out in sharp relief the sinister influence of the drink problem on the normal home and neighborhood of the adolescent boy. There is evidence to show that in many a home the drink question so completely overshadows all others as to be largely responsible for the blighting of a boy's future. It affects also the tone of the neighborhood, the stage-setting which so profoundly influences the adolescent boy. There is much complaint against the numerous saloons and the pool rooms. In some communities mere lads still "rush the can," not only for others but for themselves. Prohibition assumes new meaning and urgency when these effects on the boy and his home and neighborhood are set down in black and white. The vindication of the social settlement policy and program looking toward comprehensive community play as against the effort in certain quarters to attack the drink problem by itself, is thus becoming more and more obvious.

Moving Pictures and Vaudeville

In conclusion, just a word concerning the returns on another issue in the all-important field of recreation, which has absorbed the attention of many communities this year. Settlements are not yet ready to pronounce the movies an unmixed blessing, but opinion about them has undergone much the same change as the attitude towards the new dances. Sweeping condemnation has given way to abundant suggestions for improvement. Supervision and censorship are universally recommended, and there is an earnest search for effective ways and means of making all movies more educational. All settlements insist on effective censorship and many do not hesitate to condemn the present half-hearted attempts at it.

The condemnation of vaudeville houses and burlesque shows in their influence on young boys is far greater than that of the movies. In our anxiety about the latter, the former developed in many unwholesome directions and their influence is now challenging the attention of the whole country. The settlements located in strategic centres, often within a stone's throw of the centre of the moving picture establishments and vaudeville houses, are especially concerned, and many are vitally active in this new movement.

In the Baltimore Exhibit, the traditional Lord Baltimore is shown in one panel "scrutinizing himself before a mirror, and expressing both surprise and shock at the unsatisfactory reflection which he sees. The second shows him taking account of stock. In the third he has gathered the facts about his own situation and is instructing a class of citizens as to the needs which must be met." We submit that this is the proper attitude for every social settlement, as well as child saving agency, towards this co-operative study which cannot satisfactorily be completed without a more searching answer to the question: What's to be done next?

HEALTH

PROGRAM

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INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN*

Richard C. Cabot, M. D., Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston

I heard at noon today that there was some thought of giving up the Health section of this Conference, and I thought of proposing as a substitute that we give up the Conference. Health as a part of the work of this Conference has, I take it, come to stay, since the recognition of the fact that this Conference deals with human beings in all that affects them in mind, body and estate. In past years we have been dealing, perhaps, especially with what concerns the estate or the lack of estate, of human beings. Those economic discussions have now passed into the body of the work of the Conference, so that separate discussions upon that topic are infrequent. Health, on the other hand, is still a separate section, because it has not yet been welded into the whole thought of social workers; it has not been held up and discussed by itself in the way it deserves to be. I look forward to the time when it will become a part of all sections of the Conference. I imagine it is so already perhaps more than we are apt to think. I do not see how we can discuss any one of the Conference section topics without taking up Health.

We are just beginning to recognize the third of the great branches of human welfare as one of the most important things that such a conference as this can discuss. We have discussed estate extensively. We are now in the heyday of discussion of health, of the body. We are just beginning to see that the mind is the greatest of all questions for social workers and must come to the fore in our discussions more and more. But that is for the future. We are still in the center of interest in health. It is not likely that for a good many years we shall want to have that subject left out of the deliberations of this Conference.

The speaker of the evening, Dr. Welch, is one whom it would be very customary to introduce by the simple words, "He needs

*General session Friday, May 14, 8:15 P. M.

no introduction." I have been so introduced and then found that the audience had no idea who I was or where I came from or what I did. I always do need an introduction. Perhaps it is ridiculous for me, a Bostonian, to introduce to the city of Baltimore Dr. Welch. But I think I have certain clear advantages in introducing Dr. Welch to Baltimoreans and others, for I do not believe Baltimoreans yet know to what extent Dr. Welch belongs to the whole country. You know, of course, that he works in Baltimore and that Baltimore would not be what it is without Dr. Welch. You all know Dr. Welch as a great physician, as the head of the Department of Pathology at Johns Hopkins University, as one of the founders of the Johns Hopkins Medical School, as one of the great men who have made that school famous throughout the world. You do not know, however, that when a medical school in California, for instance, is in doubt as to what it ought to do it finally decides there is only one thing to do, and that is, send for Dr. Welch. I was in California once when that thing happened. Dr. Welch arrived as consultant for a sick medical school. He is perhaps at his greatest as a wise counselor. Those of you who have had to make up your minds, or help others to do so, on difficult topics know how rare is that wise counselor. When the radicals are afraid that the conservatives will win they call for Dr. Welch; when the conservatives are afraid that the radicals will win they call for Dr. Welch. Each body knows that he will see the whole of their point of view and present it better than they can.

It would not become this occasion for me to reveal to you the affectionate name, the diminutive, by which Dr. Welch is known to the physicians of this country. I think no other physician has ever been called by that affectionate name. The last great historic character familiarly so called was Haydn, the great composer. You who know, you who love the profession of medicine are grateful to him for what he has done for all of us and for the world. It is an honor to present Dr. Welch.

DUTIES OF A HOSPITAL TO THE PUBLIC HEALTH

William H. Welch, M. D., Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore, Md.; President, American Medical Association.

It is a well known fact that there are no social, no industrial, no economic problems which are not related to problems of health. If you are interested in better conditions of

living, in housing, working conditions in factories, in pure food, in a better supply of drinking water, all these great questions, social, industrial, economic, are bound up with the problems of public health. The humanitarian movement has been one of the great agencies in promoting the better health movement. There have been two great means by which interest in public health and the movement for the promotion of the health of the community have been advanced. One has been the new humanity, the other has been the advance in knowledge. I regret to say that I believe the impulse has been stronger, on the whole, from those interested in the humanitarian movement than it has been from my own profession. Anyone who is informed as to the influences which are operative in the last century, from 1830 to 1850, which initiated the modern public health movement and culminated in the passage of the public health act in 1848 in England, knows that it was less a movement on the part of the medical profession than it was on the part of philanthropists. Those interested in the conditions of the laboring classes and informed as to the steps taken for the prevention of disease, know that it was the human impulse more than any other which started the modern public health movement—at least, the governmental activities, and the recognition that the care of the health of the people is an important function of government.

But, after all, that impulse alone would not have been sufficient. It is of vital importance that health activities should be based upon accurate knowledge of the cause and of the spread of disease. At the period I am speaking of (1848 or '50), they knew little about how such diseases as typhoid fever and cholera were spread. Public hygiene was a blundering affair at that time. Efforts costing vast sums of money were misdirected and wasted. One idea dominated that was in many ways at that stage a fortunate one, and that was the relation of disease to conditions of filth: that one disease especially bore a relation to filth, typhus fever, and it was checked. Until its recent appearance in eastern Europe typhus fever was practically exterminated from civilized countries. But the new knowledge came with the discovery of the causation of the class of disease of the greatest significance to mankind, the infectious diseases.

We could have no more striking example of the health-saving, the life-saving knowledge which comes from penetration into the cause of disease, deeper insight into the manner in which disease is spread, than the vast benefits which have come from the discoveries of Pasteur and Koch and the work carried on by them and those following them. That initiated a movement in medicine which gave a new face to things, so that we

think of modern medicine as something quite different from the medicine of the past. We think of it often as being more different than we are justified in doing. The truth is that there has been no change in the real aims of medicine from the beginning. From the days of antiquity, the aim of the physician has always been to cure and to prevent disease. It is precisely that consistency of purpose which gives such interest to the future of medicine, no matter how futile the efforts of the past may have been nor how long men wandered in ignorance and darkness.

But there came to us a new light, and with it a new power. The physician acquired a control over the spread of many of the infectious diseases and in the case of some a new power in the treatment of disease which rendered his mission a far more significant one for the world than it had ever been before. It is now possible to control great pestilences. We believe even in the possibility of the complete eradication of such pestilences. Only the other day I attended a conference in New York where the possibility of taking up the complete extermination of yellow fever was considered. It is possible that will be initiated. Anyway, the problem seems a soluble one, and the work undertaken in that direction full of promise. Now, this advance in medicine was not merely in relation to this class of diseases but it affected all branches of medicine. It stimulated investigation, so that the physician can do far more in all classes of disease than was possible in the past. Therefore medicine makes an appeal to the community, it makes an appeal to the government, for support, it makes an appeal to public-spirited philanthropists, which it never could have done in the past. Far-sighted, public-spirited philanthropists who appreciate the possibilities of further exploration in this field have enabled medicine to undertake investigations, and it is above all important that we should acquire further knowledge as to the causation of disease.

I have no doubt that we are today directing our efforts in the wrong way, as I have said they were doing sixty and seventy years ago. I have no doubt we are spending millions of money fruitlessly, wastefully, as compared with what the possibilities might be if we had a more exact knowledge of the causation and propagation of disease. Consider for a moment the vast sums formerly wasted in efforts to control yellow fever by quarantine, and how simple the problem became when we learned that yellow fever can be spread only in one way, by the bite of a particular species of mosquito. And so with other diseases.

There are a great variety of agencies concerned in the promotion of public health, prevention of disease, and the treatment of disease. While the theme assigned to me relates to one particular agency in this warfare upon disease,—the hospital,—I must at least say a word about two others of most importance, namely, the governmental agencies, public health boards, commissioners and officials, simply to emphasize the importance of better organization and better support of our public health officials and boards. Among our chief needs I would mention, in the first place, larger appropriations; in the second place, better trained experts; and, in the third place, taking the work out of politics. I am not going to elaborate on these, but I hardly like to speak before an audience of this kind without at least referring to the importance of better support and organization of our boards of health, and the great need of opportunities for the better training of experts in that field. The selection of a commissioner of health is of course, a matter in which the whole community is interested. The entire country should be looked over in order to find the best man for the position—not simply the one who can easily be found in the community.

One other agency I should at least like to refer to, and that is the public health nurse. One of the contributions of the hospital to public health work has been the trained nurse. We are familiar with the incalculable advantages which come from the introduction of the system of visiting nurses. They should be extended into larger use and there should be a more specialized training for the public health nurse. It is of the greatest importance that her activities should extend to the rural districts. One of the striking circumstances of the modern public health movement is the limited advantage which rural communities have derived from this new knowledge.

As regards the relation of the hospital to health, there is no activity of the hospital that is not related to health directly or indirectly. I shall speak somewhat disconnectedly on certain points, I think, because it is quite impracticable in the time available to present the subject in a comprehensive and systematic manner. First, as regards certain types of hospitals. We have the general hospital and various sort of special hospitals. There is one of these special hospitals which has had such influence and which brings such lessons that I would like to refer to it, and that is the tuberculosis hospital. I do not propose to discuss the importance of the hospital in the tuberculosis crusade. That would lead too far. Suffice it to say that it has the very first place there. The tuberculosis hospital has two functions which it is important to bear in mind. One is the

educational function. The benefit of residence in a tuberculosis hospital to a consumptive is not measured solely by improvement in his health. So far as the community is concerned, it is measured also by the education of the patient in methods of right living. There has probably been no influence which has had larger effect in stirring up the public mind as regards many of the problems of the public health than the tuberculosis crusade. It has taught people the value of fresh air, it has emphasized the importance of proper conditions in the household and in the factory, because tuberculosis is a disease which is spread by the immediate environment,—in houses, workshops or factories. The lessons which have reached the public, largely through the work of our tuberculosis hospitals and sanatoria, have been of inestimable value in their effects upon public health.

I would like to point out in this connection, familiar as it is, that just as in the case of tuberculosis, so in nearly all the efforts to control infectious diseases there are incidental benefits which are often not foreseen but which in many instances equal, if not exceed, the actual effect upon the control of the particular disease in question. Take, for instance, the control of typhoid fever, with the consequent insistence upon a pure water supply, pure food, and certain conditions relating to the spread of disease from person to person, using the military to clean up unsanitary morasses and swamps around human habitations and rendering large areas fertile and suitable for cultivation. One might go on and point out benefits often far in excess of the actual results which are immediately in view when the attack is first made.

The tuberculosis dispensary is something very different from the ordinary dispensary. It is perfectly obvious that it would be absurd to conduct a tuberculosis dispensary as most dispensaries were conducted before the great movement initiated by our chairman, Dr. Cabot, came into use, by having the patient simply come to the dispensary, receive a dose of medicine, and then go away. The idea of following the patient to the home, of instruction in the home, not only of the patient but of all in proximity to him,—all that conception, which, thanks to Dr. Cabot, is now so familiar in the work of a dispensary, although so imperfectly attained in many cases,—is exemplified in a striking way by the tuberculosis dispensary.

There are many other special hospitals for the eye, ear, throat, and children's diseases. I have only one remark to make in regard to these. It is a pity that these hospitals have developed to such a large extent as independent, detached hospitals, often un-

suitably located, and out of touch with the general hospital movement. I cannot pause to consider why this has been so. It is mainly because the movement started about a century ago and became active about sixty or seventy years ago, and those who were interested in these branches were not welcome in general hospitals and were more or less compelled to go to one side to establish these special institutions. It is unfortunate, and it is very important that in future we should do all we can to remedy this condition, and when a new hospital of this kind is founded it is probable that it should be in connection with a general hospital. Referring to the three special hospitals we have been so fortunate as to secure in connection with Johns Hopkins Hospital, they are all far more useful institutions and do a far larger service to the community by virtue of the fact that they are there on the grounds of the hospital and in intimate association with the Johns Hopkins,—in fact, administered by that hospital.

I cannot pause to discuss the development of the modern hospital, but it is something very different from the hospital of the old days. One of the most significant developments in medicine, and therefore in public health, has been the development of the modern general hospital. This has come about largely through increased knowledge of the methods of study and diagnosis and treatment of disease. It has come about also to some extent through a more correct view as to the function of the hospital in education and in the treatment of patients. These new conceptions are responsible for a situation where the patient profits by the resources of modern medicine and of education in sanitary ways of living to an extent quite impossible in private practice. The best that can be done with existing knowledge for the treatment and relief of disease is to be found now in the well equipped and well organized general hospital.

For whom are these benefits available? In all the American hospitals where the rich and the poor are both admitted they are available for the very rich and the very poor. On the whole I think the poor derive the greatest advantage. The rich formerly did so, and still, I think, to a considerable extent, share the opportunities of medical discoveries in the treatment of their diseases. But there is a large middle class which at present is not adequately provided for. I see that that is a subject for a paper in the program of the Conference by Dr. Davis. I was not fortunate enough to hear the paper, but the very title shows an appreciation of the situation. Here again I am not going to discuss it with reference to possible remedies, but it is one of

the urgent needs to supply adequate accommodations in the best of our general hospitals for all classes of the community. Whether they shall be provided for in inexpensive private rooms or whether by more attractive arrangement in public wards, so as to make the accommodation more acceptable, I am not prepared to say. Although I am talking on these subjects, I am not a hospital physician and am not in practice and have not that intimate personal contact with the subject that would make my opinion as to the best solution of a problem of this character of any particular value.

Why is it that hospitals offer these superior advantages in the treatment and care of disease? It is because they are well equipped and organized and because there is a whole staff of assistants. The study of modern disease requires all sorts of examinations by new methods that are in many case intricate. Sometimes it is doubtful whether the knowledge so derived is applicable to the case in hand, but whatever sheds light upon the extent and character of disease must eventually be found of advantage to the patient. In many cases the private physician is enabled to bring to bear upon his patient all of these resources essential to the accurate diagnosis and treatment of disease. The hospital reaches only a relatively small fraction of the entire community—I do not know how many. It has been said that not more than one-tenth of the sick are cared for in hospitals. The opportunities are inadequate at present for meeting this great need. It is possible that the private physicians may be enabled in some way or other to have at their disposal such advantages as exist at present almost solely in hospitals.

Some think that the solution is going to be the eventual disappearance of the private practitioner as we know him today. Some think the profession is to be socialized. Steps in that direction have already been taken in Denmark and other Scandinavian countries where the doctors are paid by the state, and it is interesting to learn the results of those experiences. But I think it would be a pity to have the whole practice of medicine institutionalized. There was something so fine about the best type of family doctor in the old days. My father was a country doctor and I know something of the life and what it meant to patients so that I cannot help feeling that every effort ought to be made to rescue this situation. A recognition of it is, of course, the first step. How it is to be met I do not know. I have read that in Fall River the physicians have arranged for co-ordinated effort in their laboratories which results in conditions similar to those which exist in hospitals. Here again I desire to call your attention to the situation without attempting

myself to suggest a solution; but there is this contrast today as between the organized, well equipped hospital and the opportunities there afforded for the treatment of disease, and the situation in private practice. As regards the services rendered by the hospital, the side of it with which I am most familiar is the educational one. The primary purpose—and it must remain the primary purpose, is the care of the patient. Nothing can be done in a hospital which in any way can be of possible injury to the patient. The argument is so familiar that perhaps it hardly needs presentation, that the use of the hospital for educational purposes really is for the benefit of the patient. If this can be demonstrated, then we shall be convinced that a hospital which serves not merely a humanitarian purpose, but educational and scientific purposes as well, is doing a far more important and larger work than the hospital which has nothing more to do than to care for the patient. We must bring this to the attention of the public at every suitable opportunity.

The medical school and hospital in the past have developed abroad separately, and the real problems of medical education in this country are the result of that divergent development. We know now that it is important to bring them together. They never should have developed apart. But the difficulties are greater than one might imagine. The medical school must have satisfactory relations to a hospital. It is fortunate if the university or medical school has its hospital, as we have at Johns Hopkins. But as the future of medical education really depends upon its connection with a hospital, I should consider the future of medical education dark indeed, in this country, if we were to build hospitals without the university assuming the administration of them. The important thing is for the trustees of privately endowed institutions feel that they are doing the best for the hospital in making it freely available for medical teaching. This superior sort of hospital is to a large extent at present in this country the well endowed private hospital, but our municipal and state-supported hospitals are beginning to wake up. It is important, and it is a requirement of modern sanitation, that these facilities should be supplied. When I speak of the educational side of the hospital, I have in mind not merely opportunities for training doctors and nurses, but for the training of patients as well. Take, for example, the movement for the early recognition of cancer,—the importance of the public being instructed that sores that do not heal up should have the physician's attention, that early operation for cancer is usually successful and the results of delay lamentable,—the result of which has been organized effort to bring this knowledge home. Do we

make use of our knowledge as we should with patients coming to the dispensary? There are the same opportunities for bringing lessons home as to right conditions of living, health, and prevention of disease as are exemplified in the case of tuberculosis.

Then there is the scientific work of a hospital. Definite knowledge, of course, is the most obvious result of the work of those engaged in hospital activities, but the spirit of investigation has a value so great for the workers that I do not believe it can be overestimated. It is incumbent upon municipal and state-supported hospitals to make provision whereby the staff, especially the young men, may be stimulated by laboratory opportunities. The equipment can be relatively modest, but there should be opportunities which make them see that medicine is something more than a trade. I would emphasize that the value of the investigating spirit is not to be measured by making discoveries in science. The spirit of investigation is a stimulus to a real pleasure in work, to better work and better care of patients, and unless the workers have it, their task becomes merely routine.

I want to say a word about autopsies. *Post mortem* examination is not my theme, but it is through the knowledge derived from them that many of the great advances in medicine have come. There is every reason why they should be characterized as a matter of routine. I met, the other day, in St. Louis, a most enlightened young man, who has a wonderful grasp on the problems of the hospital and medical education—Dr. Brookings, who has done so much at the Washington University Medical School. He said: "I would not care to put myself in the hands of a physician who, if I should die, did not want an autopsy and did not want to face the results." The matter is of sufficient importance, I think, to bring to the attention of an audience of this character.

I have only touched here and there upon my subject. In conclusion, just one thought. It is of the utmost importance that hospitals should be more linked up with all the agencies which are concerned with public health work. Dr. Cabot has done immense service in waking us up on the question of dispensaries. It is a wonder we could have slept so long. The new era that has been ushered in by social service work is certain to see the dispensary brought into closer relations with other agencies concerned in all its fields of activity. I think there is room for a better organization, a better co-ordination, a more effective co-operation of the hospital with the boards of health. I happen to be a member of a state board of health, and know that there we see ways in which the hospitals could

be more co-operative than they are at present with all kinds of charity and relief organizations. The hospitals that take this form are to be, not the only agency, but I think a primary one in the promotion of public health.

REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON HEALTH

Richard C. Cabot, M. D.

Our president, Mrs. Glenn, called attention in her opening address to the fact that one of the great functions of social workers at all times is to bring new recruits into the work of social agencies and into the discussions which take place at conferences like this. You will feel with me that the Health section has done well in bringing such a recruit as Dr. Welch.

As chairman of this section I am supposed to render a report on the general subject, *Public Health in Social Work*, and I take this to mean that I am to speak of where we stand in 1915 on the burning questions which lie in the borderland between medicine and social work. You have a section on Health in this Conference because medicine and social work overlap at so many points; and at those points I am going to gossip for a little with you on what has happened in these late months and years, and on the encouragement which we may draw from them.

The word *prevention* is perhaps the most popular word with social workers today. I believe the idea of prevention in social work has been acquired very largely from the medical profession. Preventive medicine and preventive social work are largely the same thing. When you think of preventive social work you are apt to think of medicine. When you think, for example, of preventing venereal disease as a social problem, you deal with preventive medicine. And so with the prevention secured by housing reform, or by the reform of industrial conditions, your methods of results are medical. That fact justifies a few more words on a subject that Dr. Welch has already set before you.

Three Epochs in Preventive Medicine

At an annual medical convention in Washington last week, Dr. Rosenau, professor of preventive medicine at Harvard, spoke of three epochs in the advance of that science: the epoch of sanitation, the epoch of disinfection, and the present epoch which I will describe more in detail. The first epoch was largely

the *plumber's job,*—we wanted to get rid of filth, and the job was about as interesting to the plumber as to the doctor. In the next epoch attention was focused on the effort to keep the germs out of our system. In that phase, preventive medicine might be characterized as *the bacteriologist's job,* and such it still is to a considerable extent. But we are now entering, Dr. Rosenau said, a third epoch, in which preventive medicine is seen to be largely *a matter of education.* First, plumbing, then disinfection, now education.

That seems to me a progression of live interest to social workers, for this preventive education must be done largely by social workers. It interests me that recently when the Massachusetts General Hospital decided upon a more thorough system of instructing patients when they leave the wards,—the medical staff voted to turn that work over to the Social Service Department. That seems a curious thing to do, at first. Why is that a matter for social workers? Because it is educational and personal, because it is not a matter of handing out hygiene, but of fitting hygiene to a particular individual.

It is a fact, that in this country preventive medicine from the educational side has been set in motion chiefly by social workers. The movements for prevention of tuberculosis, and of infant mortality, have sprung from social workers, not from the medical men. The same is true in this country of the movement for preventing bad industrial conditions. On the other hand, the movement for preventing venereal disease came from a physician, Dr. Prince Morrow.

What is the up-to-date way of organizing preventive medicine? It is educational. The newspapers and magazines receive this sort of "stuff" more gladly than they do any other single class of news, and whereas it used to be true that if you saw anything about medicine in the newspapers it was perfectly safe to assume that it was *not* true, today that is a very unsafe assumption. Newspaper medicine is now fairly often true. If you see a medical discussion in a weekly or monthly magazine the chances are three to four it is true. That is a very great advance, and it seems to me most hopeful, since newspapers and magazines are what the American people read, that the former head of a great health system like that of Chicago should be the editor of a health column in a group of daily papers. Many Boards of Health now realize that the advancement of preventive medicine is for them largely a matter of advertisement, getting into people's minds by means of the press the truth which we want to get into people's minds for therapeutic ends.

What Can Doctors and Social Workers Teach Each Other?

The borderline between medicine and social work is sometimes hard to distinguish. The doctors are dealing with social facts; and the social workers are dealing with medical facts. Hence there is a great deal which each needs to teach the other. The best help which doctors can give social workers, if they will do it, is not so much facts as *methods*. Scientific men of the highest rank, like Dr. Welch, when they become enthusiastic in the field of science are apt to dwell not so much on our great achievements, which seem little enough, but upon our methods. Does that sound to you abstract and far away? Yet it is most practical. Let me illustrate. The method that must be depended on more and more for progress in social work is intelligent case work. Now case work is something that we doctors have been dealing with many more years than you have; hence we have something to teach you as to methods to be employed. I wandered into a section meeting yesterday where a whole series of valuable papers were concluded by a remark which impressed itself upon me because it emphasized a point obviously so often overlooked. Mrs. Sheffield emphasized the failure of some fine social workers to notice in case work from day to day *the recurrence of a single factor*. You can do splendid individual case work and yet ignore when you come to the next case the points of similarity between them. Medical men would do just the same had it not been hammered into them in all their training that they must *"watch for recurrences."* I do not need to be told that social work is more difficult and delicate than medical work and that the individual factor is much more incalculable. I know it well. Nevertheless, I know that these studies of recurrences can be made and ought to be made. It is part of the method of science to notice recurrences, and to generalize from them, by classifying groups within each particular subject studied. This method is something you are now learning from physicians in so far as you are in contact with them. And you still have a good deal more to learn. In the same section-discussion just mentioned, the speaker distinguished two groups of unmarried mothers, one in which you could find causes and another (much less hopeful) in which you could not find them. That sort of classification is being applied all the time in medical work and is more helpful.

What can doctors learn from social workers? It is not so much method as point of view. The doctor is trained throughout his medical studies to concentrate upon a narrow field and to study it minutely. The social worker is trained to keep his eye open to every aspect of life. In our own case work in the

Social Service Department of the Massachusetts General Hospital we are accustomed to sum up our cases in monthly reports from the case records by asking about each case four questions: What is the physical state of this patient? What is the mental state of this patient? What is his physical environment? What is his mental and spiritual environment? The doctor is apt to know a good deal about the first of those four things, the physical state, and a little about the second, the mental, but about the other two almost nothing. The expert social worker comes with those four points in mind to every case. It is of interest to notice that this four-fold knowledge is not the goal of the social worker merely; it is the goal of every intelligent human being who wants to understand another human being. Suppose a man was about to be married to a member of your family and you wanted to know whether he deserved this great promotion. You would want to know just those four things the social worker needs to know about their clients,—(a) his physical condition, (b) his character, (c) the physical condition under which he has been brought up and lives, and (d) the mental and spiritual influences under which he has grown up and now lives. It would be the same if you were studying candidates for a paying teller's position, for a governor's position, for the headship of a college or for president of the United States. Social work, as I see it, takes no special point of view; it takes the total human point of view, and that is just what it has to teach doctors who by reason of their training are disposed to take a much narrower point of view. They can safely and profitably continue that narrow outlook only in case they have a social worker at their elbow, as they should have, to help them. Each of us has his proper field, but we should not work separately, for the human beings who are our charges cannot be cut in two.

Recent Gains in Popularizing Preventive and Social Ideals

It is of great interest as a sign of the times that not only through the papers and magazines is the public now eager for information on medical topics, but in other ways. For the last few years Harvard University has offered free popular medical lectures. You cannot imagine what a scandal that would have caused to the medical profession even fifteen years ago. It measures the encouraging advance of the last few years that there was not a ripple of comment among medical men when Harvard established the series. At every lecture we turn away as many as can be accommodated in the largest hall of the medical school. This example has since been followed by other medical schools and is sure to be followed by others still. You

may be thinking: What are you doing, giving a little knowledge to a world which Carlyle characterized as a pack of fools. A little knowledge is a dangerous thing. But as Joseph Lee once said this is a danger to which every man and woman on earth has always been exposed and always will be exposed. And the remedy? That is of course more knowledge. We are all in this dangerous condition, and there is only one way out.

Another, and to me a most inspiring change, has occurred within the last two years, on the borderline between medicine and social work. I remember about five or six years ago when that splendid Boston social worker whom we still like to call Miss Higgins was saying among a group of other social workers that she wondered whether it would ever be possible to get a chance to give a few lecturers, or talks, to the Harvard medical students on the subject of social work. It appeared to all of us that such a university as Harvard would countenance nothing so revolutionary as a social worker entering its precincts to teach medical students. But two years ago there happened to Harvard one of the best things that ever hit her. She had to appoint a professor of clinical medicine who should at the same time fill an important position at the Massachusetts General Hospital. She decided to pick out the most experienced and the best man for the position in the whole country, Dr. D. L. Edsall of St. Louis, formerly of Philadelphia. He began his new regime by arranging instruction for the fourth-year students in social work, not by lectures in class, but in small groups studying case work under Miss Cannon and Miss Harper at the Massachusetts General Hospital. Public opinion had moved so fast that this move caused no excitement whatever. It has been a great source of satisfaction to all of us to see the interest of these medical students in the social problems presented to them. The same thing on a larger scale has been carried on by the vice-chairman of this section, Dr. Emerson.

Take another instance. Harvard formed a few years ago, in connection with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a school for health officers. It seems to me a most notable sign of the times that as soon as it was formed they asked me to see that these men and women had some instruction in social work. The originators of this school, Dr. Rosenau of Harvard, and Prof. Sedgwick of Technology, recognized that health officers needed to know something about social work and especially that they must know how to use social workers.

Venereal Disease

On the subject of venereal disease I want merely to mention one point, one of the few points of real hope in fearful dark-

ness. In our work with problems of sex in the Social Service Department of the Massachusetts General, we tried from the first to do whatever we could with those dilemmas affecting women, and when we were asked: "Why women only," our answer was because we did not know how to do anything for the men. I cannot say we have as yet solved the problem of how to do anything radically preventive in venereal disease, but we have made a beginning and I have great hopes for the future. In the clinic for genito-urinary diseases we have a social worker, working on the most intimate terms with the head of that clinic for the benefit of the patients. That worker is working with the gonorrhoea patients not individually alone but as a family problem. You know that in touching the family problems of gonorrhoea it is easy to stir up a hornet's nest and accomplish nothing that is good, but we have made a real beginning. When a member of a family comes to the hospital with gonorrhoea it is sometimes possible to get hold of the other members of that family, precisely as we do with tuberculous patients, and to give them such warnings, with the consent of the person who came first, that that terrible disease will not spread further. It has been said in the past that if you undertook anything of this kind you would soon have no patients in your clinic. They would resent it and go elsewhere. It is not so. If you get the right person and it is one person in a million, to tackle these cases with the physician and in closest coöperation and sympathy, it is wonderful how "white" some of these people are, how honorable in comparison with the dishonor with which we have associated them,—wonderful how men want to protect their families. When we take up this problem tactfully, carefully, it is not insoluble. It seems to me one of the most hopeful things for the future that at the gonorrhoeal clinic of the Massachusetts General we can now begin to take the view always advocated by charity organization societies, the family point of view.

Feeble-Mindedness

The subject of feeble-mindedness is being discussed by social workers more than any other single subject. One or two things of present interest naturally lead out of that problem. In my opening remarks I said that while economic aspects had in the past been foremost, in the future, as I see it, psychological conditions will be at the fore. The large amount of attention now given to feeble-mindedness in its relation to social work is one of the best signs of the times and points very far beyond itself. It points to mental examinations, not only for their obvious utility in the diagnosis of the feeble-minded but in every kind of social

work. *Psychological studies are the hope of the future in every branch of philanthropy.* We need them everywhere because a better understanding of human beings must come out of such study. One example: In the orthopedic clinic of the Massachusetts General Hospital we treat cases of spinal curvature. They are often aided by the application of a plaster jacket which forces the deformed chest gradually back into something like correct position. It seems like a simple mechanical problem. But it isn't, for there are people who will wear a plaster jacket and there are people who won't. To make these jackets costs something; hence the social workers in that clinic are now trying to find out in advance what people will wear plaster jackets and what people won't, as it does not pay to apply plaster jackets to people who won't wear them. If there is any field for psychological study less promising than the problem of spinal curvature, I do not know it. Yet we have obtained already a rich harvest there. We must go much further. We must carry on much further the studies which Dr. Healy has begun so magnificently in Chicago. It is a significant thing that when I went to headquarters this morning to look over the new books on social topics, the book that seems to me most important of all was not among them,—I mean Dr. Healy's study of *The Individual Delinquent.* This oversight was of course not intended, but as I see it this ought to be *the book,* above all others, to bring into prominence there. It is a book I am afraid not all of you will read, because it has so many pages, but the investment will be well worth all the time and money it will take you to possess it.

Clinics for the Moderately Well-to-do

Dr. Welch told you that the poor and the rich are the only people today who can get adequate medical treatment. I believe it is a fact that eighty-five per cent. of the people of the United States, that is, the people with incomes between the extremes of $900 and $3,000 are now unable to get any adequate medical treatment. This is because adequate medical treatment means that based on thorough study, and that study cannot be had without the equipment of a hospital. Because that is true, hospitals will not long continue to be places to which people go because they cannot help it. They are going to be places where we all go whenever we can because we know that the best treatment can be had there and only there. If we cannot avoid staying at home and being treated by a private physician we may submit to private practice but not otherwise. The hospitals of the near future will be sought by all, rich and poor alike.

Industrial Disease

Industrial disease is useful just as tuberculosis has been, for opening the eyes of the public and of doctors and social workers, too, to their common problems. If you, social workers, want to convince a doctor that he needs you, talk to him about industrial disease and he will see the point. Industrial disease calls for a study of the factory, of the home and of all the physical and spiritual conditions under which industry is carried on. Obviously the doctor cannot do it; the social worker is at hand and, for the present at least, seems the fittest person in sight. We are just beginning in a few hospitals in this country to record the occupation of our patients in such terms that they mean something. One of the best authorities on statistics in this country criticized the last report of the Massachusetts General Hospital, by saying that our statistics of occupation were not worth the paper they were written on. It was true; and the Massachusetts General promptly asked him to come and tell us what to do. He came, and we are now doing what he told us to do. Social workers and hospital physicians put down in their records the facts about the person's work (or forget to), and in about a hundred per cent. of cases they do not know enough to put those facts down correctly. Before you know enough to record a man's occupation, you, like us, will be forced to study industrial disease. For there is danger that if we do not know how to get and to record our industrial facts correctly, we shall fail to recognize risks of poisoning, of strain and of infection which are essential to intelligent action.

Finally, what are some of the *lines of progress and hope* that we see in our field?

1. In the first place, a better relation of men and women. When doctors and social workers labor together for their patients they meet on one of the finest planes for comradeship that this world affords. Some of the noblest and most fruitful relationships have sprung up out of the comradeship of doctors and social workers in the field we are discussing tonight.

2. Sickness insurance is coming to this country, as it has to foreign countries. You will start wrong if you try to get it carried out by private practitioners and do not center it around the hospital. The line of progress is to organize sickness insurance by and around hospitals. The ambition of hospitals to take their proper place in this movement is most encouraging.

3. The educational side of preventive medicine is an encouraging one, for here we have something to teach to people who really want to learn; wherever that happens you have happiness

and progress. There is nothing more enobling in the relation of those who work together than something to teach and somebody who wants to learn. Thus doctors and social workers mutually and happily develop each other.

4. I think I see psychology coming to the front both in medicine and in social work. I don't mean the psychology of frogs and pigeons, nor the psychology of the text books, but the psychology of individual character—so inextricably interwoven in every problem of illness or want. This new trend is sure, I believe, to be followed with the enthusiasm and the determination that penetrate below surfaces down to the deepest moving springs of human activity—down to the sources of comfort and of courage, to the reason for our eternal quest of truth and our passionate demand for justice. There at the root of our energies the scientific and impassionate intimacy with human nature will find the religious impulse and the religious object—God—as the driving force and the ultimate sense of all our work—medical or social. Then we shall be at one again with the prophets and the preachers—so sadly and so needlessly separated from us in recent years.

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE HOSPITAL: DISCUSSION

Katharine Tucker, Social Service Director of the New York Committee on Mental Hygiene of the State Charities Aid Association.

You may well wonder what there is left for me to say. It seems to me all I can do is to enlarge upon a few details as to how the hospital can more effectively fulfill its responsibility to public health. When I speak of these particular details I am not speaking of the Massachusetts General Hospital, but of the regular, the usual hospital. The Massachusetts General is unusual. The first detail I want to speak of is the question of the organization of social service departments, which are coming to be the most obvious illustration of the way that the hospital is attempting to fulfill its social duty. In one hospital the social service department was organized by a lay committee. Six months after it was established the doctors were informed of it. One doctor's comment was: "That is perfectly all right as long as they don't bother us." That seems to me exactly the way not to start hospital social service, and not the way to attempt to have the hospital, through this department, project its domain into a study of the social causes and results of disease. In order to

have it perform the service it should, first of all the doctors must want it, must know its purpose, must know what it is prepared to do.

The second detail is a question of the social responsibility of the hospital within its own walls. When the doctors are treating cases, even though they know there is a social service department, they do not always remember that if that department is to function properly it must have some understanding as to the nature of the medical diagnosis and treatment and the probable prognosis. If doctors realized how much more effectively the social service department could serve them and the patients by giving such information they would not consider it a nuisance and unnecessary. Exactly in the same way, social workers should feel that it is part of their work to inform the doctors as to the nature of the social conditions. Often they do that, but go no further. The next step is to inform the doctors of the social treatment and its results. In a certain dispensary the reason leading to the establishment of a social service department came through the fact that a charity organization society was sending cases to its clinic and with each case they sent a full social history. As the case developed further social reports were made to the doctor. That doctor felt he needed social workers in his own clinic.

The third detail is the question of education of nurses in social work. Again, this has to do with the hospital's duty within itself. We say that a hospital is not doing its job thoroughly in treating its patients except as it goes out into the community and treats the conditions there that cause the disease. And yet right within the hospital, workers are being trained to care for the sick, but only to care for them physically, while, through the social service department, the hospital says that the patients need treatment on onther sides,—the personal and mental, the home, recreation and occupation. While hospitals have maintained training schools for nurses, have they felt their responsibility in sending out women to care for the sick with training only for one part of their work? As soon as the hospital realizes this responsibility and gives nurses training, before leaving the hospital, in public health, then we shall no longer hear the illustration given at this Conference at least four times of nurses who have not coöperated properly on the social side. Those of us who are nurses realize the criticism is just, but we are not entirely to blame, and ask those interested in the work to remember that one of the biggest functions of the hospital is to train nurses to go out into the homes.

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PAY CLINICS FOR PERSONS OF MODERATE MEANS*

Michael M. Davis, Jr., Ph. D., Director of the Boston Dispensary

We have been accustomed to think of clinics as for the poor and it gives us a wrench to think of clinics for people like you and me; yet we are fast moving from the charity point of view to the health point of view and we are less frequently asking the question, "Do the patients need help?" than the other question, "Do they need health?"

Let us test the adequacy of existing medical service and the need for a pay clinic by surveying the conditions in a very concrete field, one which interests us all, namely, the care of the eyes. If anything is the matter with our eyes, or if, for instance, we need glasses, we can secure attention from one of several sources: (1) an oculist at his private office; (2) a clinic connected with a medical institution, where the patients meet the oculist instead of at his office; (3) an optician or optometrist, who will test the eyesight and provide glasses, if he persuades the patient that glasses are needed; (4) the shop, selling eye-glasses over the counter without examination of the eyes. One has merely to try on various pairs until one finds one which suits. The cost of these four facilities varies widely. Assuming that we require eye glasses, which is the most common reason why people seek care for the eyes, the cost of the oculist's services will be from $8.00 to $25.00, according to his reputation and the kind of glasses purchased. This figure includes the price of the glasses. At a clinic, assuming that merely nominal fees are charged and the glasses are sold at about cost, the cost would be from $1.50 to $4.00 or $5.00. The optometrist or optician will charge a patient from $2.00 to $10.00. The price supposedly includes glasses only, the examination being nominally free. At the shop, eye glasses—such as they are, may be purchased over the counter for from 10 cents up to $1.00 or more per pair. Thus the scale ranges from $25 down to 10 cents as the cost of a pair of eye glasses fitted, more or less, to the wearer. We pay our money and take our choice.

Such is the actual economic situation. What is the social result? The ideal would be the services of a skilled oculist for every person needing any care for the eyes; but the price is too high and the price must remain high because, in private practice, an oculist can not live unless he charges such fees. A well-trained man can make a living by charging these rates to that small section of the community which can afford them.

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The remainder of the community is not ordinarily reached by such services. The service of individual oculists is too scanty and when unorganized is necessarily too high-priced. The optometrist or optician, or the shop selling eye glasses over the counter, ought not to exist at all except under the supervision of medical men; for eyesight is too precious to be spoiled by the meddling of inadequately trained hands. The remedy is to organize the medical service. This means to establish clinics. We have such clinics, but they are supposed to be only for the poor. The people who can not pay $8, $10 or $20, but who would pay $3, $4 or even $5, if they knew they were getting good service, and who often pay similar amounts to opticians, are left in the lurch. They cannot get skilled medical service for the eyes. These middle-class people are the majority in every community.

The Boston Eye Clinic

I shall now describe an experiment begun by the Boston Dispensary a little over two years ago for the purpose of meeting this situation. A pay clinic for the care of the eyes was established with the aim of meeting the needs of this great middle class. As these persons are mostly at work and can not leave work without loss of wages, the clinic was naturally opened during the evening. This evening pay clinic was established at the Boston Dispensary at the end of April, 1913. It has been maintained twice weekly, with an expert oculist—at times two oculists—on service, a medical-social worker, and sometimes also a clerk in attendance. The fees charged have been $1.00 for the first visit of a patient and 50 cents for each succeeding visit. Glasses are provided at prices which average about 50 per cent. above the cost of the glasses to the Dispensary. It might be mentioned that, as far as I can ascertain, the usual store price of similar glasses are from 200 per cent. to 300 per cent. above the cost of the material. Of course, eye diseases are also treated and medicines for treatment are provided at prices a little above cost. In two years, during which about two hundred clinics have been held, 972 new patients have been cared for, of whom 31 per cent. were men, 67 per cent. women—mostly young working women, and 2 per cent. children. 749 cases required glasses, or 77 per cent., while about 20 per cent. presented one or another form of eye disease, sometimes serious.

I have left until this point the mention of one of the first essentials in such a clinic. In most dispensary clinics held in the morning or afternoon, the medical staff volunteer their services. It is obviously unjust to expect volunteer service at inconvenient hours or to ask volunteer service at all when more

than nominal fees are charged patients. Consequently the medical service has been salaried.

Financially, the outcome of the clinic has been as follows. During two years the income from the clinic has been $2,212.30, counting the fees for admission, eye glasses and medicines together. The cost of the clinic, including salaries of the staff, the social workers and clerk, supplies, medicines and an allowance for lighting and heating, has been $2,390.43. The difference, $178.13, represents a deficit, which would be somewhat increased if an allowance for rent or for overhead supervision had been made; yet considering that this is only the beginning of an experiment, that no paid advertising has been undertaken to compete with the commercial firms whose displays are prominent in many newspapers, the financial results of the first two years of this clinic impresses me as being quite favorable.*

I see no reason to believe that the situation in Boston differs from that in any other large city in regard to the need for the care of the eyes. In smaller cities, or in rural districts, where no physicians specializing as oculists are established, the situation is even more serious. The only way out appears to me to be to organize opthalmological service in clinics, self-supporting as far as possible, meeting the needs of the great mass of the population. In smaller communities, oculists might travel in a circuit, giving one or two clinics weekly or monthly in each place, as there would not be enough business to support a resident specialist.

The financial side of this pay clinic is very interesting. The cost to a patient securing examination and glasses in the clinic ranges from $2.50 up; but unless expensive lenses and frames are necessary, the cost would not often exceed $4.00, and would rarely exceed $5.00. The cost of service in the clinic for the same style of glasses would be from one-third to one-tenth the cost of utilizing an oculist. Of course, persons who can pay the usual fees of oculists should be and are excluded from such a clinic, but this presents little problem as such persons are relatively well-to-do and rarely apply. The clinic rates are such that a patient can get this service, including eye glasses, at a cost not more than the retail price of the eye glasses alone and often for considerably less.

On this basis I can not see how such a pay clinic in any city or town, or ten pay clinics, for that matter, can compete with the oculist. They will compete and they ought to compete

*During nine recent months (October, 1914—June, 1915) there was a surplus of $1.03 above clinic expenses of $700.33.

with the prescribing optician and the shop which sells eye glasses over the counter. Such clinics, if properly developed, ought to offer many opportunities at reasonable compensation for young men who are specializing in eye work, as well as places for older men in directing and supervising capacities.

Pay Clinics for Venereal Diseases

Turn now to an entirely different field,—that of venereal disease. To what extent is existing medical service here adequate to meet the demand? We have the quacks. We have a large amount of self-treatment by patients who buy medicines on the advice of friends or drug clerks. Good medical service for such serious, prolonged, often obstinate diseases as syphilis and gonorrhea, is expensive. Recent developments in medical science have greatly improved the facilities for diagnosis and the efficiency of treatment; but these new facilities cost money. They increase the expense of treatment and also the medical skill required to come up to the best modern standards. Here again we have a certain number of clinics treating these diseases, but they are supposed to be for the poor and they are rarely held at hours which make it possible for working people to attend them without serious loss of wages and often the danger of losing a position.

Consequently, it appeared to the Boston Dispensary that this was another field in which a survey showed the need of more treatment facilities, so organized as to reach those who can not afford skilled medical service at private offices, and who, on the other hand, did not attend so-called charitable clinics, either because they preferred to pay their way or because the hours of the clinics were too inconvenient. In March, 1913, an evening pay clinic for treating genito-urinary diseases of men, chiefly gonorrhea, was established at the Boston Dispensary, and in July, 1914, a clinic for syphilis to which both men and women are now admitted. The same principles of organization as for the eye clinic were then followed. The medical staff is salaried. The gonorrhea clinic has been held three evenings a week and the syphilis clinic once a week. Paid assistants to the physician, in the form of a well trained clerk or a nurse, are provided, besides the necesssary laboratory service and technical equipment. The fees charged patients have been 50 cents a visit, with medicines and injections of salvarsan provided at prices somewhat above the cost of the materials. The first year of the Genito-Urinary Clinic, recently entered, showed a total of 632 patients who paid 6809 visits; so that the clinic averaged about 45 patients a night. The syphilis clinic in nine months has

treated 116 patients who paid 449 visits. Financially, both clinics have yielded a small surplus. The cost of the Genito-Urinary Clinic has been $4,622.89 and the income from fees and medicines $4,936.34, a surplus of $313.45, which would have been somewhat more than evened-up if a charge had been made for rent or supervision. The syphilis clinic, costing $537.55, has returned $592.15, a surplus of $54.60, not allowing for rent or supervision. While these clinics have been open too short a period to warrant drawing many conclusions, their first year seems clearly to demonstrate that such clinics can be made self-supporting and to reach classes of patients who are not touched by the usual charity clinic. I might add that, in all these clinics, a certain number of patients, but never a large proportion, have been accepted at reduced rates or free when, on investigation, it was clear that the patients could not come in the morning without serious loss of wages and could not afford to pay the fees for treatment at private offices.

In the first annual report of the Associated Out-Patient Clinics of New York City, published in 1914, reference was made to the probable need for providing medical service to the middle classes, and, after an account of the Self-Supporting Evening Eye Clinic of the Boston Dispensary, it was proposed that the Associated Out-Patient Clinics should consider the desirability of establishing evening clinics. In the second annual report of the Association, published in April, 1915, report was made of the work of a committee on this matter. This report brings out three interesting facts:

> (1) The New York State Commission for the Blind stated that medical facilities for the care of the eyes with provision of glasses were inadequate; that consequently, commercial and in many instances undesirable facilities were used and that the lack of eye clinics in the evening "is responsible for the prevailing tendency to purchase glasses without medical advice."
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> (2) That there are only two evening eye clinics in New York City.
>
> (3) All the existing eye clinics of the city, with one exception, replied to the inquiry of the committee that they were opposed to evening clinics, whether paid or free. The reasons for opposition included the following: clinics admitted to be necessary in some sections of New York City, but it would cost too much to open them; competent physicians could not be obtained to work in the evening; evening clinics are not needed; evening eye clinics would be a luxury for patients; such clinics would be an imposition upon the medical profession.

The report of the New York State Commission for the Blind would seem to indicate that in New York, as in Boston, there *is* need for an evening eye service. The experiment conducted at the Boston Dispensary indicates that it is not difficult to se-

cure competent physicians to work in the evening, if salaries are paid.* The economic facts show that such a clinic can be put on a self-supporting basis and that the fees charged are not such as compete with oculists, but only with commercial enterprises that sell glasses or medicines for the eyes. We may infer, therefore, that the attitude of the dispensaries as ascertained by this committee of the Associated Out-Patient Clinics of New York is due to lack of understanding of the need and of the means which might be taken to meet it. I mention this because it is probably typical of a situation which may be encountered in many cities. The remedy is a persistent effort to get information and to interpret it effectively to those in the medical profession and among the managers of medical institutions who ought to know and understand the facts.

Enlarging Demand for Such Clinics

I have referred thus far only to clinics for certain specialties, eye diseases or venereal disease. What about pay clinics for other diseases, or for the treatment of disease in general? Medical science has made wonderful strides in recent years. Its power to make accurate diagnosis of disease and to provide more treatment has been wonderfully increased. The advance has, of course, been more marked in some branches of medicine and surgery than in others; but these improvements in the ability of medical science to aid humanity have also increased the cost of the service, both by requiring more equipment in the way of laboratory and treatment facilities and by requiring more human equipment and a higher type of specialization on the part of the physician or surgeon. A great awakening of the public in health matters has also occurred. The campaign to prevent disease is militant. We are no longer satisfied to call in the doctor only when acute disease develops. The leaders of the medical profession are emphasizing the necessity of seeing the doctor early and often, of keeping watch of the human machine periodically, of treating minor diseases and of detecting and remedying physical defects of children as early as possible in their lives. Thus, on the one hand, while the economic cost of medical service has increased, the demand for it has increased perhaps even more. Increasing pressure is being placed upon our resources for medical care, both in private and in medical institutions. I am sorry that I do not know of any concrete data on a large scale which demonstrates the extent to which med-

*The salary basis for the chiefs of clinic has been from $250 to $350 per night per year, some difference being made according to the size of the clinic.

ical service to the middle class of the population is inadequate. In two specialties, eye diseases and venereal disease, I have indicated briefly reasons why it undoubtedly is inadequate. The general conditions which I have mentioned indicate, at least to me, that the same conditions prevail to a greater or less extent in general medicine and surgery.

Recent years have seen wonderful development of one branch of the work of medical institutions, namely, dispensaries, which have increased in number eight to ten-fold since 1900. They represent, as do the hospitals, organized medical service and, while there are doubtless many causes for their increase in number, their growth undoubtedly represents a reaction to the increasing recognition of the need of more and better provision for the diagnosis and treatment of disease. For acute or contagious disease, requiring care in bed, our hospitals have organized medical service and there the well-to-do can go, paying their way, in private rooms. To the wards of the same hospitals the poor may go, and if they have nothing they pay nothing. In dispensaries or out-patient departments, medical service is also organized for the great number of diseases which are treated while the patient is able to be about. But dispensaries and out-patient departments are as yet almost entirely for the poor. The medical service in the dispensaries is usually unsalaried. The fees paid by the well-to-do are the real economic basis on which the medical profession is able to follow its splendid tradition of service and to give a large portion of time without direct compensation to work in hospital and dispensary clinics.

But the great mass of the population is self-supporting. They are above the poverty line, but have no margins of income to meet the medical fees charged by skilled private physicians. They can pay for medical service, but rarely for enough or for good enough medical service. Can private practice, carried on unorganized in the individual offices of physicians, be developed to meet the medical needs of the middle class of the population more fully? Great Britain is attempting this experiment. By establishing its National Insurance System a few years ago, part of the insurance fees pay for the medical service and thus enable the working people to secure the needed help from doctors. The economic factors of the problem have been dealt with, perhaps effectively, by this system; but is the medical problem solved? Can private practitioners, working individually, measure up to modern standards of service? Expensive equipment is now required for diagnosis and treatment. So much medical specialization exists that the only way in which accurate diagnosis can be made often is through the consultation of different

specialists? Team-work in diagnosis, in dispensaries and hospitals, is proving its greater efficiency as compared with individual work in private offices. The rich can secure the team-work by passing from one office to another; but such an unorganized system is far too expensive to be capable of application on a national scale. Perhaps Great Britain will sometime move towards the organization of its medical service, utilizing the great facilities of its hospitals and dispensaries and establishing such additional clinics as are called for. The Social Insurance Movement is taking shape fast in this country under the leadership of the American Association for Labor Legislation, and at present is concentrating attention on sickness insurance. Perhaps the leaders of this movement will learn from Great Britain how to organize the economic side of the service and will study dispensary organization in this country so as to learn to organize it on the medical side. Surely we should move in both directions simultaneously.

To my mind, one method of assisting in the solution of this great problem is the foundation of pay clinics. Special clinics might well be established for venereal diseases, eye diseases, dentistry, minor surgery of throat and ear, orthopedics, etc.; but clinics for general medicine and surgery also should be started. This medical service will be organized, team-work by specialists be made possible, and the patients will wholly or largely pay their way. Salaried medical service for such clinics is essential as a measure of justice and efficiency. Such clinics will, therefore, create salaried places for physicians. Some such clinics might well be organized co-operatively, or perhaps be a part of a voluntary group health insurance.

No one can consider this proposal for pay clinics without recognizing that opposition is certain to be encountered from sections of the medical profession that fear undesirable economic results for themselves from such clinics, and from sections of the lay public that question the innovation because they do not understand it.

Social workers, as first-hand observers of living conditions ought to do a deal of thinking on this matter. It is their task to define social needs of certain sections of the community and to interpret these needs to other sections. We must recognize that in establishing pay clinics we can not move faster than the leaders of the medical profession. They must be kept in touch, in so far as they may not be already, with the advancing public demands for improved service to health. The leaders in medicine today are men who can be trusted to be convinced by facts. Social workers are probably closer to facts of this order

than any other professional group in the community. We can gather facts by the study of existing conditions of medical service. We can also gather facts by social experiments, that is, by the actual establishment of some pay clinics. I hope we shall do both. I hope that in many cities we shall see studies instituted, into the cost and character of medical service for different groups of the population; and that we shall collect series of concrete cases, in the endeavor to define needs and to indicate practical ways of meeting them. I hope, furthermore, that we shall discover facts by establishing pay clinics, both for various special diseases and for general medical and surgical care, and that we shall administer these clinics with due attention to the service of the patients whom they treat, and also to the collection from the clinic of data which will help us in the broader campaign. Such practical experiments are essential. The doctors, of course, must give us the technical data in such studies and in managing such clinics; but social workers must, to a great extent, take the initiative in getting things under way. The medical profession are the pilots and navigators of the ship; but the social workers must go down to the stoke hole and furnish the steam.

THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN INTENSIVE CASES AND SHORT SERVICE CASES: ROUNDTABLE*

DISCUSSION: The following named fourteen delegates participated in this roundtable discussion: Dr. Richard C. Cabot, Amy M. Hamburger, Dr. Michael M. Davis, and Grace Harper, Boston, Mass.; Margaret S. Brogden and Miss Waters, Baltimore; Mrs. Ada E. Sheffield, Cambridge, Mass.; Julia C. Stimson and Mrs. Minnie D. Weiss, St. Louis, Mo.; Mary H. Combs, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Katharine Tucker, New York City; Helen Pendleton, Newark, N. J.; Mrs. Benjamin West, Memphis, Tenn.; Helen Glenn, Philadelphia.

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THE UNKNOWN BASIS OF MENTAL HYGIENE†

Joseph Lee, President, Playground and Recreation Association of America, Boston, Mass.

In my remarks I am going to be perfectly shameless in saying things that I have often said before, many of which I have set down in a book recently perpetrated.‡ As to method, I shall proceed from the known to the unknown, and shall try in the main to state a number of propositions which may, I think, profitably be discussed.

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*Monday, May 17, 9:15 A. M.
†Section meeting Tuesday, May 18, 11:00 A. M.
‡*Play in Education:* Macmillan, April, 1915.

I.

Health is action. It comes up out of a man, is not conferred. It is the free operation of the force that constitutes him. To be well is to creditably represent this force. It is only by investing what strength you have, be it much or little, that you can increase or keep it. Health is not a passive condition but an active enterprise.

II.

Health is whole-hearted action. A man must indeed choose an object reasonably within his powers. Prudence, though a dangerous quality, is not necessarily fatal if employed in moderation and, above all, if kept to its proper function of consultant in drawing up plans for future action and not permitted to interfere after the game is on. Once engaged, once the battle joined, even the sick man must let go. As a well inspired friend of mine once put it: you can't chop wood if you keep control of the axe. To get results, either within or without, you must risk something on the stroke: you must go in to see the thing through, whether school keeps or not. Remember you are the host, and the spirit will not enter through the half-open door. To hold back anything you have is to shut out the higher powers: the gods will not embark with you until you dare commit yourself. "Damn the expense" is a sentiment of great therapeutic value.

This notion of a prudent prodigality, or recklessness within limits, may seem a paradox. But it is not so really. What is wanted is the ungrudging mood within boundaries prudently selected. If you cannot run a mile, run a hundred yards, or ten, or three—but run while you are about it. If you cannot work eight hours, work four or two, or one, or work like Parkman in five-minute spurts. But while you are working, give your whole soul to it; think not of your weak eyes and your headache, but of the great story you have set yourself to tell. Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might. Eternal moderation means health in moderation, life in moderation, if applied to your enlistment in your task.

III.

Health is action in the service of ideal ends. It is action that transcends the individual, takes him out of himself; and what carries you beyond yourself must be bigger than you are and recognized by you as such. You must be willing to lose your life if you would save it; and you can be so willing only for something that you see to be worth more than your life. Hitch your wagon to a star is a third principle of sound hygiene.

IX.

[illegible]

X

In conclusion, I want to say a word upon the task that confronts society in developing and exercising the health of its individual members. But without the consideration of society we must come to evil.

1. Most essential of all the elements of being I have mentioned is the belonging or love instinct, with its necessity of making good. The health of every man requires that he shall

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

escape from lifeless work can be discovered: for the end of industrial work is life, not vice versa.

. Our main reliance must be: first upon preserving competition, the sporting element in business, by grace of which our industrial occupations, like all our favorite games, contain much of the hunting and fighting elements; second, upon fostering cooperation in all forms of industry, so that the worker, himself, may win back as a member of the team what he has lost as maker—and perhaps even regain something of the sense of participation in creative work,—the real maker being in that case the larger personality of which he will then be a part.

Rhythm I think must be in the main—except again in the case of the happy artists, writers, speakers and musicians—the assuaging instinct, the goddess of our leisure moments, rather than a working deity. Pegasus will still elude our harnessing.

We may however dream that our descendants, like the pupils in Milton's ideal school, in their time of leisure,

> "* * may both with profit and delight be taken up in creating and composing their travail'd spirits with the solemn and divine harmonies of music heard or learnt; either while the skillful organist plies his grave and fancied descant, in lofty fugue, or the whole symphony with artful and unimaginable touches adorn and grace the well-studied chords of some choice composer; sometimes the lute, or soft organstop, waiting on elegant voices either to religious, material, or civil ditties; which, if wise men, and prophets be not extremely out, have a great power over dispositions and manners, to smooth and make them gentle from rustic harshness and distemper'd passions."

In these ways we can do something for the health of the citizen of our industrial community. We cannot indeed quite give him back his health by making a completely normal existence possible to him. Until we can pack a full expression once more into his industrial pursuits, instead of relying on leisure and outside sources for so much of it, the full task of public hygiene will not have been accomplished. But we can advance some way in that direction.

DISCUSSION: This discussion was opened by Dr. Adolf Meyer, Professor of Psychiatry, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., and continued by the following speakers: Dr. Richard C. Cabot, Dr. William B. Bailey, Zilpha D. Smith, Joseph Lee, Grace Harper, and Edith M. Ambrose, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. John M. Glenn and Mr. John M. Glenn, New York City; Joseph C. Logan, Atlanta, Ga.; John R. Howard, White Plains, N. Y.

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ROUNDTABLE: THE SOCIAL EDUCATION OF THE MEDICAL STUDENT*

At a meeting for informal discussion of this subject the leading speaker was Miss Edna G. Henry, Director of the Social Service Department of the Indiana University School of Medicine.

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*Wednesday, May 19, 9:15 A. M.

SOCIAL HYGIENE

PROGRAM

General session, p. 241.
Protective Work, section meeting, p. 260.
Scientific Studies, section meeting, p. 272.
Discussion, with illustrations from moving picture films, p. 288.

Report of the Committee*

Martha P. Falconer, Chairman; Superintendent, Sleighton Farm, Darling, Pa.

The Committee on Social Hygiene was appointed for the first time in this Conference two years ago. Last year the chairman emphasized the importance of the suppression of prostitution. This year, we would like to consider first, the progress that has been made in this country during the year; and, second, some suggestions as to how to prevent prostitution.

It is often asked, What has been the result of the work of the vice commissions appointed in the various cities? Has anything been accomplished? Are conditions better where recommendations have been made to the city authorities? Where the work of the vice commissions has been followed by a special committee, sometimes called a morals commission, or a group of people appointed to go on with the work, much progress has been made; first, in studying the local conditions in the city; second, in giving such facts to the public as would help to create a greater interest in the suppression of prostitution; and third, in following up the recommendations made instead of leaving all of this work to the city officials.

Special interest has been shown in many of the southern cities. This has been a new departure for this section of our country and excellent work is being done in many parts of the South. Men and women have come together with earnestness of purpose and with a determination to make conditions better in their communities. It certainly is a sign of progress when the subject of social evil can be discussed by intelligent men and women, rather than to have the policy of indifference continued. We believe it is a gain to keep the subject before the people, to rouse their interest so that we will never again be satisfied to accept the conspiracy of silence, which has prevailed so long in the past.

*General session Wednesday, May 19, 8:15 P. M.

A new and unusual activity for a church organization has been the work of The Woman's Missionary Council of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, through its Bureau of Social Service. It issues quarterly outline studies for the use of local groups. The series of 1912 took up *The Child*: of 1913, *The Status of Women*: and of 1914, *Intemperance and the Social Evil.* The 1915 topic is *Adolescence.* The study on the social evil was planned to encourage those using it to acquaint themselves with conditions in their own localities, as well as with the general situation. It reads in part as follows:

> What state laws have you against procuring girls for illicit purposes? What is the extent of the social vice in your city? Is it connected with the dance halls? Is it segregated? Does segregation confine vice to one area? Does medical inspection of a segregated district safeguard public health? To what extent is the politics of your city controlled by the liquor and vice interests? What is the relation between the liquor traffic and social vice? What proportion of blindness in your State is caused by venereal disease? What is the legal age of consent in your State? Is it consistent to fix an "age of consent" to a criminal transaction? Does law fix an "age of consent" for the commission of any other crime? What are your state laws against juvenile night messenger service? Does your city require that the names of owners and occupants of disorderly houses be conspicuously placed about the buildings? What method of co-operation between churches are possible in your community? What methods for prevention and rescue are included in the program of your church?

More general consideration of social hygiene problems is provided as follows:

> *Instruction.* Discuss when and by whom wholesale sex-teaching should be given to the children. Discuss the sanest methods for instructing children in sex hygiene. Discuss the value of such teaching as a safeguard for youth. Should there be any provisions for such instruction in our day schools, high schools, or colleges? *Prevention.* Provide clean public recreation to supplant low dance halls. Give women a living wage, reasonable hours, and decent conditions under which to labor. Provide more wholesome environment and better housing, that there may be less herding together of the poor in cheap lodgings and tenements. *Abolition.* A law making it impossible for owners of houses of prostitution to collect insurance upon property. Wyoming has such a law. A law providing that the property in a house of prostitution shall be subject to public confiscation like the furnishings, etc., in a gambling house. A law empowering the board of health of the state or city to declare a house of prostitution a place of contagious disease. A law declaring a house of prostitution to be a public nuisance and to empower citizens to institute proceedings for the abolition of the nuisance. Little tin-plate ordinance, enacted at Portland, Oregon, which requires that the name of the owner and occupant of houses used for immoral purposes be conspicuously posted on tin plates about the premises.

One of the most interesting and hopeful developments during the past year has been the passage of laws that have come to be known as injunction and abatement laws. They exist today in

eighteen states. The principle which they share in common, and which is new and distinctive in the history of laws aimed at the suppression of prostitution, is that they give to the individual citizens in any community the right to prevent by injunction the continued operation of houses of lewdness, assignation, or prostitution as nuisances, without having to prove that such individual citizens have suffered special damages different from those suffered by them in common with the public. While the keeping of such houses is penalized under the criminal statutes in almost every state and while such houses have long been held to be nuisances under the common law which we have inherited from England, and have not infrequently been declared to be nuisances by statute, the only ground of equitable relief heretofore afforded the individual citizen has been that he had suffered special damages different from those suffered by him in common with the public. This has often meant that he must prove a continuing injury to his property which could not be adequately compensated for, in damages, before he could secure an injunction. It has often been peculiarly difficult to prove injury, and heavy initial expense has been involved, so that the use of this procedure has been infrequent. An added reason may be found in the fact that many property owners in neighborhoods where such houses abounded, who, by reason of their proximity to such places, might have been expected to claim such injury to the value of their property, were, on the contrary, reaping large profits from sales to the women inmates of such houses and to the many men attracted to their localities. These owners were, therefore, entirely unwilling, themselves, to bring such suits, and could be counted on to bring strong pressure to bear on their neighbors not to do so. Therefore, those citizens who regarded such places as nuisances, because they tended to corrupt and debase public morals rather than because they injured the value of private property, demanded for themselves a new remedy based on this new conception of the interest of individual citizens in the public welfare. The injunction and abatement law was the result. While this law increased the existing power of law-enforcing officials to wipe out such nuisances, it put the same power into the hands of citizens.

A memorandum of the more important bills introduced at the state legislatures, 1915, show a continued interest and progress.

Adultery—Cal., Conn., Minn., Wash., Wis.
Age of Consent—Ia., O., Vt., Wis.
Care and Protection of Children—Cal., Conn., Ill., Ia., Kan., N. J., Me., Mass., Miss., Ore., R. I., Vt., Wis.
For the Regulation of Commercialized Amusements—Ia., Mass., Miss., N. Y., Wis.
Industrial and other Homes for Women and Girls—N. H., Wash., Wis.
Fornication—Cal., Wis.

Houses of Prostitution—Cal., Conn., Me., Mass., N. Y., Ore.
Injunction and Abatement Laws—Colo., Conn., Ill., Ind., (now a law); Ia., (in place of the former law on the same subject declared unconstitutional because the speaker forgot to sign the bill); Mich., Minn., (making minor amendments in existing law); Mo., (failed to pass); N. J., N. H., O.
Medical Certificate for Marriage—Ind., Kan., Mich., Minn., Mo., N. Y., Ore., S. D., Wis., (amendments of existing law).
Vice Commission—Mich.
Pandering—N. H., Wis.
Prostitution—Conn., Ill., Mass.
Prohibiting Quack Advertising of Cures of Venereal Disease—Cal., Kan., Mass., N. Y.
Rape—Cal., Ia., N. D., Vt.
Reporting of Venereal Disease—Conn., Kan., N. H., N. Y., O., Vt., (Passed; Effective June 1, 1915); Wis.
Seduction—Cal., Wis.
Sex Perversions—Cal.
Sterilization—Cal., Ia., (Amending existing laws).
Vagrancy—Prostitution—N. Y.
Blindness and Penalizing Transmission of Same—Cal., Ia., Kan., O., Ore., Wis.
White Slavery—Wis.
Women Police—N. J., (Passed February 2, 1915); Wis.

We are indebted to Mr. James Bronson Reynolds for the above report.

The law is an instrument much more difficult to use than is commonly supposed. With an effort, it is possible to get good laws passed. It takes much more of an effort to get the laws enforced. Each community must be educated to the importance of having laws enforced if any good is to be accomplished.

NEW YORK CITY

New York City, where commercialized vice has been most profitable because of the large transient population possessed of means, is today, surprisingly clean. This improvement is due to increased efficiency on the part of the police, but the police department could not have accomplished this alone. Since 1905 a volunteer group of citizens known as the Committee of Fourteen has been continuously working on the problem, securing in its work the cooperation of business interests. The greatest reason for success has been a continuity of effort through the ten years. Beginning in a small way, the committee has gradually broadened its work to include the whole field of commercialized vice.

SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

Syracuse has followed up the work of its Moral Survey Committee in a very effective way. As in most communities, it was a surprise to the good people of that city to learn of the conditions which had existed in their midst. A determined effort of the committee was made to follow up the work, to face the facts and to try to see things as they were in that city. They have summarized the work of their committee as follows:

"Commercialized vice exists and flourishes wherever the moral tone of public opinion is low. The raw sores can be healed whenever and wherever a group of determined citizens are willing to make the necessary effort. Our police systems are outgrown. They are in a rut. They hold over from a past. There are still men high up in the police of this city who believe that the old order of a segregated district, with its 3,000 weekly visitors, its breeding ground for syphilis, its illegal liquor selling, its lying medical

certficates, and its extra-judicial police administration was 'the end of the world," the sum of all wisdom. This is some times an honest belief. Whatever its source, it is the greatest obstacle in existence to a better state of things. We must have the police. We must win them if possible. We must change them if necessary. It is a waste of time and energy to begin dealing with commercialized vice with talk. We have had too much of this. What we need is facts. The reason why the Moral Survey Committee of Syracuse has increased its influence constantly is that it has never spoken until it had its facts.

"The end is not yet. There will be no more spectacular events. It is a state of siege. Our aim is unchanged. We urge co-operation. We invite all forward to the new day. The grand jury is the alternative. We prefer conversion to incarceration. A new public opinion is growing. We are gaining our self respect. The shame of the cry that our women must be 'protected' from our men by that segregated district is over. We have learned that we can do without it, and still our streets be safer than ever before for our daughters, sisters, mothers and wives. Beyond all special things, that one fact makes this three years of unending, wearing effort, worth while. The Kingdom has not come for Syracuse, but we are on the way.

"Tomorrow, we shall advance another step. If we go slowly enough, and patiently, we shall not go back."

Mr. George J. Kneeland furnished a part of the following summary of results of vice commissions in various cities:

CHICAGO

Progress has been made in Chicago since the appointment of the Vice Commission, April 5, 1911. The year's results, i. e., 1913-14, include dislodgment of 518 resort keepers, including 445 houses of ill fame and 73 disorderly saloons. It is now harder for resort keepers to get lodgment, permanency and security for their traffic. There is greater vigilance in residential districts and outlying precincts. Another result is increased activity and efficiency of the police. There has been no increase of crimes against women. It is estimated that from 1,000 to 3,000 resort inmates have left the city during the year.

Samuel P. Thrasher, secretary of the Committee of Fifteen, Chicago, says, "The report of the Vice Commission . . . . has reaped an abundant harvest, including the practical closing of the red-light district, the revocation of the licenses of some of the most notorious resorts in Chicago, a reduction of open street soliciting by at least 80 per cent. The flagrant outward expression of vice has been practically eliminated. Such a result has reduced the various forms of venereal disease."

PHILADELPHIA

The houses of prostitution in Philadelphia have been closed; public solicitation on the street has been greatly reduced. The police are actively aggressive in the suppression of all public and organized forms of prostitution. The legislature of 1913 passed an abatement and injunction law upon the recommendation of the commission.

LANCASTER, PA.

Vice district closed September, 1914. The *Lancaster Journal* says: "Vice in the city has not been entirely eradicated, but Lancaster is forever free from the nasty red-light and all that it implies if the work is carried to its logical conclusions." In the winter of 1915 the license court revoked the license of several saloons and hotels and refused to issue others, and ordered that side rooms in saloons be abolished throughout the county.

Regarding follow-up work after investigations, the committee in Lancaster has made a second investigation about one year after the first and has in type an interesting report showing improved conditions. They have been successful in prosecuting a number of saloon, hotel and resort keepers and have secured court action ordering the closing of side-rooms of saloons formerly frequented by women. They have also succeeded in preventing the issuance of licenses to a number of resorts and to several saloons and road-houses.

We wish we could report in every city the same intelligent effort. Less is said of the value of segregated districts; less is said about the necessity of houses of prostitution in order to protect our women and young girls. In one of our larger cities, where they still have the segregated district, the chief of police, a man who commands the respect of the good people of that city, issues a card to each prostitute. Your chairman was informed by the people of that city that the chief of police was very careful in issuing these cards, which he does personally, after an interview with the girls and is always careful never to give the license to a girl who had not already been in the business! As long as we have large cities that are willing to stand for this policy we feel there is still work to be done. Many people in this city are not satisfied with the policy of licensing prostitutes, but are waiting to see what the next step should be. Possibly it is a gain that there are a few who are dissatisfied. We have learned this much from the work of our vice commissions. Cities have been forced to recognize the enormous evil as they never had done before; to realize that it was a business in the hands of men, and that it would not be easy to wipe out any business which had been so long protected and kept in obscurity.

Thirty cities, one county and two states have had vice commissions and made reports. The list follows:

Baton Rouge, La.
Bay City, Mich.
Cleveland, Ohio.
*Minneapolis, Minn.
Portland, Ore.
St. Louis, Mo.
Kansas City,
Atlanta, Ga.
*Syracuse, N. Y.
*Elmira, N. Y.
Portland, Me.
Little Rock, Ark.
Honolulu, Hawaii.
Denver, Colo.
*Philadelphia, Pa.
Newark, N. J.
*Chicago, Ill.
Richmond, Va.
New York, N. Y.
*Lancaster, Pa. (2 reports).
Pittsburg, Pa.
Hartford, Conn.
Schenectady, N. Y.
Lafayette, Ind.
Grand Rapids, Mich.
Shreveport, La.
Macon, Ga. (Not yet reported).
Boston, Mass. (No report except in Mass.)
Lexington, Ky. (No report yet made).
Baltimore, Md. (No report yet made)
Rockland County, N. Y.
Wisconsin.
Massachusetts.

*Reports available for purchase at the office of the American Social Hygiene Association, 105 West 40th Street, New York City.

The American Social Hygiene Association has been extending its work throughout the year; organizing branches in various parts of the communities for lecture, medical and legislative work. An excellent exhibit has been prepared for the Panama Exposition and for this Conference. Arrangements can be made for this exhibit to be taken to different parts of the country. We feel this Association has done a great deal throughout the past year, making the most of every opportunity to furnish advice in the way of lectures or talks on sex hygiene and help in legislation.

THE CITY MOTHERS BUREAU OF LOS ANGELES

Los Angeles, as will be remembered, was one of the first cities in this country to employ policewomen, an experiment which has attracted much attention and seems to have been successful. The city is now trying out another new plan in its Bureau of City Mothers, consisting of ten women appointed by the chief of police, to confer with, advise and assist the police department. One of the policewomen has charge of the bureau; the other members serve without pay. The work undertaken is intended to be preventive rather than reformatory, to keep out of the courts boys and girls who are guilty of misdemeanors or who seem likely to become juvenile offenders, to be of practical assistance to parents and children, where sons and daughters are slipping away from parental control, or where parents are proving incapable of administrating to the welfare of their offspring. To accomplish this, cases are investigated and advice and counsel given confidentially both to the children and to their parents. Backed by the official standing of the bureau, such help carries with it a peculiar kind of authority.

It will be the policy of the bureau to report first offenses to the home instead of to the court, to care for wayward girls by placing them, when possible, in private homes, and to find employment for those whose home conditions are not conducive to their development. All such are invited to bring their perplexities to the City Mother. Another duty of the bureau will be the supervision of public dance halls and other public places of amusement. Municipal dances are also being arranged under the chaperonage of the City Mothers. An industrial school for girls is projected and careful attention is being given to the new problem presented by the groups of boys and girls who are employed by the moving picture companies. The bureau has succeeded in putting out of business "pennant stands," where girls were in charge and dice shaking permitted. The Mothers wear an official badge as the symbol of their municipal authority. No definite limits are placed upon their activities and their work seems likely to be extended in many directions. A committee of school women is in co-operation with the City Mothers in discovering contributary causes of juvenile delinquency and in considering needed remedial legislation. The strictest confidence is maintained with regard to all details of the work. Legal protection is assured to all those who stand in need of such protection, though none of the machinery of the law is in evidence. The office of the bureau is located away from other departments of the city administration and is practically as quiet and unobtrusive as a private home.

In studying the histories of a large group of older girls who have been arrested for immoral conduct, two chief features

seem to enter into this question. The first is the low mentality of the girls who are exploited. If a man drifts into dissipation, he usually must earn his money to pay for it. The girl has a commodity to sell. She is, therefore, an asset and needs so much more protection. This is a feature of the situation which we must always meet in order to protect our girls from falling into the hands of vicious people.

The records of reformatories will show a large per cent. of their inmates to be feebleminded. We are beginning to realize how futile any training can be for these girls if, at the end of the training, or when the girl reaches her majority, she is allowed to drift back into prostitution because she has not enough mentality to protect herself. In many of the states, there is no state provision for the segregation of the feebleminded girls and women through the child-bearing period. It is one of the most vital questions for those who are interested in work for neglected girls to consider. Such girls can often be made self-supporting, but they can never be self-directing. They are well developed physically, and often very attractive in appearance. Much work needs to be done to educate the public to an understanding that the feebleminded girl is not always an idiot or an imbecile, but that the girl who is most dangerous to society is the attractive, high-grade feebleminded girl who needs protection.

The second feature which enters largely into the problem is the love of pleasure. Many girls, especially those who have been working long hours in factory or shop, naturally desire relaxation. They have not the money with which to pay for proper pleasures. They do not realize the dangers, are thoughtless, careless, heedless; the first steps are often taken for the simple reason that they want to have a good time. If we are to help these girls, we must provide clean, wholesome recreation and have it entirely separated from liquor.

Drink is undoubtedly a very large factor; first, as the cause of bad homes, making it impossible for a young girl to have the pleasure which she is seeking in her home. Immorality is usually caused by drink; not necessarily drinking to excess, but getting excited. Low wages are a cause. Frivolity and vanity of girls are a cause. Poor conditions of work as distinquished from wages are a cause, especially where it means dullness and monotony of life. If these are results of poverty, they are causes. Girls' wages are usually based on food, clothes and shelter. Men's wages are based on supporting a family. Where is the girl to get her money for her pleasures? Too often she must try to get some man to provide it for her.

The mistake of so much that has been said lately on this subject is that it has been treated as if it were a woman's question, a matter in which women had to fight against men in order to maintain the rights of their sex. Women cannot fight this evil alone. It is a matter which concerns men as well. One sex cannot be degraded without the degradation of the other. If women are condemned to degradation because of the unchastity of men, the same sin condemns men to degradation. We must work not only for the purity of women, but for the purity of men, and we must fight, not against men, but win more men to fight with us. Pure women can no longer be content to owe their purity and their sheltered homes to the degradation of other women. The existence of the prostitute has been considered necessary to make the pure home possible. Women, as well as men, have accepted her existence as a necessity. We have been ashamed and afraid to know about her. Good men as well as bad men have been eager to keep women from this knowledge. Society has accepted prostitution as a necessity. To this day, many will tell us it has always existed, that it is useless to expect that it will ever cease to exist. The majority probably have not stopped to think what its existence means or involves.

We must fight disease, but behind prostitution lies the real enemy to be fought. The existence of the double moral standard has accepted the unchastity of men as a necessity. For its existence, women cannot plead innocence. Respectable women, safe in their own sheltered environments, have often refused to concern themselves in any way for the prostitute, and have been content to assume that ignorance of evil was in itself purity. They have disbelieved in the possibility of the chastity of men. Many good women have thought that all that was needed was that they should not know what was done. Women for the most part, in the past, have been just as ready to accept the double moral standard as men. We must, therefore, share in the responsibility of its existence. If an equal moral standard is to be maintained, it must be done by men and women acting together. They must combine to get rid of the false ideas that prevail; they must face together the difficulties that are to be overcome.

The woman's movement, in its deepest meaning, is the woman's effort to purify society by giving women their true place in society. It is with the help of women that prostitution must be destroyed, because we recognize that its existence is a wrong and a disgrace to men as well as a wrong and a disgrace to women. It is not a sheltered, protected home life

and an innocent girlhood for the few we desire to see, but the possibilities of a true home life for all. We must build our hopes, not on the innocence or ignorance, but on the moral strength, on the fine independence, on the real vision of the girl who knows the dangers that surround young life and keeps herself pure.

Legislation may call attention to crime; it may secure the punishment of some offenders and may make crime more difficult, but it can never go to the root of things, and we will make a great mistake if we trust too much to legislation to improve morals. We must not try to enforce laws which public opinion has not endorsed. Women suffrage will chiefly help because, by its average of our poor citizenship, it will increase our influence on public opinion and deepen our own sense of responsibility; but public opinion and woman's influence on public opinion is even more needed than woman's influence on legislation.

Attention has been called, in a former section meeting of this committee, to prostitution in rural communities. Much thought should be given to this part of the problem. Those who have the training of boys and girls must study how best they can prepare them to meet the temptations and dangers which come to them through their body. This is a matter of great delicacy and difficulty. Time, experience and observation are needed to find out the best methods. We have awakened to the evil results which may follow on too much reserve. We must be careful that we do not rush toward the other extreme.

Instruction in the facts of life and knowledge of the horrors of disease will not give self-control. We must not trust the teaching of this sort to do wonders. We must always remember that the foundation of all true education is the training of character, and for that the training of the will is of importance. We are all agreed, many of us are ready to say, we want sex-instruction, but just how and when it shall be given is still a matter for careful thought and consideration.

A group representing four different organizations and institutions are preparing to make a careful study during the coming year of five hundred cases of women and girls who have been sexually immoral, trying to find some of the important causative factors. This study is to be made, not for the sake alone of teaching social workers how to make more records, but to try to learn some of the causes of prostitution and immorality. We hope this report may be presented at the next meeting of the National Conference.

We are responsible in this country for a system in our Army and Navy which makes it impossible for large groups of men

to have any home life. This subject is seldom considered seriously. It is very difficult to get the co-operation of those in authority to try to hold the men and make them responsible for their misdeeds. In every sea-port city where large ships come into port, it is the experience of those who work with girls that the sailors in their uniforms are a tremendous source of danger to the girls in that community. The men are usually bold and much more attractive in their uniforms than the ordinary young man who is employed in industrial work. With money and leisure and no provision made for home life, these men drift about from one city to another, leaving a long train of wreckage behind them. Must we continue to support such a system, a terrible expense to the young girls in that community who are often found to be diseased or pregnant, or both? The men in uniforms can be seen drifting in and out of the night courts, attracting much attention on the streets in the congested parts of the city, irresponsible, realizing that they will probably be in that place but a comparatively short time and making the most of their stay on land; but who pays the bill? The foolish, thoughtless, irresponsible girls who cannot resist the bold dashing fellows. Much has been done to try to raise a standard of morals with these men and to keep them in good physical condition, but how can we expect them to live in such an abnormal way? Steps have been taken to see that the necessary prophylactic measures are enforced, but who connected with the system takes any account of the care for the pregnant or diseased girl who is left behind? The sailor, too, may have a case against society. For years he has been allowed, when on shore, to do very much as he pleased. It has been expected that he would have a good time in his own way, with women and liquor. We believe that more could be done to interest him in athletics and a great effort made to make him responsible for his actions while in the cities.

In several communities, it is being urged that women be appointed on the police force. This is undoubtedly a step in the right direction. The average police officer accepts as a maxim, as does the average man, the double standard of morals. As a means of preventing prostitution, we believe that carefully selected women appointed on the police force can do a great deal of good, especially in all recreation centers, public places of amusement, railroad stations, etc., where young girls are very apt to congregate, and on the street to follow up young girls who may be acting in a suspicious manner. We realize how much opposition there will be to this plan; therefore, the woman must be selected carefully and we are glad to report that in several

communities, women are being appointed. Sometimes the salary is being paid by a private organization, in order to demonstrate the usefulness to the community.

We have tried to give some suggestions for the prevention of prostitution, but feeble-mindedness, love of pleasure, frivolity, inebriety, the presence in the community of the soldiers and sailors, low wages, poor homes, will not account for the married man who has a comfortable home, earning fair wages or a good salary and who feels no responsibility in indulging his passions. There are many men, who, while they have a code of honor which prevents them from seducing a girl, have no compunction in making use of one who has already yielded to another man, or of passing her on to others. Once she is down, they consider her their lawful prey. When it is a case of a fallen, helpless girl, with the whole world against her, they think it no shame to drag her farther into the mire and render her recovery more difficult. Conscientious people who have tried to place girls in family homes will testify that the girl is often in great danger from the husband in that house-hold. Though the home has been carefully investigated, the girl will need constant and careful supervision.

This brings us to the last point: the individual's responsibility and the need for more vital religious training for our boys and girls. In order to build character, we must hold up the standard of the responsibility of the individual and not weaken the powers of resistance to temptation by condoning irresponsibility. Women have a great responsibility in this respect, in the matters of urging the single standard of morality and of being less willing to condone in men what is often considered the unpardonable sin in women. We must bring a new spirit of hope into the long struggle against the social evil. To dwell on the evil until we disbelieve in the good will make us useless in this struggle. We must believe in human nature and in the goodness of men more than they are willing to believe in it themselves. We are not going to accept as a fact that prostitution has always existed and so must always continue to exist. The Church has not always taken its full share, and women, who form so great a part of the Church, must enlist the Church actively in the fight against prostitution; for only religion can convince us that God has given to no man license to sin and only faith in God can give assurance of victory against sin.

NEXT STEPS IN DEALING WITH PROSTITUTION.

Abraham Flexner, Associate, Bureau of Social Hygiene, New York, N. Y.

Roughly speaking, two kinds of persons are engaged in discussing prostitution: in the first place, those who appear to believe that practically anything might be done if only constituted authorities really tried; in the second place, those who appear to think that nothing at all is possible short of thorough-going social and individual reconstruction. Persons who believe all things possible are in the habit of urging summary legislation to be executed by the police authorities—legislation denouncing and heavily penalizing all acts repugnant to civilized conscience and intelligence. In this way it has been proposed to eliminate racing, gambling, drinking and other vices, among them prostitution. Many publications—books, reports and periodicals—dealing with prostitution, both in this country and abroad, take this position. Overcome by just indignation, the writers propose wholesale repressive legislation, on the theory that such legislation is enforceable and if enforced would perhaps uproot the ancient and dreadful evil.

At the opposite extreme are those who think that direct measures in dealing with prostitution are either futile or worse. A distinguished English physician once said to me, in opposing police action against street-walking, that such measures tended to drive the evil in, on the assumption, apparently, that "driving the evil in" would be a misfortune rather than an advantage. He favored letting it alone, because he thought that driving the evil in seriously impaired the proper functioning of the body politic; whereas, if the evil could come out in the open, it was, so to speak, no longer in the system and could not, like a subtle poison, corrupt the entire circulation. Those who take this position are inclined to belittle the possibilities of direct action, either because they have little faith in human nature or because they want to emphasize the superior importance of more fundamental action.

In my judgment, the two extremes which I have here roughly described are both mistaken. It is a mistake to suppose that everything might be accomplished in regard to prostitution, if only the authorities or people wanted it. It is equally a mistake to suppose that nothing worth while is possible short of reconstituting our social and industrial world. While it is in the highest degree important for this, as for other reasons, that the general reconstruction of industry and society should pro-

ceed in the hope of realizing more rational and more generally satisfying ways of life, it is not the less true that, taking things as they are, improvements can and should be effected.

The argument for the feasibility and wisdom of pursuing a middle and moderate course can perhaps be stated in some such way as the following: Our society possesses a certain degree of homogeneity. Something approximating a social average determines the general level of our institutional life. Despite enormous differences in external conditions, despite differences hardly less enormous in our spiritual and intellectual lives, there exists thus, neverthless, a kind of plane of community life. Some sort of implied or actual agreement has in this way been reached as to what is decent, orderly and creditable in respect to public order, sanitary administration, the liquor traffic, rights of property, etc. The social and political average which I am thus trying, however, vaguely, to describe, can be employed as a positive force against individuals who in certain respects prefer for their own ends to carry on their activities at a lower level. Thieves and pickpockets, for example, entertain more primitive conceptions of property rights than are now held by the social average. The authorities, therefore, representing the average, are in position to enforce a certain conception of private property against those who are not, of their own motion, inclined to respect it. There are those whose personal inclination favors a twenty-four hour working day for people engaged in the liquor traffic, and, from time to time, something similar for boys and girls employed in the canning industry, but the average are of opinion that a legitimate thirst can be gratified in, say, eighteen out of twenty-four hours and that it is better for society to forego a few cans of tomatoes rather than to possess them at the cost which the canning industry of New York has lately proposed. In both these instances the average is clear enough as to its intention and possesses momentum enough to enforce its point of view against those who differ.

All government represents and embodies the spirit of compromise in most matters. Occasionally an autocratic government tries to force the note—tries to maintain a level out of reach of the average. These endeavors usually collapse in short order. Popular governments are more apt to fail in the opposite direction—more apt to underestimate what the average will support or can be brought to maintain, because, in popular governments, governments do not usually act until private initiative has effected an organization which brings out otherwise latent forces or focuses what is otherwise merely diffused sentiment. Generally speaking, however, social forces can be put in motion

by governmental agencies only as against those who fall distinctly below what is currently and really believed to be just and feasible—just, in the sense of conforming to current standards of right and wrong, feasible, taking due regard of community habits and traditions. Complusion thus exercised then brings about a little better order and a little more homogeneousness than would spontaneously take place. To deny that such measures achieve any good would be to maintain that society can, through its corporate action, do nothing in these directions to promote its own good. Thus, while everything can not be done, people and institutions being what they are, something can be done, people and institutions being what they are.

If the foregoing view is correct, it is obvious that what can be done directly in dealing with prostitution at any time or any place depends, in the first place, upon the state of public opinion, upon the effectiveness with which it has been organized, and upon the adequacy with which the local government embodies and enforces this opinion. Whenever, through agitation and education, these conditions are improved, when public opinion is more enlightened, when through organization it has been made articulate, when the local government is compelled to "sit up and take notice," then something more and perhaps something different can in the same way be enforced. Though there are serious limitations to what direct action can in any event accomplish, what then appears to be feasible through governmental pressure at this moment in most American cities in respect to prostitution?

You will observe that I have conditioned effective direct action on three factors—public opinion, organization, the city government. If all three are simultaneously alert, the maximum becomes feasible for a given community. If public opinion is enlightened and its organization good, while the authorities are recalcitrant, there is likely for the time being to be more profession than performance. If public opinion is indifferent, while the city authorities are intelligent and forceful, a progressive policy may go far towards arousing and lining up public sentiment in its support. Just as opinion properly organized may educate the authorities, so a city government—if not too far in advance, may mobilize opinion in its support. Let me illustrate what I mean. An influential body of opinion may demand the suppression of the grosser forms of vice—street-walking, for example, and disorderly houses; yet the municipal government may be so inaccessible to public opinion that, at the time, really effective steps are not taken. In this case, for the time being, administration falls short of the feasible. On the

other hand, public opinion being somewhat sluggish, an unusually competent municipal government, such as the city of New York now thankfully enjoys, may undertake and put through a definite policy, confident that it can rally the popular support that it eventually needs. Unquestionably, public opinion in the city of New York has developed in the last few years, but its inner development is by no means as marked as the outer changes which have taken place. A few years ago, disorderly houses were abundant and the main thoroughfares were fairly infested with street-walkers. To-day there is not in the entire city of New York a disorderly house of the old type in operation, and street-walking has been reduced to a minimum. Of course, the public has been taught something in the meanwhile, but the most important factor by far has been the existence of a city administration which itself has led public opinion, consistently and skillfully bringing out and focusing what was before latent and passive. When, therefore, we speak of public opinion as determining what is feasible and possible, we must not be understood as meaning that there is a mechanical relationship between the two, so that given this or that state of public opinion this or that result follows as a matter of course. An efficient city administration can, within reasonable limits, lead, turning the passive and unorganized elements into a more or less active form.

In this sense, public opinion in this country may be said to be ready to support certain positive measures, just as it may be said to be averse to supporting certain others. It has, for instance, proved absolutely impossible to bring any American community to penalize voluntary immoral relations between men and women, even if the women regularly earn their livelihood in that way. In certain states, the statutes make prostitution itself a crime, but in no state is any such statute enforced. Not only do these statutes run ahead of organized and expressed public opinion, but there is latent or passive opinion unfavorable to them. They are therefore bound to be dead letters, or, if enforced at all, so spasmodically and exceptionally that they become engines of injustice and oppression.

On the other hand, it is becoming increasingly possible in all parts of the union to enforce laws against the exploitation of prostitution for the benefit of third parties. Just as quickly as public opinion can be made to realize that certain forms of vice represent, not the human weakness of the participants, but the commercial interest of the exploiter, vigorous and effective repressive action becomes possible. Even though public opinion may not care enough about it to make the question a pre-

dominant issue, it will support any intelligent administration that undertakes to deal with it along these lines. For this reason, the movement aiming to abolish red-light districts and to suppress disorderly houses has, during the last few years, made such striking progress in this country that it is probably not an exaggeration to say that any city administration which honestly undertakes to repress these forms of vice will be sustained by public opinion in so doing. The very city in which we are now meeting, Baltimore, is an example in point. It can hardly be said that suppression of the red-light district has been made the prime issue in local politics. Efforts have, however, been making during many years to educate public sentiment and to spur on the local government; and now at length the point has been reached where public opinion, while perhaps not absolutely forcing the municipal authorities to act, is more than ready to support them. The proposed gradual abolition of the restricted district in this city is a response to this organized sentiment. In the same way, white slavery can be vigorously dealt with, as can also the exploitation of individuals through pimps. These are not so much the next steps as the first steps—steps that in the present state of opinion must be taken in some places by the authorities because they are actually demanded, and can be taken anywhere in the United States by municipal administrations that will take the trouble to lead public thought. Is anything accomplished when street-walking is suppressed, when disorderly houses and privileged districts are abolished, when white slavery is checked? Not everything, of course. There remains a vast amount of vice which none of these measures touches. On the other hand, in my judgment, the total which had existed before is distinctly reduced. There are two points of view from which to estimate a situation of this kind, its volume and its intensity. A given number of immoral women may do more or less damage according as the ease with which they prosecute their business is assisted or infringed. Prostitution is like any other business: its volume and its intensity may be increased by prominence, publicity, aggressiveness and advertising. Moreover, the damage done is in direct relation to the amount and intensity of the traffic. Whatever reduces the actual number of those engaged, whatever reduces individual activity among such persons, really diminishes the sum total of vice, and to that extent reduces the economic waste, personal demoralization, and the volume of disease connected with it. There is in my mind no doubt whatsoever that merely changing the form of prostitution from being open and aggressive to being clandestine

and passive, is a gain. It is an error to think that it is simply driven in when as a matter of fact its volume and intensity have both been diminished. In my judgment, the question I have asked may be answered in the affirmative: a good deal has been accomplished, when white slavery is stopped, when privileged districts and street-walking are suppressed.

So much for the first steps. What, I am asked, are the next steps?

The most important next step is, quoting a phrase that the French war bulletins have introduced, the most important next step is "to consolidate our gains." Disorderly houses and street-walking may be suppressed; it is not so very difficult to suppress them. But it is extraordinarily difficult to keep them suppressed. The organized sentiment which has brought about repressive action is apt to flag, after its first success; is apt to direct itself against another point of the enemy's line, to be diverted to some other aspect of social betterment. If so, the trenches, won at the cost of so much effort, will soon be lost again. The next step, I repeat, is to keep so constantly on the aggressive that every sign of recrudesence will be promptly and effectually combatted.

The suppression of the grosser, more aggressive and more prominent forms of vice means only that whatever of the volume and intensity of vice is due to sheer artificial manipulation and exploitation is eliminated; what remains is due to more deep-seated conditions, to individual weakness, depravity or misfortune and to social and industrial conditions. At this point the effort to suppress will probably change the form of prostitution, rather than reduce it further.

A direct attack upon prostitution through forcible suppression of its grosser forms operates mainly upon women, upon the prostitute herself. The moment one goes further, the woman is of perhaps less importance than the man. If by "next steps," we mean something really fundamental, prostitution can be affected only indirectly. For if immorality, stripped of its unnecessary extension through artificial exploitation, is the product of lust, defect, alcohol, ignorance, industrial incompetency and exposure, whether through bad homes, broken homes, migration from home or poverty—if, I say, prostitution, deprived of artificial excitation, is due to such factors, then it will decrease only as a result of fundamental individual improvement and genuine social amelioration. In this sense, every aspect of personal and social interest represented by this National Conference of Charities and Correction is an aspect of the problem of prostitution; and it would be no exaggeration to say

that if this conference desired an alternative title it might be called a conference for the reduction and abatement of prostitution. Residual prostitution being a by-product—an inevitable by-product, of individual weakness and social imperfection, every time a defective girl or boy is better trained or better protected, some of the loose tinder that is apt to make a prostitute or to make a demand for a prostitute has been put beyond the reach of harm; every step made in the improvement of government, local, state and national; in decreasing the consumption of alcohol; in improving popular education; in bettering home conditions; in rationalizing industry; in providing larger facilities for innocent and normal amusements, in improving our methods of dealing with the recreant and the delinquent—every one of these steps, whatever be the motive with which it is taken, is a next step in dealing with prostitution. I know no way in which one can arrange them serially in the order of their importance; for the struggle must be carried on more or less after the manner of opportunism. In one place an advance may be scored here, in another place, there. To the extent that prostitution is reduced, society may be considered to be truly civilized; for with the progressive rationalization of society, what is left of prostitution will inevitably shrink, and not otherwse.

A moment's consideration will, I am sure, convince you of the soundness of this position, even if it is somewhat disappointing. Prostitution is frequently connected with bad homes: in the effort to reduce prostitution are we to make a special point of these bad homes that lead to prostitution, or must we, in the general effort to be rid of bad homes hope thus to avoid such prostitution as is owing to that condition? Obviously, in so far as prostitution is owing to bad homes, only a general attack on bad housing will avail. Prostitution is associated with low amusement places; can we expect to diminish prostitution if we attack only those low amusement places that are known to harbor and to make prostitutes? Obviously not; we are bound to provide innocent and helpful recreation places, and to that extent, the ground is cut from below prostitution. Prostitution is in some fashion related to low wages, to bad working conditions, to uncared-for physical defects; but these things must be combatted on their own account before they result in prostitution, and whether they result in prostitution or not, if they are ever to cease to contribute to prostitution.

The next steps in dealing with prostitution are therefore the next steps in facing all the unpleasant facts of our individual and social lives. The sanitarians and hygienists wish us to be

instructed as to the laws of health, as to the conditions that cause disease, and as to the consequence of disease. They want us in this way to abolish the hookworm, typhoid, lead poisoning. Very well, syphilis and gonorrhea must be faced in the same fashion. The reduction of venereal disease is therefore not so much the next step in dealing with prostitution as an essential part of the next step in developing the general program of hygiene. Sex education is therefore a necessary item in the general program of such training in hygiene as will protect people against all preventable disease.

Educators deplore the low wages of unskilled labor, the lack of connection between education and industrial life. Education must therefore, they agree, be modernized. In the country boys must participate in agriculture; in town, they must utilize industrial activities. Thus they will become happier at higher levels; their rewards will be increased, and so on. Very well; this program was not recommended as a next step in dealing with prostitution; but, viewed from the standpoint of prostitution, that is precisely what it is.

I need not go further. You have for a week been discussing next steps in industrial organization, in analogy, and in a dozen other fields. You have looked at them from the standpoint of your particular interests and from the standpoint of the general interest. In conclusion, I venture to say to you there are, perhaps, no next steps in dealing with prostitution, other than the next steps that, without thinking of prostitution, you have taken up in considering the various topics in which you are severally and collectively interested. The problem of prostitution is hopeful if your other problems are hopeful; it is hopeful in precisely the same degree as your other problems are hopeful.

The program was concluded with a paper entitled, "A Survey of Educational Work", by Miss Anna F. Davies, Headworker of the College Settlement of Philadelphia.

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THE GIRLS' PROTECTIVE LEAGUE*

Maude E. Miner, Secretary, New York Probation and Protective Association.

The Girls' Protective League is an organization of girls banded together for the purpose of securing moral protection for all girls. In addition to this, its first and greatest object, "to

*Section meeting Friday, May 14, 11:00 A. M.

protect girls from moral dangers" are others which indicate the methods by which the league is fulfilling its purpose. These include the following: to promote moral education, to encourage right thinking and clean conversation, to improve economic conditions, to secure wholesome recreation for girls, to stimulate faith in the possibilities of life. Here is a very ambitious and idealistic program. Yet it is proving to be a very practical program, which the girls are able to carry out.

The league is sounding the note of service by girls for girls; of education in things which are fundamental in human life; of religion which touches the deepest springs of life. It is aiming to give to girls new hopes, ambitions and ideals, and a new sense of the real meaning of life.

Need of the Leagues

While working as a probation officer in the Night Court in New York City, and with wayward girls at Waverley House, I felt constantly the need of more genuine protective work to prevent girls from becoming delinquent. I saw young girls being drawn into the great tide of immorality and prostitution because of the lack of adequate safeguards erected by society and lack of necessary defenses within the girls themselves. Society had failed to protect the girl in her home, in the community, in her places of work and of play, and had failed to give her the education, moral training and ideals by which she could protect herself. I found in that sea of prostitution young girls who had broken, crowded, wretched and unhappy homes or who were without even the memory of a home; girls who had quarrelled with step-father or step-mother or brother-in-law and in a moment of anger had run away from home and entered danger-infested furnished-room houses. I found young girls who had labored long at grinding, monotonous, mechanical work for a low wage, almost crushed by the tremendous force of economic pressure. Their utter fatigue and exhaustion had lessened their power to resist temptations and had helped to plunge them into a spirit of recklessness. I saw pleasure-craving girls whose love of amusement had found outlet only in dangerous dance halls and pleasure-parks where they had associated with evil-minded companions. I found young women whose vanity, laziness, ignorance, don't-care spirit, or sense of lost-ness when deserted by faithless lovers, had precipitated their descent into a life of vice. Often there had appeared at the moment of greatest pressure, when the ability to resist was reduced to its lowest terms, men who beneath their suave manners and alluring promises, did not at once betray their vicious purpose as pro-

curers. I realized that if there had not been a breakdown of the defenses erected by society through law and education, and if there had been greater development of inhibitive powers within the girls, themselves, there could not have resulted such tremendous wreckage through prostitution.

It seemed possible to strengthen the defenses by improved laws and more rigid and honest law enforcement and wide-reaching social action; to bring to girls understanding of their responsibilities by laying upon them the burden, and to develop in them great power to help. It was about five years ago, when talking to a group of young women, with the idea that I could help to protect them, that it suddenly occurred to me that those very girls going out into their tenement homes, into workshops, factories and dance halls, could be a tremendous protective force for others. The Girls' Protective League was the result.

Organization of Leagues

We started with the formation of self-governing leagues of from 25 to 75 members each, meeting in the neighborhoods where the girls lived. There are now 2,039 members in 27 different leagues. Not having club rooms of our own at first, we took any assembly-room offered us, in churches, settlements, public libraries and public schools. Individual leagues have decided whether they would meet once a week or once or twice a month. Mass meetings of all league members have been held monthly. Each league has a volunteer leader who has endeavored to guide the girls without directing them. A council of league presidents has taken up matters of importance with regard to shaping the policy of the leagues. In order that the separate leagues may be self-supporting, members have voted to pay 5 cents a month as dues.

The democratic spirit of the league is indicated by the wide variety of its members. We have girls of all nationalities, races and religions, from a wide variety of occupations. Most of the girls are working in stores, offices, telephone exchanges and factories; while other are domestic servants, waitresses, music and art students, trade school students and girls who are not fortunate enough to have definite work. Because all girls can join in this task of helping others, we are rapidly developing a true democracy of girls.

At one meeting each month a topic of vital interest to the girls is discussed. Speakers from league headquarters go monthly to each league and take up the topic chosen for the month. These are some of the subjects we have considered.

Ways of protecting other girls,
Our responsibilities at home,
Importance of right thinking,
Standard of dress,
Standard of work—a study of labor laws,
Using our leisure,
Making vacations worth while,
Faith in the possibilities of life.

This winter we have taken subjects relating to peace—peace in industry, peace at home, peace in religion, etc.

In connection with discussions of economic conditions, labor laws are studied with a view to bringing to girls better understanding of the laws which govern them and securing help in their enforcement. When the topic relates to recreation, ordinances governing dance halls and moving pictures are presented as a basis for discussion and for the information of the girls. Through these talks, discussions and studies of laws, members are stimulated to genuine work.

The Way the Leagues Work

The real work of league members is carried on entirely outside of league meetings. With a background of understanding about conditions as they should be, girls are on the look-out constantly to discover violations of labor laws, dance hall laws, and moving picture ordinances, and to report unsanitary and immoral conditions in places where they live and work and play. Further, members are pledged to help and to protect girls in moral danger and to report those in need of protection.

It is possible for girls to help in improving economic conditions. When they know that 147 of their sister-workers lost their lives in a Triangle waist fire in New York City because exits to fire escapes were locked, it is easy to arouse them to the necessity of looking after similar conditions in their own places of work. When they comprehend that children under 16 years of age must not work after five o'clock at night, as the law in New York State directs, and that no girls can work in mercantile establishments between 10 o'clock at night and 7 in the morning, members become interested in reporting violations of these laws. As the result of such reports, made by girls to their league leader, and through the Protective League office to the labor commissioner, convictions have been obtained and fines imposed. In reporting violations names of league members are not used, so that they suffer no danger of losing their positions. A factory inspector is sent and the condition discovered independently. In only one instance has it been necessary (in order to locate a 15-year-old girl illegally employed) to divulge the name of the member making such a report. In addition to

violations of law, girls report conditions in factories which in their opinion require attention. For example, many girls have reported the frequent sweeping of factory rooms with closed windows.

Immoral conditions reported by girls in places of work enable us to formulate slowly a black-list of employers and workshops. "Don't ever let a girl go to work in ———'s" said a member as she told of the insults which she and other clerks in a small lace shop had experienced. Even though no legal evidence is available for criminal prosecution in such cases, it is possible to use this information for the protection of other girls.

Unfortunate conditions in amusement places reported by league members have been remedied. A league devoting its attention this winter to moving picture theatres reported in one week twelve violations of law. In a single theatre, nearly every law was violated. There were present little children unaccompanied by adults; aisles were over-crowded; ventilation and lighting were bad; toilets for men and women were back of the same screen, which, at the time of investigation, was completely surrounded by men.

Aside from seeking to improve existing recreational conditions, league members provide good recreation for each other. One league gives yearly a large Christmas entertainment for all the league members, and different leagues give plays and entertainments for the enjoyment of other groups or to raise money to help in carrying on league work. Chorals and a short play were given by three leagues at Christmas time in several hospitals. During the summer league members have the privilege of spending two weeks in the country, at the summer home of the league, Arcadia Camp.

Immoral conditions wherever found are reported by league members. A hallway of a tenement house in which one member lived, was found to be used for the purpose of prostitution. As the result of our report, orders were issued by the Tenement House Department which resulted in having the hall lighted and the outer door locked. Men guilty of indecent exposure and impairing the morals of children, visiting parks and playgrounds in the city, have been reported to the police. Several cases of abduction and attempted procuring have been reported.

Girls in moral danger are helped by league members or reported as in need of help. Two workers assisted by several volunteers devote their time to helping these girls who are in need of protection. We have now 412 girls under the care of the Girls' Protective League. As far as possible constructive

work is done in the home and an effort made to help the individual girl through better adjustment to her work, her recreation, and to her life in the community. The same kind of effort is made to aid these girls on the danger line as to help delinquents. Quarrels at home are adjusted; girls are placed as far as possible at work which enlists their interest; opportunities for good recreation are afforded; and, most important of all, some individual seeks to befriend them and to develop the best that is in them.

I will tell briefly of two girls reported to us by league members.

> A league member said that Rebecca, a 15-year-old Russian girl, was "keeping bad company" and that her mother was anxious for advice about helping her. Rebecca stayed out until 12 o'clock every night. A visit by our worker to the home revealed that Rebecca had been leading an immoral life and that her mother, a widow with six children, had no control over her. As the result of our report to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the girl was taken to the Children's Court, where she gave evidence against several men and an older girl who had been partly responsible for Rebecca's entrance upon a life of prostitution. Six of the eight men arrested were held for the Grand Jury. The older girl and two younger girls were apprehended and detained as witnesses. All of these four girls are at the present time in the hospital receiving treatment for venereal disease.
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> One evening at a league meeting at headquarters, a 19-year-old member came to me and said that she had brought with her a girl of 16, Bessie Brown, whom she had found sitting on a bench in Madison Square Park. The member sat down beside the younger girl when she saw her weeping and talked with her. Bessie confided that she had run away from her home in a small town in New York state and had only ten cents left, with which she was going to buy some poison to end her life. She said she was soon to give birth to a child and did not know where to go. We provided temporarily for Bessie and later sent her to a maternity hospital.

Recently we have become increasingly concerned about the young runaway girls and have enlisted some league members to help in locating them. There is great opportunity here for girls to help, because every runaway girl is known to many other girls in her locality and can be more readily found if a number of persons who know her are on the watch for her.

In order to have league members help in this work of moral protection, it is not necessary to send them out as detectives to secure evidence. If they have knowledge of the laws and are stimulated with the desire to help, they keep their eyes open and report conditions which require correction and girls in need of protection.

Activities at League Headquarters

League headquarters consists of the ground floor of an old private house which is used for club rooms, employment exchange, classes, meeting place for different leagues and a recreation centre. Girls know that it is open day and evening and come freely when they wish to see a worker or to report individual girls. We have had each year classes requested by the girls, including expression class, glee club, art-history class, and a class in business efficiency. Moving picture entertainments, travel talks, concerts and amateur dramatics are held at different times at headquarters. Each Sunday afternoon when members and their friends gather for an informal tea, they have opportunity to listen to a serious message given by someone doing active philanthropic or religious work in the city, or to a musical program, frequently arranged by some of their own league members.

Employment Exchange.

The most important work carried on at headquarters is in connection with the employment exchange. The difference between this bureau and others is that it is a real exchange. League members and their friends not merely come for positions, but report to us vacancies in their places of work and positions open for other girls. The demand has been greater this winter than ever before. From October 1st, 1914, to April 30th, 1915, 3,214 girls have applied at the exchange for work. Positions were found for 502 applicants; 129 were given scholarships to work under direction or to enter classes where they would receive training, and many were referred to other labor bureaus. In order that girls might earn money for carfare and lunches while seeking work, temporary provision was made for a group of 60 to 70 girls at a time in a sewing room maintained at league headquarters.

This year it has been necessary to do considerable relief work among the girls. When we have discovered those who had only ten cents left for food, and others who were threatened with eviction from boarding or rooming-places unless room rent was paid, we have met the immediate need. Three leagues have raised relief funds for the purpose of providing necessary relief for their own members. In many instances funds have been loaned with the obligation resting upon the girls to repay the loans as soon as they were able to do so.

Early in the winter several organizations, of which the Girls' Protective League was one, decided to provide scholarships for girls in special industrial and clerical classes. This plan was

furthered by action taken by a sub-committee of the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment in opening classes for further preparation in the sewing trades and in clerical work, and a laboratory class where effort has been made to discover the work for which girls were best fitted. Tuition in these classes was free and scholarships varying from $3 to $5 a week have been paid in lieu of wages. Girls have in this way been able to devote time to further training.

Among the girls who have been given scholarships this year, apart from the industrial classes, is one league member who, when out of work in New York, was sent to an academy, in Ohio, to continue her academic studies. She is earning her board by doing housework; and a small amount is being paid by the league to cover railroad expenses, books and part of the tuition. Word has just come that this ambitious student, who had never earned more than $6 a week in New York, has secured work for the summer in Ohio, as a stenographer and office assistant at $15 a week. Her continuance in school and college is, without question, now assured. The league simply helped to give her the start.

By affording opportunity for girls to develop in the direction in which their ambitions lie, and by helping them to make more of themselves and better members of society, we are making real the ideal of the league—to stimulate faith in the possibilities of life. We believe that the league is helping in this way, to bring about more rapidly the time when there will be for all girls greater equality of opportunity. Opportunity for intellectual and spiritual development should not be determined by the circumstances of a girl's birth, whether she is born in a palace or a tenement; but by the ability of the individual to utilize and profit by such opportunity. Real democracy demands equality of opportunity.

Through bringing to young women of all races, religions, and classes greater opportunities for service, for effective help in protecting girls, and for their own self-development, we know that the Girls' Protective League will ultimately be a tremendous protective force.

THE RURAL COMMUNITY AND PROSTITUTION

C. C. Carstens, Secretary and General Agent, Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Boston

In approaching the subject of prostitution in rural communities, my remarks must be based upon the experience that

the agents of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children have had in dealing with this complicated question in the smaller communities all over the state of Massachusetts. The experience of these agents is necessarily with young girls, and my remarks will, therefore, concern themselves with the subject as it relates to the young prostitute or to the young girl slipping into prostitution. This phase of the subject is, however, one of the most important questions connected with the subject of prostitution, as it relates both to city and to country. The full-fledged prostitute has become the concern of many agencies, but the young girl who in a year or two is destined to become the prostitute and who can be seen on the brink of prostitution as yet fails to have the thought and attention which will save her from destruction. Theoretically, we believe that a yong girl does not become a prostitute in a day, but practically in many of our communities we wait to begin our work until she has slipped into the abyss.

Not very long ago, in a middle-sized city of Massachusetts, an investigation was made which to my mind, revealed a most significant as well as alarming body of facts. A group of young girls, some of them in the grammar schools and others in the high school, had become acquainted with a group of young fellows all older than themselves. The girls ranged in age from 13 to 16. They were all living at home. They entered into clandestine arrangements with these young fellows which resulted in immoralities practised systematically after school or during the noon hour. They would get home at the latest by 7:30 or 8 o'clock in the evening and many times at an earlier hour. The reasons given for their being away from home after school were various but were accepted by the parents and as a rule without question. None of these girls received any money and would have repudiated any charge of being willing to receive it; but were led into these relations largely by the desire for innocent amusement. Plans for going to a baseball game, to moving picture shows, to matinées at the theatre, or a box of candy or other sweet-meats brought the desired result. With some of these girls such practices had been going on for some time, and gradually, as one studied the group, he could find that there were those who had gone further, and were beginning to receive money. Most of these were still at school, although they were more mature in age and experience; some of them were at work; a few had already drifted off into the stage where they had left home and were living as "kept" women. Even these can hardly be considered full-fledged prostitutes, but it is easy to see how they were inevitably, one

by one, slipping into conditions of disease and prostitution. This was an investigation of a city condition, but a considerable number of these girls came from the rural or suburban towns lying around this city in order that they might have the advantages of the grammar and high schools the city provided.

There is no one here who would not be aroused by such a revelation in his community to undertake the most stringent measures for the protection of the young girl. But when we come to examine the procedure that our communities have provided for her protection, we reach an almost equally baffling problem. Let us suppose that a young girl of 14 has been found to have had such immoral associations with a man of 22. In Massachusetts, under almost all circumstances, she would have to tell her story in some detail to an officer who should preferably be a woman, and then later to recite the facts of her immoral practices either to the clerk of the court or to the judge before a warrant for the man's arrest would be issued. When this matter comes to a hearing, unless the man waives examination, the girl must give in such detail as the judge or the counsel for the defendant demands all the revolting details of her experience, and, if the judge regards her statements as reasonably convincing, the man is held for the grand jury which, after a shorter or a longer period of time, often requires an even fuller statement of details about what has happened. If everything has gone satisfactorily, the man is indicted, and after a week or a month, before the Superior Court, she must convince the jury of the truth of her statements and must be subjected to the most grilling cross-examination in open court at the hands of the defendant's counsel, regarding her own actions and career, unless the district attorney accepts the plea of guilty on a less serious charge and the man receives a light sentence. When this stage in the trial has been reached, does anyone here feel sure that there remains to this young girl a shred of the modesty which it is reasonable for us to assume was still left at the time that her wretched experience was first revealed? The procedure in Massachusetts, although it varies in details from that of other states, is not materially different from the experience that must be gone through in most of the states of the union in order to bring about a successful prosecution. We do not intend to make prostitutes out of these young girls by such procedure, but it has been our experience that when a girl has gone through the proceedings which have led up to a successful prosecution, she has shown the hardening which such proceedings must inevitably produce, and we have often felt that

while on the one hand the man has been put behind the bars, on the other hand the girl has probably been made a prostitute.

Let us now divest ourselves for the moment of the idea that we are talking about city conditions. All of the facts so far stated obtain in the country as they do in the city. While the city has manifold charitable institutions and large groups of volunteer and paid service, in the rural communities, from which the drift to the city is constantly going on, there are few, if any, agencies able to stem the tide of degeneration. With parents blind or inefficient—and we are not now considering the feeble-minded in any sense—with the protection through prosecution, futile if not abortive, we must look to regenerative action and to preventive work. The normal, unprotected girl in the country is as yet scarcely the concern of anybody. Now and then a school teacher is found who realizes that the young girl is in her keeping for better or for worse. Genuine friendship and protection, especially by teaching the girl how to protect herself, grows out of such a relationship.

A few days ago, on my way to Baltimore, I got another glimpse in the Vanderbilt Collection of the Metropolitan Museum, of Israels' picture of "The Bashful Suitor," which shows a boy and a girl in their middle teens walking along side by side on a country road, each too modest and too bashful to speak of the feelings that they had for each other, much less to touch each other. To a social worker engrossed in the many problems that perverted sex relations bring into the daily task, it almost seems these days as if there were no bashful suitors, but they still exist, and those beautiful relationships are found in the country as they are in the city. But the social worker in the country, alas, also finds all too frequently the story of sex relations in the early years of adolescence, and at that, frequent indulgence before 17, and he finds that it is true in the country as it is in the city that to one girl raped by force there are ten, yea, twenty who have yielded to sex indulgences.

The question then comes up to us, what can the country do for the normal, unprotected girl, upon whom the wretch of the male sex who may be found in every country community has his eye, to get her into his clutches if at all possible? The most efficient measures that can be taken are those that will lead the girl to know how to protect herself. If the members of her family are alert, they will, of course, help her in this particular. If her teacher knows what it all means, she will be made more secure in that way. But when neither home nor school is able to do this, a more organized form of protection is necessary.

The surest sources of prostitution are found in broken homes. Therefore, wherever there is any rural social work, the home of the widow with children, the home where there is a stepfather or stepmother, and, above all, the home of the widower, must give us genuine concern.

If there is any lesson in the experience of the city where we found these groups of young girls slipping into prostitution, it must be that our young people will have amusement, and preferably innocent amusement, if we will but give it to them. A generation or more ago our boys and girls were satisfied to get their amusements in and around the home, but the forces in the community are all centrifugal now; our homes are small, the neighborhood dance or jollification is the exception, the public dance is the rule. Formerly we worked, played, ate and slept at home, but now we scarcely do any of these. Perhaps by vigorous individual action, the home may be able to stem the tide of disintegration for a time, but even now in most of our communities systematic community action is necessary in order to furnish the instruction and the amusements that shall be a genuine protection to our young people.

In the country as in the city, we must fall back upon community centres. These centres have been organized here and there with the church as the starting point, but our population is in most places too unhomogeneous to make it possible for the church to function successfully in this way, and as a rule it may be said that, unless there is a union church which draws into it a very large proportion of the population, the church is not the natural centre. But the school is the natural centre, for the young people have either all been to school or are there still, and happy the community that succeeds in organizing around the school a social centre from which recreation, amusement, instruction, vocation and social guidance of various sorts may be supplied.

But our communities must also have their official service adapted to the needs of the community. If prosecution leads to degeneration rather than to protection, our various social agencies must inevitably enter into prosecution with heavy hearts. The young girl should not be expected to tell her story in all detail but once; she should be surrounded with all the safeguards that the law can provide against exposure to the public eye and the public print, and, wherever possible, women should deal with her at every stage. For the formal protective and prosecution work, policewomen with the training of social workers should be made available to the rural communities as well as to the cities, in order that weak spots in our scheme of police protection

may be found, and that the large numbers of sex offenders may not sink into prostitution but may be saved for reputable life, and that their unfortunate experience may be lived down or may become the discipline out of which a finer character may grow.

DISCUSSION: Following the addresses of Miss Miner and Mr. Carstens, the following members participated in informal discussion: Jean Hamilton, Dr. William F. Snow, and Frederick H. Whitin, New York City; Mrs. Alice B. Montgomery, Manchester, N. H. Miss Miner closed the discussion.

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HOW EFFICIENT DISPENSARY CLINICS CAN HELP SOLVE THE MEDICAL-SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF VENERAL DISEASES*

Michael M. Davis, Jr., Ph. D., Director of the Boston Dispensary

Venereal disease is a many-sided problem, medical, moral, educational, and economic. It is a large problem, for these diseases are very prevalent. The data as to their prevalence consist chiefly of estimates, for nowhere has the reporting of syphilis and gonorrhea been carried out with sufficient thoroughness to give us any such census of cases as we have of typhoid fever or diphtheria. In the recently published volume of the evidence given before the British Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases, during its sittings early in 1914, we find estimates by one of the leading British experts that in London there are 125,500 fresh cases a year, or about 3% of the population. This estimate is of the number of infections, and the opinion seems to be that about 40% of this number are individuals who have had venereal disease before, while about 60% are fresh individuals. It is estimated similarly, that there are 800,000 fresh cases in Great Britain each year. In Berlin there are said to be 88,000 fresh cases annually, or about 4% of the population. A corresponding estimate for the United States was prepared recently by Dr. Banks of the U. S. Public Health Service. He came to the conclusion that 3% of the population of the country acquired infection annually. In other words, about three million persons in this country are infected with syphilis or gonorrhea each year. As these diseases are of long duration, and in many cases are not cured, the number of existing cases at any given time must be many times three million. Dr. Douglas White, one of the experts testifying before the British Royal Commission, said that three-quarters of all men (presum-

*Section meeting Tuesday, May 18, 11:00 A. M.

ably he referred to Great Britain) are infected with venereal disease at one period or another of their lives. He regarded this estimate as rather conservative. Some say four-fifths.

Prevalence of Venereal Disease

Syphilis and gonorrhea may, therefore, be well described as prevalent, contagious diseases. The social taboo prevents the public health officer from dealing with them as he would with other prevalent contagious diseases like diphtheria, scarlet-fever, or even tuberculosis. How are we to remove the hindrances to more effective dealing with these diseases? The ultimate means is education, but education is a difficult remedy to apply to vast numbers of persons who are not anxiously looking for it. While I agree with Dr. Richard C. Cabot that the moral factor is fundamental in relation to this problem, I trust he will agree with me that we may often most successfully approach moral factors by beginning with physical. Personally I believe that the largest immediate step in dealing with syphilis and gonorrhea, a large step also in attacking the related problem of sex hygiene, is the provision of more adequate facilities than now exist, for the diagnosis and treatment of these diseases. It seems to me, furthermore, that the chief way in which these facilities can be increased is to establish more, and more efficient, dispensary clinics. I believe that social workers bear a special responsibility for the promotion of this movement, as I shall try to explain.

We can gain something at this point by a comparison with the anti-tuberculosis campaign. This took shape ten years ago when the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis was formed. Much educational work has been carried on directly through lectures, moving pictures, exhibits and the distribution of literature. The sex hygiene movement is following similar lines. But a great part of the energy of the tuberculosis campaign has gone to increasing facilities for the diagnosis and treatment of the disease. In 1905 there were only 18 sanitoria in the United States, providing 673 beds for tuberculosis cases. In 1915 there were over 500 sanitoria, providing some 30,000 beds. In 1905 there were 18 tuberculosis clinics. In 1915 there are more than 400, and the number is increasing with great rapidity. Tuberculosis is not more prevalent today than it was ten years ago and this vast increase in facilities for its diagnosis and treatment are due to the deliberate effort to provide better treatment than was formerly available for most persons. Let us remember, furthermore, that every sanitorium, that every tuberculosis dispensary, is not only a means of helping the sick, but a centre for education as

well. This has been brought out time and again by the leaders in anti-tuberculosis work. Good facilities for treatment prove also to be facilities for education and prevention.

Facilities for Treatment Inadequate

What existing facilities for treatment have we in cases of syphilis and gonorrhea? May I divulge some information recently gathered in the Men's Evening Genito-Urinary Clinic at the Boston Dispensary? 200 patients told us what previous medical treatment, if any, they had had for the infection which brought them to our clinic. These were all patients with gonorrhea. 32 had had no previous treatment, these being mostly men who had come to us very soon after the onset of symptoms from their infection; 39 had been to private physicians. Most of them had left the physician because they had no more money, some because they declared the treatment to have been unsatisfactory. 24 had visited other dispensaries or hospitals. 38 had been treated by quacks or advertising institutes. 67 had treated themselves with medicines purchased on the advice of drug clerks or friends. Thus 105, or more than 50%, had had no reputable medical attention. It cannot be inferred that the proportions of persons who secured these different forms of treatment in the community as a whole would be the same if we took a series of ten thousand patients instead of two hundred. The figures do not purport to be representative, but they are suggestive. They also specify for us the four existing facilities for treatment of syphilis and gonorrhea, namely, private medical practice; hospitals and dispensaries, chiefly the latter; quacks, or so-called "medical institutes"; and finally, treatment by patients themselves or by drug clerks. We may call this last self-treatment.

Let us again turn for a parallel to the tuberculosis campaign. The same facilities for treatment can be found for that disease. During the last ten years there has been an enormous increase in hospital beds and dispensary clinics for tuberculosis. The other facilities for treatment either have remained static or have diminished. Among the leaders of the anti-tuberculosis campaign have been the physicians. If it had been possible to develop private medical practice so as to meet the great public need for increased treatment facilities for tuberculosis this undoubtedly would have been done, but despite the combined stimulæ of public need and economic advantage, private medical practice has not so developed.

Do we not face a similar situation with venereal disease? Quack treatment and self-treatment are undesirable facilities.

They should be limited and, if possible, abolished. We can diminish the amount of quack treatment considerably by prosecuting individuals and by preventing quack advertising, but while we are diminishing the amount of treatment by quacks, we must open up more of the desirable facilities for treatment and make them accessible to more people. Otherwise shutting down on the quacks will merely increase the already vast amount of self-treatment. Private medical practice, if of high standard, is too costly to be available to more than the well-to-do classes The treatment of syphilis and gonorrhea is at the best expensive, and the development of modern medical science has rendered it more so. Efficiency of diagnosis and treatment has been increased, but more resources in equipment and laboratories, and more professional skill are now required. Medical science now has power to make accurate diagnosis and to provide treatment which, if pursued, will usually lead to cure, particularly if the diseases are taken in their earlier stages. But medical science has not been able to apply its power on a large scale, because the cost of its effective application, through the medium of private medical practice, is above the means of the majority of the population. Apparently organization of medical resources is necessary, and this means clinics. Dispensary clinics pool expensive equipment which otherwise would be duplicated in many private offices. They concentrate the work of dealing with groups of patients within a defined period and enable the same work to be done with vastly less expenditure of time than if the same physicians have to spend many hours simply waiting for the next patient to turn up. Increase of dispensary clinics seems to me a necessary, important, and immediate step in the campaign against venereal disease.

The Concern of the Social Worker

How may the social worker be concerned with this? Let us make a comparison. Alcoholism, feeble-mindedness, industrial accidents, unemployment, are four general conditions which are involved in great numbers of cases coming to all social agencies. We deal with these problems, as for instance alcoholism, in two ways; first by doing what we can for an individual sufferer and his family; second, by furthering public measures regulating the production and use of alcoholic beverages. Similarly, industrial accidents, feeble-mindedness, and unemployment are other great sources of "cases" for social workers, and demand that we undertake remedial and preventive action. Now venereal disease appears to me to be a factor in social case-work which is at least comparable to alcoholism

or feeble-mindedness. As diseases, syphilis and gonorrhea are responsible for the economic and moral breakup of many homes. Their later results are responsible for a vast amount of economic incapacity or inefficiency. They are one of the largest single factors in causing blindness. "Rescue work" with women and girls and those concerned with illegitimacy, find these diseases to be frequent concomitants. Mental disorder and defect, deformities, heavy burdens for surgical operation, are connected with one or the other of these diseases. The school child with gonorrhea, the baby or young person with congenital syphilis, are medical-social problems of magnitude with which social workers must wrestle. Wassermann tests made recently of all patients in a large hospital for chronic diseases indicated syphilis in 25% of the cases.

The social worker should not fall into the habit of mind of looking for venereal disease everywhere. Perhaps there is no more venereal disease in case work than there used to be. The situation is changed chiefly because medical science is now in a position to do something effective about it. Therefore social workers are more responsible than they formerly were for becoming partners with the doctor. When the social worker seeks diagnosis and treatment for a patient he must send the patient to a doctor, who must receive the patient either in his private office or in a clinic. If there are many patients it will have to be in a clinic. The social worker cannot get adequate medical assistance for many cases of venereal disease unless he can work with a well-managed out-patient-clinic.*

Hence the social worker must ask: Is there a clinic for syphilis and a clinic for gonorrhea in my town? Is this clinic or are these clinics co-operative and, above all, efficient? Can the efficiency of a clinic be tested? If so, how? Are the local clinics with which *you* are in touch testing their efficiency? Are they publishing reports which show the results of their tests? If they are not efficient enough how shall we secure more efficiency? Who shall egg them on? Can social workers do anything to help the doctors make clinics more efficient? These are a few of the questions which we should ask and answer, or have answered.

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*Hospital beds are often necessary for the treatment of certain stages of syphilis and for some of the complications of both syphilis and gonorrhea, and the increase in the number of hospital beds for these diseases is a necessity in most communities. But the bulk of treatment is ambulatory and for this out-patient clinics are demanded.

What Efficient Dispensary Clinics Require

There is always danger that in a clinic treating large numbers of patients, inefficiency will arise because of overcrowding, hurry, and lack of individual attention to each patient. To be efficient, a clinic must have:

1. Skilled medical service.

2. Adequate technical equipment, which for the diagnosis and treatment of syphilis and gonorrhea is rather elaborate.

3. Good records.

4. Clerical and nursing service, especially if the clinic is large.

5. Organization—medical and lay personnel, working in a well-planned routine.

6. Finally, a clinic cannot be efficient unless it has co-operation from social workers inside and outside.

Three years ago at the Cleveland conference, Dr. C. Morton Smith of Boston presented the results of the medical-social team work which Dr. Abner Post and himself, with the valuable aid of Miss Ora Mabelle Lewis as social worker, had carried out at the Boston Dispensary. A year ago Dr. Smith left the dispensary to assume charge of the new Syphilis Department of the Massachusetts General Hospital, Dr. Post being a consultant. The recently published report of the social service department of the hospital shows how effective this team-work can be. Note the following contrast. In a clinic at the Boston Dispensary an efficiency test was made for a period of six months. During this period there was no social worker in the clinic. The test showed that 27% of the syphilitic patients paid only one visit, 15% only two visits, 12% only three visits. While a certain proportion of these patients were transferred elsewhere and therefore do not count against the clinic, it may fairly be said that in fifty per cent. of the cases the clinic accomplished little or nothing. The report of the work in which Miss Lewis is engaged in the clinic at the Massachusetts General Hospital shows that 90% of the patients were kept under treatment and the reason why the clinic failed to keep control of the remaining 10% were known in most cases. The comparison between the clinic without a social worker and the clinic with such co-operation is simply overwhelming.

In the autumn of 1913 the Boston Dispensary undertook a co-operative experiment with the Massachusetts Society for Sex Education. This experiment consisted in the joint engagement of a medical-social worker to serve in the Gynecological Department of the Boston Dispensary, for the double purpose of

helping patients and of studying the problems of the clinic. One of the largest of these problems is gonorrhea among women and to a less extent among children. Here again, at the Boston Dispensary, a transformation has been wrought. Through the establishment of a definite follow-up system, initiated by the medical-social worker in co-operation with the medical staff, and supervised by the medical-social worker, it is actually possible to get and keep control of most cases, even during the long period of treatment required by this obstinate disease. The percentage of "lost cases" drops from a large majority to a small minority of the total.

Medical-Social Work with Venereal Disease

In conjunction with such work lie a host of related problems: the prostitute, although such are rather infrequent visitors to most clinics; the unmarried pregnant girl, a fairly frequent visitor; the school-child who has received an innocent infection of gonorrhea; the unmarried women whose husbands and children we should bring to the doctor for examination to find out whether they are infected and to institute treatment if they are. Co-operation with social agencies of all kinds is another function which such a social worker serves; to stand between the doctor and the outside social worker, interpreting the medical side to the social and vice versa. Finally, such a social worker in the clinic has the unusual opportunity of dealing at first hand with the problem of sex education, to test out literature by actually "trying it on" with patients. These are some of the chief things which Miss Bertha C. Lovell has undertaken to do during the year and a half since she began this interesting undertaking. I hope that other clinics will attempt similar work both for the purpose of helping patients, and also for studying the problem, as yet so new in many of its phases. I have not entered into detail as to methods of work, but this will be found in the 1914 report of the Boston Dispensary and further details will appear in the report for 1915.

Clinics for gonorrhea among men present us at once with the problem of great numbers. At the Boston Dispensary, for instance, we are treating about 1,500 cases of male gonorrhea annually, of which about 1,000 are in our morning clinic and 500 in our evening pay clinic. Only from 12 to 18% of these patients are married men. The great bulk of them are unmarried men under 30 years of age, a large part under 25. Social service with such a group presents peculiar problems. With the young men there is usually no family problem that can be reached

and the man, himself, cannot usually be reached except at the clinic. Often he lives at lodgings, and if he resides at home it is difficult or impossible to seek him there without embarrassment. The vital need is usually to make the man understand the gravity of his disease, the importance of coming regularly for treatment, and the living conditions necessary to a cure. Thus, to teach the patient is primarily the doctor's responsibility, though the social worker may co-operate with the doctor in doing it. It is, however, obvious that if we call this "social work," our methods with these young men in such a clinic must be quite different from those usually effective when we are dealing with families and with diseases other than venereal. Educational work and everything else must be done almost entirely while the patients are in the clinic. This is the one positive conclusion to which I have come after observing this problem at the Boston Dispensary clinics and elsewhere for three years.

The other great problem in a male genito-urinary clinic is the married men. In the gynecological clinic to which I have referred, the social worker endeavors to bring in the husbands of the married women for examination and for treatment if they are infected. But for every woman gonorrhea patient in a dispensary we usually have from four to ten men. To induce these hundreds of married men to have their wives and children secure medical examination and if necessary treatment also, is a problem of social case work, a difficult problem indeed, but one that must be attacked if we are to protect the community against the spread of a most serious disease within the very precincts of the home, itself. In some cities the co-operation of the board of health has been enlisted and, where a refractory patient is clearly jeopardizing women and children, compulsion, or the threat of compulsion, has sometimes been used. My present feeling is that even if this means is available, it should be employed only in exceptional cases.

I have spoken of testing the efficiency of clinics. This may be done in several ways. The simplest method is to count the proportion of patients who come to the clinic but cease to return for adequate treatment. In 1911-12 at the morning genito-urinary clinic of the Boston Dispensary, 33% of the patients paid only one visit and only 32½% paid more than 5 visits. During 1914-15 the percentage of patients paying only one visit has been reduced from 33% to 28% and the percentage of patients paying more than 5 visits has been increased from 32½% to 45%. In the evening clinic for 1914-15 the percentages are still better, but 16% paying only one visit and 50½% paying

more than 5.* These results are encouraging but not yet satisfactory. Efficiency tests by this method have been made in at least three clinics in this country during the past two years. I trust that we shall have more efficiency tests from other clinics during the next two. Inasmuch as social workers must deal at great cost with the expensive social results of untreated syphilis and gonorrhea, they have a great stake in increasing the efficiency of out-patient clinics so that more and more patients shall secure better and better treatment.

The Social Worker's Responsibility

Much social case work cannot be effective without the co-operation of the clinic doctor. Much of the work of the clinic doctor is wasted without the co-operation of the social worker. The medical profession is concerned largely with the scientific study of syphilis and gonorrhea and with the practical work of diagnosis and treatment. A section of the medical profession, including both practitioners and health officials, are also much interested in the broader public health aspects of these diseases, their prevalence and prevention. Social workers have this interest also; they are closely in touch with social needs and they see the concrete, unhappy and costly results of venereal disease. Social workers must demand that efficient treatment be provided for one hundred per cent. of the syphilis and gonorrhea in the community. Such a program is a measure of humanity to individual sufferers, a measure of efficiency and economy in case work, and a measure of social protection for the present and the future.

Summary

1. Adequate facilities for the diagnosis and treatment of syphilis and gonorrhea are a necessary part in the campaign against these prevalent, contagious diseases.

2. Efficient treatment facilities are factors in education and prevention as well as in care and cure.

3. Existing treatment facilities of a reliable sort are not adequate.

4. More and better treatment facilities mean more and better dispensary clinics.

5. Clinics properly staffed, equipped, organized, and supplied with the co-operation of social workers can be efficient.

**Vide* Journal of the American Medical Association, Nov. 9, 1912, article on *The Efficiency of Out-Patient Work;* also the 118th Annual Report of the Boston Dispensary, pages 19, 25-26, 30, and 38-43.

6. Their efficiency in treatment can be tested, and should be tested periodically.

7. Syphilis and gonorrhea bring a heavy burden upon social case work as well as upon the community programs in which social workers are interested.

8. Social workers therefore have reason to aid in the movement for the improvement of existing clinics and the development of new clinics, day and evening, pay and free.

9. Social workers must also take part, as co-operating agents, with the physician, in the efficient conduct of clinics. The methods of medical-social case work with syphilis and gonorrhea have been tried out sufficiently to indicate their practicability and value. The development and extension of this service now lies ahead.

A SURVEY OF VENEREAL CLINICS IN NEW YORK CITY

B. S. Barringer, M. D.

AND

A STATISTICAL EFFICIENCY TEST

Philip S. Platt, M. A., Superintendent, Bureau of Public Health and Hygiene, New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor

Part I.

This survey was undertaken under the auspices of the Society for Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis and the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. Its object was to see how many clinics of Manhattan had come up to the requirements set by the Associated Out-Patient Clinics of New York.

As far as known, all the clinics of New York in which syphilis and venereal diseases are treated were visited. There are twenty-seven clinics in which syphilis is treated. Of these, seven have been approved, and twenty disapproved. Of the twenty-six venereal clinics, but four have come up to the requirements and twenty-two have been disapproved. This, on its face, puts both the syphilis and the venereal clinics in a bad light. The clinics are not as bad, however, as this report indicates, for many of those disapproved could become with slight effort and with a few changes, approved clinics. In fact, there are only twelve syphilis and venereal clinics that are so hope-

lessly bad as to demand complete reorganization. It is interesting and somewhat disconcerting to find that, after all the insistence made by the Associated Genito-Urinary Clinics that syphilis and venereal diseases be treated in separate departments, only five clinics have so divorced these two.

In the survey of the clinics, certain interesting facts came out from which certain further recommendations were made. For instance, it is our general belief that it is more often the fault of the authorities who have provided inadequate facilities and inadequate instruments than it is the fault of the chiefs of clinics, that a clinic is bad. One sometimes sees a clinic which comes up to the standard, run by a chief who may also run in another dispensary a clinic which is considerably below the standard, because of poor equipment, poor rooms, etc. This, however, is not always true, as there are instances of two different clinics run by the same chief, and equally well-equipped, one of which is up to the standard and one of which is decidedly below. The causes of such a condition are at times obscure, but it should not be difficult for those responsible for the conduct of the dispensaries to trace them and apply adequate remedies.

Because of such conditions it is suggested that the hospital or dispensary authorities who are responsible for the rooms and equipment of a clinic be asked to co-operate with the Associated Genito-Urinary Clinics in providing proper rooms and equipment.

Many of the rooms in which the clinics are held are decidedly filthy. This, by the way, applies not alone to genito-urinary and syphilis clinics. The effect upon a patient of advice given by the clinic physicians as to personal cleanliness, for example, is considerably negated if given in a room in which everything is dirty. This is, again, a matter for the clinic authorities and not for the chief of clinics.

It was further found that a few of the clinics were open but two days a week. Therefore, the further recommendation was made that a clinic should be open at least three days a week, as it is believed that many venereal diseases require treatment at least three times a week.

It was somewhat shocking to find the various ways of discharging gonorrheics. Many clinics make apparently no attempt to hold their patients beyond the time when their urine is clear. In others the beer test alone was used. Because of this a still further recommendation was made that a uniform method of discharging the gonorrheics be adopted, and that this include a complement fixation test. The fact that a patient can-

not be discharged until he has had a blood test means something to the patient. All patients are beginning to know what blood tests are because of the wide use of the Wassermann reaction, and if we insist upon a complement fixation test being negative before discharging a patient, we will certainly discharge very few who still harbor gonococci.

A further recommendation was made that framed copies of the recommendations of the Associated Genito-Urinary Clinics be placed in every clinic. That would seem to be the only way to impress these recommendations upon both the clinic authorities and the physicians of the clinics.

The following three means are suggested for bringing the unapproved clinics up to the standard. First, wider publicity of the recommendations of the Associated Genito-Urinary Clinics. Second, co-operation between the clinic authorities and the chiefs of clinics. Third, a scheme, not perfected as yet, for division among the dispensaries of certain privately contributed money now divided among the hospitals. Such a division, if limited to those clinics which come up to the standard of the Associated Clinics, should influence those that now fall short of it to improve their work and equipment in conformity with the standard requirements.

Part II.

If efficiency is the ratio of results accomplished to effort expended, the efficiency of genito-urinary clinics in New York is low. It is because of the great amount of valuable time and money that is wasted in the treatment of venereal diseases that the question should be one of direct interest to dispensary superintendents, clinic physicians, social workers and the contributing public. If genito-urinary clinics exist chiefly to swell the receipts of the dispensary pharmacy, the question of clinic efficiency is unimportant, but if clinics set as their aim the *cure* of their patients at a minimum cost, then, if they fail in this, a consideration of the reasons for the failure is desirable. And yet, while estimating that over 2,500,000 people receive medical service yearly from the out-patient departments and dispensaries of New York, Chicago and Boston at a cost of over $1,500,000, Michael M. Davis,* of the Boston Dispensary asked three years ago, "Has $100 been spent in studying the results of the treatment, in testing methods and in framing standards, by which to estimate achievement in relation to expense?" Thanks to Mr. Davis the question is no longer answered in the negative.

**The Efficiency of Out-patient Work*, Michael M. Davis, Jr., Ph. D., Director of Boston Dispensary, Boston, read before the American Medical Association, Atlantic City, June, 1912.

The solution of clinic inefficiency lies along several lines. The necessity of proper equipment and adequate facilities has been discussed in Part I. The standards set by the Associated Out-Patient Clinics, presented in the December issue of "Social Hygiene," contains the fundamental needs of a genito-urinary clinic. But no matter how complete the equipment and how perfect the methods of treatment, no adequate idea can be had of the waste of time and money on the one hand, or the accomplishment of results on the other, without accurate knowledge of the number of patients visiting the clinic, the percentage cured, the number of visits per patient and especially the percentage coming once, but not returning for the necessary treatment. Moreover, it is appreciated that knowledge of conditions, though necessary, is not, of itself, a remedy. If, in order to effect cures, it is necessary to bring men back for many repeated treatments—and at present over one-half return not more than five times—steps should be taken, whether by physician, clinic clerk or social worker, to bring the patients back for treatment. If the fault lies with the overcrowding of the clinic the number treated should be limited.

Supplementary to the foregoing survey of the genito-urinary clinics, and in connection with a study of the treatment of patients under the supervision of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, having venereal disease, the Bureau of Public Health and Hygiene planned to observe and compare the results obtained in several clinics, selected as representative of the best and of the worst types of day and night clinics. Instead of finding the information readily available, it was found to be either unobtainabe, or obtainable only upon many days' research. The number of patients, the number of visits per patient and the results of the treatment, in the four clinics studied, were obtainable to the following extent: In one clinic it was absolutely impossible to determine such facts, as no record was kept beyond the name, address and diagnosis at first visit; in another an analysis of about 99,000 cards, representing all patients coming to the entire dispensary during a period of three years, offered the only means of determining the situation; the other two necessitated an analysis of only a year's clinic records, though these records, in one case, were the private possession of the doctor in charge. The desirability of information regarding the operation of a clinic should be as manifest as the necessity for bank accounting.

Detailed analysis of a year's records was possible in only two clinics. It was necessary, of course, to go back about six months from the present time so that new patients coming in the

last month of the year and continuing treatment into the following year could be taken into consideration. Patients were divided into three main classes—gonorrheal, syphilitic and others. Gonorrheal patients, acute and chronic, diagnosed by the presence of gonococci, were then classified according to whether they had been "dismissed as cured," "ceased treatment improved," or "ceased treatment unimproved." The standards used in these classifications, while not identical, are fairly comparable. In both clinics the patient was declared "dismissed as cured" only when his record so stated. In clinic A this was done when there was complete absence of discharge after the beer test, the urine was repeatedly clear and no gonococci could be found. Complement fixation was not a regular procedure. In clinic B no case was discharged as cured until, in addition to the other tests, the blood was negative. The class, "ceased treatment improved," consisted in both clinics of those in whom discharge was absent (whether only temporarily or permanently was not known); the urine was only slightly, if at all, cloudy and gonococci were not found. There are undoubtedly a number in this group who would, in the course of another week or two, be pronounced cured, just as there are doubtless those in whom the disease, being only dormant, would flare up following any indiscretion. The third group is composed of those in whom the symptoms are active. Following are the number and percentages in each group.

GONORRHEA.

	Clinic "A"		Clinic "B"	
	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.
Dismissed as cured	25	9.7	38	9.4
Ceased treatment, improved	50	19.3	57	14.2
Ceased treatment, unimproved	184	71.	308	76.4
	259	100.	403	100.

Less than 10 per cent. were dismissed as cured. If all those "ceased treatment improved" are added to those cured, the percentages represented by 71 and 76.4 still remain as indicative of those who have come to the clinics, been treated, but while still carrying the infection, have been lost track of. That the situation is not peculiar to those two best clinics may be seen by reference to the tests conducted by Michael M. Davis* in 1912 and Dr. Henry L. Sanford† in 1913. Davis found 11.4 of 450 new gonorrheal patients coming to the Boston Dispensary during six months were cured, while Sanford found that a hundred con-

*_The Efficiency of Out-Patient Work_, cited above.

†_An Efficiency Test of Dispensary Treatment of 100 Cases of Gonorrhea_, by Henry M. Sanford, M. D., Cleveland, _The Cleveland Medical Journal_, December issue, 1913, Vol. XII, page 813.

secutive cases of gonorrhea admitted to the Lakeside Hospital Dispensary, Cleveland, during six months in 1912, 12 per cent. were cured. Dr. Sanford states: "Whether twelve cures out of a hundred are a creditable number or not, with the drawbacks of this class of patients, and the fact that students in training assist in the clinic, I will leave to the judgment of others who have worked under these conditions. But creditable under the circumstances or not, it is useless to pretend that such results are satisfactory."

Nor is the situation improved when viewed according to the number of visits made per patient. Opinions vary as to the number of treatments necessary to effect a cure, but it will probably be admitted that small results can be obtained from only one or two visits, and that the majority of cures necessitate well over five visits.

The percentage of patients making one visit only at Clinic A and B was 29 and 30 respectively, while Davis found it to be 48. The percentage of patients making five visits or less is 53 at Clinic A and 62 at Clinic B, while Davis found 81 and Sanford 56. Certainly no one will deny that if 30 per cent. to 50 per cent. of the patients come only once there must be a serious waste of the physicians' time and the clinic's money. Of 386 patients making five visits or less in the two clinics, only 1.8 per cent. were dismissed as cured.

Social History

In clinic A the fullness of the records made possible a classification of the source of infection. Street prostitutes were responible for 37 per cent. of the infection, house prostitutes 19 per cent., domestics 10 per cent., friends 10 per cent., working women 8 per cent., wife 2 per cent. and unknown 15 per cent.

Other social data of interest has been averaged for the two clinics. So far as previous venereal disease history is concerned, about half acknowledged previous attack of gonnorrhea and the other half denied it. Seventy per cent. of the cases were diagnosed as acute gonorrhea and the remainder as chronic gonorrhea.

In regard to the nature of occupations, 60 per cent. were classified as skilled workers and 30 per cent. as unskilled. Slightly over half were native born and 80 per cent. were unmarried. Only 12 per cent. were married. When age is considered, the great preponderance of the cases is below 30 years of age; 21 per cent. were less than 21 years of age; 42 per cent. were between 21 and 25, and 20 per cent. between 26 and 30.

Only 17 per cent. were older than 30. This indicates very conclusively that our problem is with the young unmarried man.

The previous tables have dealt exclusively with gonorrheal patients. Judging from the records of Clinic A, conditions are similar in respect to syphilis. In addition to the gonorrheal and syphilitic patients, 201 were registered as having been treated at the clinic. The following figures show the percentage of patients making only few visits: Of 576 patients, 39 per cent. made 1 visit, 26 per cent. made 2 to 5 visits, making 65 per cent. who made 5 or less visits.

It is fully appreciated that the physician has very little time to devote to a study of his records. It is for this reason that every effort must be made to simplify the task. No more unfortunate system could prevail than that which returns the history and treatment card of a patient to a large dead-file, where absolutely nothing but the reappearance of the patient himself awakens it from an otherwise perpetual sleep. Here, indeed, is a great sarcophagus in which is effectively hidden both the fruitful and the barren work of the clinic. A simple operation divides the quick from the dead. The first step is to have an *active* file in which the history and treatment cards of the patients who come to the clinic during the course of a month may be filed. At the end of the month the number of cards in the file represents the number of individuals visiting the clinic that month; the number of visits made by each can be ascertained in a very few minutes; the number making one or two visits only is at once apparent; the number cured is at hand. In fact, the work of the clinic for the month is revealed in a brief 15 minutes. Before, it was quite impossible to tell how many different individuals were treated during the month, while the most phenomenal memory could not recall how many patients were treated once and once only. This much then can be accomplished at no actual expense and at a saving of time, for the ease of finding a card in the small active file will more than compensate the few minutes spent in analysis at the end of the month.

If it is desired to study each month as a separate unit, the cards may be returned after analysis to the dead-file. Being already in numerical order the length of time necessary for this procedure would be slight. If the analysis of several months was desired, the cards of patients not returning to the clinic might be filed in the dead-file, so as to keep the active file really alive, record being kept of such transfers.

There is equal room for improvement in recording information. Elsewhere the demands of modern conditions have done

much to simplify and improve the physical form of record cards and the methods of handling them. There is a surprising difference in the ease or difficulty of recording information on a well-planned or poorly-planned card. Probably the highest degree of perfection at present attained in record keeping is found in the so-called *Index Visible,* invented by Prof. Irving Fisher of Yale, which not only places every record where its index number or name is always visible and its entire information can be read without removing the card, but which also provides, with relatively little labor for maintenance, an almost automatic system for keeping track of the success or failure of patients to return to the clinic as instructed. This system which has been fully described by Dr. Davis* is in use in several dispensaries in New York and Boston.

No attempt has been made in this statistical study to point out in detail other methods of improving the efficiency of a clinic. Statistics can indicate the weak points in clinic efficiency; they cannot correct them. But if the statistics presented in this paper make it sufficiently clear that accurate knowledge of conditions existing in a clinic should be at hand and that steps should be taken, whether by the physician, the clinic clerk or social worker, to bring patients back to the clinic until they are cured, the purpose of this study is attained.

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DISCUSSION: The discussion was continued informally by Frederick H. Whitin, New York City, and Dr. B. S. Warren, Washington, D. C. Dr. Davis closed the discussion.

ROUNDTABLE: SOCIAL HYGIENE†

At a meeting announced for general discussion of this subject the following delegates spoke: C. C. Carstens, Boston; Roy Smith Wallace, Philadelphia; Dr. William F. Snow, New York; H. E. Jackson, ————————; Charles L. Chute, Albany; Mrs. Jane Deter Ripper, Philadelphia; Dr. Donald Hooker, Baltimore; Mrs. Fred Whitin, New York. At the beginning of the meeting illustrative selections from moving picture films were shown.

**A Method of Promoting the Efficiency of an Out-Patient Clinic.* by Michael M. Davis, Jr., Ph. D., and Elmer W. Barron, M. D., Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, Vol. CLXIX, No. 23, pages 820-822, Dec. 4, 1913.

†Wednesday, May 19, 9:15 A. M.

STATE CARE OF THE INSANE, FEEBLE-MINDED AND EPILEPTIC

PROGRAM

General session, p. 289.
Research, roundtable, p. 312.
Prevention, section meeting, p. 340.
The Immediate Program, section meeting, p. 356.

What is Practical in the Way of Prevention of Mental Defect*

Walter E. Fernald, M. D., Superintendent, Massachusetts School for the Feeble-minded, Waverley: Chairman of the Committee.

During the last decade four factors have materially changed the professional and popular conception of the problem of the feeble-minded.

1. The widespread use of mental tests has greatly simplified the preliminary recognition of ordinary cases of mental defect and done much to popularize the knowledge of the extent and importance of feeble-mindedness.

2. The intensive studies of the family histories of large numbers of the feeble-minded by Goddard, Davenport and Tredgold have demonstrated what had hitherto only been suspected, that the great majority of these persons are feeble-minded because they come from family stocks which transmit feeble-mindedness from generation to generation in accordance with the laws of heredity. Many of the members of these families are not defective, themselves, but these normal members of tainted families are liable to have a certain number of defectives among their own descendants. The number of persons who are feeble-minded as a result of injury, disease or other environmental conditions without hereditary predisposition is much smaller than had been suspected, and these accidental cases do not transmit their defect to their progeny.

3. The cumulative evidence furnished by surveys, community studies, and intensive group inquiries have now definitely proved that feeble-mindedness is an important factor as a cause of juvenile vice and delinquency, adult crime, sex immorality, the spread of venereal disease, prostitution, illegitimacy, vagrancy, pauperism, and other forms of social evil and social disease.

*General session Tuesday, May 18, 8:15 P. M.

4. Our estimates of the extent and the prevalence of feeble-mindedness have been greatly increased by the application of mental tests, the public school classes for defectives, the interpretation of the above-mentioned anti-social expressions of feeble-mindedness, and the intensive community studies. Goddard believes that at least two per cent. of school children in the first five grades are mentally defective. It is conservative to say that there are at least four feeble-minded persons to each thousand of the general population.

There are reasons for believing that feeble-mindedness is on the increase, that it has leaped its barriers, so to speak, as a result of changed conditions of civilization. Davenport says:

> There must have been at work, even in prehistoric times, a sort of natural control by the elimination of those incapable of meeting the ever-increasing complexities of "advancing civilization." As man spread to the north those strains that had not acquired the trait of hoarding for the winter mostly perished of cold and hunger; those strains that had not acquired the sense of property rights and tended to invade the stores of others were always in danger of being cut off. In England, less than a century ago, there were 223 classes of offenses punishable by death. Under such rigid selection "defective" ancestral stains tended to be eliminated. Today, in our most highly civilized countries, the process of elimination of the unfit animal strains is largely reversed. We protect * * * * * * the members of a weak strain up to the period of reproduction and then let them free upon the community and encourage them to leave a large progeny of "feeble-minded"; which, in turn, protected from infant mortality and carefully nurtured up to the productive period, are again set free to reproduce, and so the stupid work goes on of preserving and increasing our socially unfit strains.

Some of our methods of care have so propped-up the defective and relieved him of burdens that he has been enabled the more easily to live and to propagate his kind. In fact, with the very highest motives, modern philanthropic efforts often tend to foster and increase the growth of defect in the community. In the light of our present knowledge, feeble-mindedness is the result of permanent abnormal brain conditions, and is incurable. Once feeble-minded, always feeble-minded. The one effective way to diminish the number of the feeble-minded in future generations is to prevent the birth of those who would transmit feeble-mindedness to their descendants.

Indeed, the results of eugenic research are so impressive that we are almost convinced that we are in possession of knowledge which would enable us to markedly diminish the number of the feeble-minded in a few generations if segregation or surgical sterilization of all known defectives were possible. But really, we have only begun to apply even our present knowledge of the causes of feeble-mindedness. The only

feeble-minded persons who now receive any official consideration are those who have already become dependent or delinquent, many of whom have already become parents. We lock the barn door after the horse is stolen. We now have state commissions for controlling the gypsy moth and the boll weevil, the foot-and-mouth disease, and for protecting the shell-fish and wild game, but we have no commission which even attempts to modify or to control the vast social, moral and economic forces represented by the feeble-minded persons at large in the community.

It is becoming evident that some central governmental authority should be made responsible for the supervision, assistance and control of the feeble-minded at large in the community who are not properly cared for by their friends. This proposal is not so revolutionary as it seems, for a large proportion of feeble-minded people at some time in their lives now come under the jurisdiction of public authorities or private societies as dependents or as irresponsible law-breakers. Many feeble-minded persons eventually become permanent public charges. Many run the gauntlet of the police, the courts, the penal institutions, the almhouses, the tramp shelters, the lying-in hospitals, and often many private societies and agencies, perhaps, eventually to turn up in the institutions for the feeble-minded. At any given time, it is a matter of chance as to what state or local or private organization or institution is being perplexed by the problems they present. They are shifted from one organization or institution to another as soon as possible. At present there is no bureau or officer with the knowledge and the authority to advise and compel proper care and protection for this numerous and dangerous class.

This state supervision of the feeble-minded might be done successfully by some existing organization like a properly constituted state board of health, or state board of charities, or by a special board or official; but the responsible official should be a physician trained in psychiatry, with especial knowledge of all phases of mental deficiency and its many social expressions. The local administration of this plan could be carried out by the use of existing local health boards, or other especially qualified local officials or, perhaps better, by the utilization of properly qualified volunteer social workers, or existing local private organizations and societies, already dealing with dependents or delinquents. This systematic supervision and control, could easily be made to cover an entire state, and would obviate the present needless, costly and futile reduplication of effort.

The first duty of the new bureau would be to state the problem fully by beginning a complete and continuing census of the feeble-minded of the entire state. The recent surveys made in several cities and states, notably in Chicago, Pennsylvania, Michigan and New Hampshire, show the feasibility of such a census. The assembling of existing data and records of physicians, mental clinics, court and prison officials, social workers, private societies, town officials, overseers of the poor, special class teachers, etc., would make an impressive beginning of this census. Our compulsory school laws now bring every child to official notice. The school census alone, including as it does every child in the community whether he goes to school or not, would, in a few years, reveal and record the existence of nearly every feeble-minded person. Such registration would be merely analogous to the required notification and record of cases of infectious and contagious disease.

This co-ordination of existing records would be available for social workers, school authorities, and other agencies, and would be of enormous service in the solution of the individual problems which the feeble-minded constantly present. This, alone, would mean a great saving in time, effort and money. Once a person was adjudged feeble-minded, a permanent accessible record would be made.

This continuing census and registration of the feeble-minded would make possible regular visitation of each defective who needs oversight by the trained social worker or by the local representative of the central bureau. The reports of these visitors, covering the life histories and the family histories of many cases, would soon constitute an invaluable treasury of information as a basis for scientific research and study in the search for practical methods of prevention. The official visitor would advise the parents as to the care and management of the defective and would have opportunity to inform the family, the local officials and the community generally as to the hereditary nature and the peculiar dangers of feeble-mindedness.

The registration of every feeble-minded person, and the regular visitations, especially of children of school age, would make it possible to inform the parents of the condition of the child, of the necessity of life-long supervision, and of the possible need of future segregation. Suitable, tactful literature should be prepared, which could be gradually presented to the parents in a way that would have great educational value. Sooner or later the parents will probably be willing to allow their child to be cared for and trained in the institution. In suitable cases parents who are not willing may be allowed to have the custody

of their child, with the understanding that he shall be properly cared for and protected during his life, that he shall not be allowed to become immoral or criminal, and that he shall be prevented from parenthood. Whenever the parents and friends are unwilling or incapable of performing these duties, the law should provide that he shall be forcibly placed in an institution or otherwise safeguarded. The local representatives of this central bureau would officially serve as advisors and sponsors for pupils graduated from the special school classes, for court cases under probation and observation and for institution inmates at home on visit or on trial.

There would be a person in every locality familiar with the opportunities for mental examination and methods of permanent commitment. The extra-institutional supervision and observation of cases in their homes would do away with the necessity of institution care of many persons who would otherwise have to go to the institution, thus reducing the expense of institution buildings and maintenance.

The expense of this plan of centralized supervision and control of the feeble-minded may seem to be an objection, but it is not a valid one, for states like Massachusetts, New York or Ohio, for instance, are now really wasting vast sums of money annually in haphazard methods of temporizing with the social consequences of mental defect, instead of dealing with the feeble-mindedness itself. We are now pouring water on the smoke instead of on the fire. This central bureau would co-ordinate and utilize all of the disconnected agencies which now deal with the feeble-minded—the special school classes, the child-helping societies, the mental clinics, the laboratories for social and eugenic research, the court and probation officers and all the institutions for the feeble-minded. The remote mountain village would be as well served as the large cities.

The modern public school class for defective children ensures diagnosis and treatment at an early age, helps to inform the parents as to the dangers of mental defect, and admirably serves as a clearing house for permanent segregation, when necessary before adult life is reached. These classes should be established in every city and large town.

The possibilities of extra-institutional supervision, early diagnosis, and long-continued education of the parent and the community are well illustrated in the experience of a certain socially-minded teacher of a public school special class in Massachusetts. This teacher has taught this class for seventeen years, and some of the pupils in her first class are now over thirty years of age. In addition to her duties in the school room, she

frequently visits the homes of her pupils, and often confers with the neighbors, the policeman and the clergyman, as well as with the parents. After the children have left her class, she has kept in touch with them and with their parents. She has made much use of mental clinics in ascertaining the exact mental status of her pupils. She helps them to get employment, and in many other ways. When her pupils or former pupils have needed something more than home care, she has already prepared the parents for the transfer to an institution. In all these years none of her female pupils have become mothers or are known to have been immoral, and none of her boys who have remained at home have yet become criminals or especially troublesome.

Mental clinics now in successful operation in almost every large city furnish expert advice for many of the pressing problems of the public schools, the courts and the community. They should be increased in number, and so extended as to be available for the entire population of the state. Out-patient mental clinics should be a part of the work of every institution for the feeble-minded. The expert clinicians and psychologists of these institutions, already in the service of the state, should be utilized in the organization and conduct of these clinics in different parts of the state.

The most immediately practical method of prevention is that of intelligent segregation. The average family is entirely free from mental defect. It is possible that a real eugenic survey of a given locality might show that 90% of the feeble-mindedness in that locality was contributed by 5% of the families in that community. The proposed governmental supervision of the feeble-minded, with its sequence of registration, extra-institutional visitation, accumulation of personal and family histories, coöperation with private organizations, public school classes for defectives, and mental clinics, would soon indicate the individuals most likely to breed other defectives. The families with strong potentiality of defect would be recognized and located. We know that if both parents are hereditarily feeble-minded, all the children will be defective, and that if one parent is feeble-minded, on an average half of the children will be defective. Families and settlements of the *Kallikak, Nam* or *Hill-Folk* class, the so-called *hovel* type, can be broken up and terminated by segregation of the members of the child-bearing age. Every feeble-minded girl or woman of the hereditary type, especially of the moron class, not adequately protected, should be segregated during the reproductive period. Otherwise she is almost certain to bear defective children, who, in turn, breed

other defectives. The male defectives are probably less likely to become parents, but many male morons also should be segregated. This segregation carried out thoroughly for even one generation would largely reduce the number of the feeble-minded.

The cost of segregation will be large, but not so large as the present cost of caring for these same persons, to say nothing of their progeny in future generations. These people are seldom self-supporting and most of them are eventually supported by the public in some way. From the economic standpoint, alone, no other investment could be so profitable. The present generation is the trustee for the inherent quality as well as for the material welfare of future generations. In a few years the expense of institutions and farm colonies for the feeble-minded will be counterbalanced by the reduction in the population of almshouses, prisons and other expensive institutions. When the feeble-minded are recognized in childhood and trained properly, many of them are capable of being supported at low cost under institution supervision.

The state will never be called upon to place all the feeble-minded in institutions. Many cases will never need segregation —small children of both sexes, cases properly cared for at home with or without supervision, many adult males and adult females past the child-bearing period. Eugenic study will recognize the non-hereditary cases who cannot transmit their defect, and who do not need segregation for this reason. The one great obstacle to effective prevention of feeble-mindedness is the lack of definite, precise knowledge. This knowledge can only be supplied by long-continued scientific research along many lines of inquiry. We do not even know the exact number of the feeble-minded. This fact will be supplied by the future community surveys and other extensive and intensive studies.

Intensive pathological research would throw much light upon the non-hereditary or environmental group of cases, where we now have little exact knowledge. There is great need of knowledge as to abnormal brain conditions in the hereditary cases. The abnormal embryological development of the defective brain has been little studied, and the role of syphilis and alcohol as causes needs much study. No studies have as yet been made combining the results of eugenic research, the type and degree of the defect, and the exact brain conditions which are responsible for the defective mentality.

Further psychological research will add to the mental tests already in use other much-needed tests, which will demonstrate the existence or absence of defect in adults with the mentality

of 12 or 15-year-old adolescents, obviously not an adequate mental equipment for meeting the social and economic stresses of modern life and for other uncharted mental states. Continued scientific research in these and other fields of the subject cannot fail to throw further light upon the causes and to indicate definite means of prevention of feeble-mindedness.

Public funds are seldom available for research; yet, as a nation, we are now spending many millions annually for care, and almost nothing for research. Past researches have been made possible by the contributions of private individuals. No field of scientific inquiry offers greater possibilities of benefit to humanity and to society. The central bureau proposed would have unequalled opportunities for such research and could command the personnel and equipment for the work.

The chief obstacle to effective segregation will not be the cost, but the fact that the parents or friends of large numbers of defectives of the most dangerous class, by reason of their own defect, are unable or unwilling to see the necessity for such segregation. The natural prejudice of the parents against segregation can usually be overcome by the arguments and persuasion of teachers, social workers, clergymen, or other influential people, and especially by an attractive modern institution, with its recreative features, and its possibilities in the way of vocational training. The law should undoubtedly require the formal commitment and permanent segregation of those cases which eugenic and social inquiry indicate to be certain transmitters of defect, but the Anglo-Saxon respect for the liberty of the individual makes it difficult to enact effective laws compelling such permanent custody. The courts are seldom willing to utilize even existing commitment laws without the consent of the parents, except in extreme cases. This fact, almost daily evident in every state, illustrates the necessity for a compaign of education, which will reach even the students in the law schools, who are to become our future judges.

And, after all, the meaning of this report is that in the long run education in the broadest sense will be the most effective method in a rational movement for the diminution of feeble-mindedness. One of the principal advantages of the proposed plan for state registration and supervision of the feeble-minded is the opportunity it gives for the general education of the people of the state upon this subject. The public generally should be persistently informed as to its extent, causes and results by means of suitable literature, popular lectures, and other means. This field offers a great and useful opportunity to mental hygiene societies and other similar organizations for disseminat-

ing knowledge on this subject, for, under present conditions, it will be many years before local communities have an equal realization of the nature of the problem, or are prepared to deal with it.

The principles of heredity as they are unfolded, and especially of morbid heredity, should be taught in the colleges, the normal schools, and, indeed, in the high schools. The adolescent has a right to be informed upon a subject which is of supreme importance to himself, to his family and to his descendants. The great majority of these young people will later marry and become parents. The dangers of marriage with persons of diseased stock should be presented plainly. The most important point is that feeble-mindedness is highly hereditary, and that each feeble-minded person is a potential source of an endless progeny of defect. No feeble-minded person should be allowed to marry or to become a parent.

Even the normal members of a definitely tainted family may transmit defect to their own children, especially if they mate with one with similar hereditary tendencies. If the hereditary tendency is marked and persistent, the normal members of the family should not marry. Certain families should become extinct. Parenthood is not for all. Persons of good heredity run a risk of entailing defect upon their descendants when they marry into a family with this hereditary taint. Intelligent people are usually willing to forego a proposed marriage if the possibilities of defective heredity in that mating are fully understood. The immediate sacrifice is less painful than the future devoted to the hopeless care of feeble-minded children. The class of people who are not amenable to reason in respect to this question must be dealt with through the general educational influences which have been outlined in this report.

When the natural leaders of thought in the community—the teachers, physicians, lawyers and clergymen—are fully informed on this subject they will help to create the strong public sentiment which will demand the passage of necessary laws, and will secure sufficient appropriations to eventually ensure the intelligent protection and control of the feeble-minded persons in that community.

WHERE SHOULD WE ATTACK THE PROBLEM OF THE PREVENTION OF MENTAL DEFECT AND MENTAL DISEASE?

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After the very comprehensive review of our needs and opportunities in the care of the defectives, I beg leave to discuss briefly the field of the care and treatment of both the defects and the *acquired disorders* which may grow out of defect as well as out of differences in the endurance of the human organism and in its capacity for adaptation. Putting the emphasis on the disorders developing in the course of life may keep my discussion from overlapping too much Dr. Fernald's excellent report.

I want to give a concise survey of the existing agencies working in the field and their respective domains: the hospitals, dispensaries, mental hygiene organizations, the school system, the courts, and child labor bureaus, and the organizations for social reconstruction. I shall then single out the principal problems calling for specific work:

1. The difficulty of finding one's level;
2. Some facts concerning alcohol;
3. The problem of venereal disease;
4. Heredity.

We then take up the *constructive work,* first with regard to these clearly defined issues of alcoholism and syphilis, and then the opportunities in the schools.

As the distinctive ideal, I am anxious to emphasize the need of attacking the work in small enough units of communities and neighborhoods, of making the *attack at the source,* by community organization in addition to legislation, and by making the best use of our available opportunities in these directions.

First, the existing agencies and their proper use.

1. *The Hospitals.* A number of our states have today a very elaborate and efficient state hospital system. In the minds of the people, these hospitals are still asylums, that is to say, places to which people are sent with more or less certainty that they will either die soon or will stay there for the rest of their lives. It is high time that the community should recognize that the hospital's most vital function is curative and constructive, and that the principle of segregation is *not* the leading issue. About 20 per cent. of those who are admitted are returned home in their previous working capacity, and 25 per cent. more able at least

to live at home under protection. It should become clear to the people and to legislatures that these hospitals must be located and officered in keeping with the aim of constructive and curative work. A modern hospital must get together the facts with which to reconstruct the patient's life. It must be in touch with the patient's home and be helpful to the family in the attempt to create a wholesome environment for the returning patient. This inevitably means the organization of social work and home visitation, and help to the heredity-tained family. It also means that the staffs of the hospitals must be chosen from men devoted to constructive and curative work, and not *merely* to administrative interests, and that there should be enough physicians actually to *do* the work and to bring it to the point of efficiency and success beyond the hospital walls. To attain this we must undertake a nation-wide fight against the all too frequent control or intimidation of such institutions by unprincipled politics and demoralizing types of economy.

2. Our second type of agencies are the *dispensaries*. Either in connection with hospitals or independent, they must make it easy for the patient to get advice for home treatment. The ideal arrangement would be to have in connection with a dispensary at least one physician able to visit homes, assisted by social workers trained for investigation and for giving guidance to the patient and to the family and social unit.

3. In some communities it has been found best to organize special mental hygiene organizations, using the available dispensaries as far as possible, doing emergency work and work in the form of after-care and placing of patients returned from hospitals, and serving as advisers in the decision as to where to place patients and preventive cases or where to direct them. Baltimore has, as far as I know, the distinction of having the first organization of this kind under the direction of a *physician*. The record that Dr. Cornell has made for himself and his work is certainly well worth looking into by the members of this conference.

4. The fourth already existing agency is the *school system*. It is true that most of the school physicians are trained mainly to discover infectious diseases and possibly the defects of various organs, such as the sense organs, but more and more attention is being paid to the mental defects and to the disorders of the personality and of behavior. How much there is to be done in this field is clearly shown by the survey in one of the school districts of Baltimore, made by Dr. Charles Macfie Campbell, a survey which brought out as the principal result the fact that at least 10 per cent. of the children are clearly not fitted for any

public school curriculum, and that another 15 per cent. or 20 per cent. should have a curriculum more especially adapted to the endowment of the pupil. What vocational bureaus can do in connection with schools has no doubt been brought out elsewhere.

5. In a few cities juvenile courts begin to have as adjuncts trained psychopathologists whose work it is to study the mental condition of the children brought there. Prisons and jails should be centers of preventive work; the judges would be more even-handed in their decisions if the prison officials aimed more to utilize the period of detention of the prisoners to the best advantage for some sort of reconstrutcive work. Punishment, in order to attain its end in correction, should be punishment which *does* correct. For genuine preventive work along these lines we shall have to wait until the legal profession and the public will accept the fact that a good many individuals are best served by prolonged detention or permanent care of some kind, since every relapse, or at least every repetition of offense, is really a blot on the efficiency of justice and often the result of a wanton assignment of responsibility to persons unable to carry the burden.

6. It would be wrong to pass over the interesting work which is being done by those boards which control the issuance of *working* permits for minors under the age required by the child labor laws, further the activity of many of the constructive workers in the charity organizations, and no doubt also the work of church organizations. I have heard it stated repeatedly of late that since the wider use of the dispensaries for mental cases, the point of view of charity workers has changed considerably, and that a great deal of what appeared as mere "cussedness" is becoming more and more a matter of investigation and of examination by dispensary and other physicians.

Now let us briefly review the special causes against which we should fight. It is in one respect a comfort, although to those concerned a matter of distress, that mental disorders depend to a very large extent, on heredity and predisposition of the stock. This is significant not only for eugenics, but also for the proper education of children and the choice of their careers and the need of hygienic precautions. Preventive work must not be too vague and diffused. It weakens the movement to preach too much to those who do not need it. Preventive work must have its places of attack; and the first places are the families that through experience with mental disorders have had their interest awakened in averting trouble for other members of the family. Finding the right level of occupation and aspiration is the great difficulty in the hereditary cases and, naturally, equally

so in those whose trouble is not necessarily on a hereditary foundation. Too many people aspire to positions, or are *driven into* positions which may be too hard for them to fill; but a certain amount of success is as much a need for our health as our food and clothing and shelter. Those who are trying to obtain occupation for the handicapped and for the slightly defective, realize the great obligation resting upon the community to create respectable and satisfying opportunities for the handicapped, and for those not able to face the full struggle of life. Any civilization can offer jobs to the strong worker; it takes a well-organized civilization to take care of those less favored.

From the difficulties of finding one's level, we turn to the more specific factor, that of alcoholism. Alcoholism has been minimized by some and even praised by some as a help in the elimination of the unfit. Here, too, perhaps there has been too much talk when it was not greatly needed. It is important that the public should know that the frequency of mental disorders due to alcohol, differs very much among various nationalities and the several strata of the population. In the much maligned state of Maine there is absolutely no doubt that alcoholic insanity is relatively much less frequent than in any other state that I know of; and when we study the nationalities of any one community, as I did in Massachusetts and as Dr. George H. Kirby did for New York, we find that those nationalities that indulge largely in the social habits of alcoholism or in ordinary use of alcohol, recruit the largest numbers of cases of alcoholic insanity in our hospitals. The percentage varies from less than 1 per cent. to 39 per cent. of all the admissions from the various nationalities. Alcoholic insanity is very rare among the Hebrews, who, for reasons worth studying, furnish a model standard; it is most frequent in nationalities accustomed to strong liquors. There is an average of about 20 to 25 per cent. of alcoholic insanity among the male admissions in wine and beer-drinking communities.

Another 15 per cent. of the patients are undoubtedly accounted for by syphilis, which presents a gigantic problem from the point of view of prevention. Large numbers of individuals, by no means hereditarily predisposed, get swept away in the best periods of their lives by general paresis, which during the last 20 years has been clearly demonstrated to be a syphilitic disease of the brain. That over 30 per cent. of our patients have serious difficulties with the adjustment of their sex-life is a further reason why sex-hygiene should be as broadly conceived as possible.

Let us now turn to the *constructive program.* Some of the specific items just mentioned are general problems which all social workers have to wrestle with. Any effort to fight alcoholism will help us as much as it will help the criminologist and the charity worker, because it is not merely an individual problem but really one of communities. What I feel most keenly is the necessity of organizing in our communities, *societies for total abstinence,* to which it would be possible to join individuals who are recovering from the warning effects of disease. Unless recovering individuals join groups of normally-living persons maintaining standards of total abstinence and providing social compensations for drinking habits, it is not often that they will resist for any length of time the attractions of alcohol and of destructive social companionships.

Constructive work for the prevention of syphilis is another issue of prophylaxis which inevitably meets far more than merely psychiatric needs. Even with the most optimistic conception of our ability to treat syphilis at the present time, there is always a great possibility of the lingering of the infection so that prevention here continues to mean ever so much more than cure. As far as I can see, the close association of syphilis with commercialized vice points out very clearly what is needed. It puts upon us the obligation of eradicating all those attempts at the solution of the prostitution problem which hold up to the young the idea of *public sanction of commercialized vice,* and which, especially in the form of segregation, form a permanent advertisement and an official exhibit of the supposed necessity of "wild oats" and promiscuity. More than anything else, a more serious attitude of our adult male population will be necessary to bring about a reform.

In the ultimate analysis, both the prevention of alcoholism and the prevention of syphilis have their greatest ally in the improvement of the program of *education.* I have great confidence in the teachers being able to solve their problem if they are well trained and promoted according to merit, and given adequate support by the community. I have often felt that probably our community would be better off with regard to the school system if every citizen made it his duty to visit a school once a year and to spend at least half a day there. Without such first-hand acquaintance, few of us realize what admirable work is being done and how much more support the community ought to give to the school system. Let us encourage teachers to teach pupils to do what they *can* do, both in work and in recreation and rest, instead of making them the half-obedient servants of a system often killing the native interests and inculcating habits

of serving time, rather than doing their work efficiently. Let us learn something from the study of the frequently perfectly normal truant and other revolutionary spirits of the school age. And let us get over the notion that only the bad pupil needs attention. A thing that is less often thought of is the fact that the so-called "very good pupil," the extreme at the good end of the scale, is very much more likely to be endangered by mental disease and nervous states than the frankly and outspokenly bad and happy-go-lucky child. School excuses, headaches, and attempts to get relieved from various studies ought to be subjected to the attention of the school physician much oftener than is the case at the present time. The requests for dispensation from various courses are often the first signs of a need of attention.

On all these points, legislation is but a partial help. State-wide efforts become dilute. They are essential to make activity permissive, but the work ultimately must become intensive in the real place of attack, in the natural units of community life.

Without an improvement of the principles of the grown-up population we must not expect the young to change by mere school-training. Children learn more from what they see and hear than from what they are made to do at school. Without an improvement in the sense of the personal responsibility of each individual for community conditions, many reforms will be changes in style rather than changes of heart.

In such a matter as the prevention of mental troubles due to heredity, I maintain that although we know that a large percentage of mental cases have a history of heredity, there is not a sufficiently decisive body of facts established for us to be justified in making sweeping rules against the marriage of those who have had mental trouble either themselves or in their families. Indeed we might thereby run the risk of doing a grave injustice to the race as well as of infringing on the rights of the individual. We can do justice to the individual as well as to the race by making some practical conditions for such individuals to marry and have children: if they can feel and give to their own sense and conscience reasonable assurance of giving a family of four children a wholesome, healthy environment and education. If any unfavorable heredity should crop out, it would be highly probable that healthy and capable brothers and sisters would be able to assure the protection and care of the problematic individual. Eugenics, in its present development, has no right to attempt to enforce a stronger negative policy than that. If it does so, it does so at the risk of depriving the race of individuals who are a benefit to it. I certainly should not like to miss some

of the brothers and sisters of certain patients from this globe, nor even some of the patients.

But I cannot emphasize too strongly the obligation to refrain from offspring, resting upon those individuals who are incapable of giving a reasonably good environment and opportunities of education to a family of four children. That this cuts out the sanction of marriage of imbeciles, most epileptics and most psychotic persons and individuals constitutionally below par, is self-evident; and the principle formulated in this way has the advantage of pointing directly to some crucial measure of practical efficiency without any harping on pseudo-science, of which so many reformers and many patients know more than of plain sense.

For the sake of concreteness and clearness in our aims, let me point first to our peculiar difficulties, which suggest some radical efforts such as I do not consider beyond our reach. Our American communities are probably the most individualistic aggregates of population. Mostly descendants from constitutional dissenters and non-conformists, temperamentally jealous of government, we form communities divided from top to bottom into the most individualistic groups. In the field of leading ideals, in religion and ethics, we seem to be as far as ever from solidarity and unity; we seem to have more hope in the salvation of our souls than confidence in the ways and hopes of our neighbor, unless he pledges himself to our own dogma of exclusive salvation. I know that in a recent gathering many ministers from the same district of the city did not know each other. What community spirit can we expect, then, if this holds for the heads of what should be the most social and the most large-hearted of our social organizations?

The next grouping, that of citizenship and civic interest, we have allowed to become a matter of concern of the professional politician, who has about the same ideal as many a lawyer who frankly cares little for justice and principle, but mainly for winning his case. Our standards, punctilious in dress and fashion and table manners, are outspokenly individualistic and deficient in common ideals and solidarity, in the very essentials of religious, civic, business and intellectual life. The one common principle seems to be the primitive scheme of boss-system and one-man power, which makes one person responsible for good or for bad and releases all other individuals of further responsibility. Under these conditions it is somewhat difficult to think of a Utopia such as I insist on dreaming about. My hope lies in bringing together that which *is* together; manageable groups and districts with enough common interests to create a community

spirit, fostered not only in the head of the boss whom we see hailed as the chief or turned into a scapegoat, but permeating the district in the form of customs, standards, and principles and ideals easily enough attainable to become the dominant rule.

The districting of our cities is at present carried out in different ways for different purposes. As far as I know, the political wards and the police and fire department districts, the school districts, the criminal and juvenile court districts, the districts of the charity organizations, all are apt to follow different lines of division. The ideal will have to be an organization so made that as many districts as possible may form reasonably complete households within themselves. Such an arrangement would make it possible for more people actually to realize what the *community* has to make itself responsible for, and it might become practicable to have district-problems, district committees and district meetings, such as the political parties have long been shrewd enough to maintain in their wards.

However much of a dreamer I may be, I pride myself on having seen a good many of my dreams come true. Can you see the ward or district organization? With a district building instead of the police station, with policemen as constructive workers rather than as the watch-dog of their beats, a district center with reasonably accurate records of the facts needed for orderly work; among the officers a district health officer, and a district school committee and a district improvement and recreation committee, a district tax committee, a district charity or civic work committee, a tangible expression of what the district stands for.

With a system of helpfulness and fairness and true democracy, avoiding bureaucracy as well as militarism and its primitive residual, the boss system, this country can safely go on developing methods tolerant of individuality and yet effective in its essential purposes.

There is not a solitary line of preventive and constructive work in which we do not sooner or later run up against insufficiency of community-work, of registration, of collaboration, and even of mere acquaintance of those who should work together. Over and over again we become guilty of the common mistake of every good worker being given a bigger field than can possibly be covered. I long to get the means and the privilege of trying a few mental hygiene districts, no doubt best shaped, as things are now subdivided, so as to have the school of the district as the center of attention; with a specially trained

physician and two or three helpers living in the district, without any trumpets and without legislation, as far as possible inconspicuous, but charged to obtain the friendship and co-operation of the teachers, the play-ground workers, the district workers of various charity organizations and the physicians and ministers of the region. They would have to know their districts as a social fabric and they can do so if their districts are not too large; they must become helpers of individuals and families when they are in a mood to listen. The physician had best be chosen who can be acceptable as school physician, able to work in a quiet and inconspicuous manner, and devoting all his time to this wonderful opportunity without entering into competition with local physicians.

The work may cost six or seven thousand dollars a year for the district until it can be handed on to local representatives, who may not be so privileged and may be less expensive, but who can use the results of the trained pioneers. It is work which does not pretend to make unnecessary the city-wide and state-wide movements; but which will want to do justice to its own local job. The use of dispensaries and hospitals and centralized helps like vocational bureaus which cannot be duplicated everywhere, gets a local reinforcement and safe soil, and it becomes possible to implant in the locality that which we are too often content to put on the posters of our mental hygiene exhibits and on letter heads. Sound knowledge and actual performance are, after all, the best ground on which science and practical life join hands.

When will our intelligent leaders begin to realize the agony to which we psychiatrists are put when we have to watch, too often helpless, the long illness and frequently the irresistible fading-out or perversion of human minds, sometimes in the wives and husbands and children of our nearest friends and sometimes members of our own family; hampered on all sides, always with half-officered hospitals, half-trained staffs, half-equipped laboratories; and less than half-organized communities? When will some sensible concentration of effort become possible which will allow us to say: Here is something like an agricultural station; here is a small community doing the best that can be done today and trying to determine in a quiet unostentatious way the value of the various claims in vogue, so that those who can do but little can at least be guided in the choice of what will do most good?

A kind of rear-guard psychiatry is what we have been teaching physicians and medical students up to the present, rear-guard defense, and defense in fortified asylums. Today we

occasionally hear such words as "pre-paresis" and "pre-dementia praecox"; and I hope the time will come when we shall attack various predisposing factors, not merely because we want to head off war, but because we have higher constructive ideals of peace than that of keeping the enemy cowed. There is plenty of room on this globe for many kinds of people. The art of community-building begins with the cultivation of community centers and community ideals, for the small as well as for the big units. And just as I hope the police work will pass more and more from the level of scouring the community for misdeeds to that of constructive community work, so I hope psychiatry will pass more and more from being merely our patient's attendant to the work of teaching people how to find their levels and how to help in bringing in a constructive tolerance, and in establishing a constructive habit of wholesome life for community and individual.

Where, then, shall we attack the problem of prevention? By reinforcing the existing helps, the hospitals, the dispensaries, the special agencies; by adapting the schools to the needs of the pupils; by facing pointedly the problems of alcoholism and syphilis; but, above all, by starting a quiet work of community-organization, building up manageable district units, and by inspiring a constructive atmosphere among people who can know and understand each other and who have common needs. Let us find the individual at home and the chances for concrete work at the source from which both the wealth and the misery of the nation flow.

THE POSSIBILITIES OF RESEARCH AS APPLIED TO THE PREVENTION OF FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS

H. H. Goddard, Ph. D., New Jersey Training School, Vineland

The first and all-important step in the prevention of an evil is the determination of the cause or causes of that evil. For many generations we have recognized and pitied the idiot. Of late we have recognized a higher type of defective, the moron, and have discovered that he is a burden; that he is a menace to society and civilization; that he is responsible to a large degree for many, if not all, of our social problems.

Up to the present time we know of no way of curing the condition and we cannot destroy its victims. We might prevent. If we *are* to prevent we must know enough about the condition

to remove the cause or causes. Thanks to the investigations already made, we now know that in two-thirds of the cases feeble-mindedness is caused by feeble-mindedness, that is to say, feeble-minded parents transmit their mental defect to their offspring. It therefore follows that if we could prevent reproduction among the feeble-minded, we could reduce mental defect to one-third of its present proportions. But we need much more investigation to discover how this is to be accomplished. There are many proposals: first, laws against the marriage of defectives; second, the sterilization of all defectives, or third, enforced celibacy through segregation.

These methods are apparently either impossible of execution or uncertain, even if they can be carried out. The prevention of marriage will not prevent procreation. Up to the present time no sterilization laws have been passed that apply to any except those who are in institutions, where sterilization is not needed. Segregation is a practical impossibility, when we attempt to apply it to all of the high grade and borderline cases, who are really the most dangerous. It is estimated that there are 30,000 feeble-minded persons in New York state. This would mean 30 institutions containing 1,000 each. We need an immense amount of research on the subject of sterilization and its consequences, the most practical method and its value as a solution of the problem. Of the one-third where the condition is not hereditary, we know only a little as to cause. We do know that meningitis can and does cause feeble-mindedness. We know too that it does not always cause feeble-mindedness. We need careful studies of this matter from the standpoint of the student of defectiveness to determine what are the conditions under which the child escapes the consequences of the disease. It is quite possible that something can be learned here which would save this group from becoming feeble-minded.

There is a type of defective common among good families known as the mongolian. The cause of this condition is unknown, beyond the fact that it is apparently something which acts during uterine life, from shock to the mother or peculiar metabolic conditions during that period which results in an incompletely developed child. It is not impossible that careful and thorough studies of the physiology of the mother might enable us to discover the condition which causes her to bear a child of the mongol type and so prevent it. The same is true of scarlet fever and measles and other supposed causes of feeble-mindedness. Whether these latter are causal no one knows. Investigations could be carried on that would settle the problem.

I have said that we now know that the condition is heredi-

tary in two-thirds of the cases. We need, next, to answer the question, How is it transmitted? If it is transmitted in accordance with the Mendelian formula, and there are some indications that this is true, then we have opened up to us a large number of problems. According to this law a person may be normal and yet capable of transmitting feeble-mindedness. We say normal; that is, to all outward appearances or according to our present methods of testing. And yet it not only seems reasonable, but one can hardly escape the conviction, that of two persons, one of whom could never transmit feeble-mindedness under any condition and another who could transmit it if mated with the right kind of person, there must be a difference. Sufficiently careful, minute, intricate, delicate tests or examination ought to reveal that difference. The difference is indicated on the theoretical side by calling the man or woman who would never transmit the defect a *duplex normal* person, while the one who can transmit it is simplex, that is to say, he has inherited his normality from one parent only and not from the two. In the animal world, experiment has shown that in one case, at least it is possible to detect the simplex as distinguished from the duplex. In a certain breed of fowl, if a brown bird is mated with a pure white all of the off-spring are white, although some of them are duplex while others are simplex. A careful examination shows that the simplex bird always has one or two brown feathers somewhere on the body which indicates the simplex character of the bird. These are known technically as ticks. It is not impossible that these simplex normal human beings have "ticks" and we might be able to recognize them. We may not perhaps look for them in any physical malformation or in mental peculiarities that would be recognized by our present methods. On the other hand, more extended and careful study with more delicate methods may reveal the ticks. Everyone recognizes that there are peculiar individuals, who, while normal in intelligence and capable of living reasonably normal lives, yet have peculiarities that lead, if not into disgrace, at least into unwise conduct and conduct that is antisocial. They have about them what is sometimes spoken of as a "yellow streak." May not this yellow streak be the tick that we are looking for? Nothing but careful and accurate and painstaking investigations of large numbers of people can ever answer this question.

About the year 1775, Martin Kallikak, a young man of good family, tracing his ancestry back to the colonial period with a history of which he was justly proud, cohabitated out of wedlock with a feeble-minded girl. The child born was feeble

minded. According to the Mendelian law, this would not have happened had Martin Kallikak been a duplex normal person. He must have been a simplex. May not the moral condition and character which allowed him to commit this immoral act have been the tick that indicated his simplex character? Careful studies into this problem along these lines would certainly answer the question.

Research into the nature and causes of feeble-mindedness, with the resultant possibility of preventing it, may involve according to our view an elaborate program. As already implied it involves the study, not only of one generation, but of as many as possible. Not only the child but his parents and, if possible, the grandparents must be studied. The program includes a study both of the living and of the dead; that is to say, everything that can be investigated during the life of the child must be studied and, after his death, an elaborate study of his organism must be made to determine what organs or parts of organs were normal and what were abnormal. For the sake of clearness, let us be more specific. Of the living child we must study both mind and body. The former involves the application of all of the psychological methods now known and others that may be discovered or invented; his mind as it manifesfs itself in its natural condition, in its ability to develop or be trained or be taught; also as it manifests itself under experimental conditions. We must know his instincts, the relative strength of each, his sensitivity in all of the different senses, the condition of his memory, his powers of association, his ability to make abstractions and generalizations, the direction in which his will is strong as well as where it is weak, his power of adaptation and his normal usual and unusual reactions to various stimuli.

Of his body, we must study all the organs that are supposed to be most intimately connected with mind, but not these alone. There is no organ or tissue so insignificant or apparently so remote from mind that we can afford to slight it. In all this vast program our present ignorance is profound. We cannot say, for instance, that there is not a condition of the blood itself which is the cause of feeble-mindedness. One would indeed say that it is highly improbable that such is the case. But probabilities and improbabilities are not scientfic facts. We should *know*, and not until we are able to eliminate a large proportion of the thousands of possibilities are we in a condition to get down to the real causes and a real understanding of our problem.

We must, then, study the blood, the blood pressure, the proportion of leukocytes, of lymphocytes, of polymorphic cells, and the ingredients of the blood. We must study the spinal fluid, its production and flow and absorption. We must study the brain, not only its growth, its anatomy and its miscroscopic structure, but we must study it also by chemical methods. We must study the internal organs. We know that there are cases in which we find small or infantile heart, stomach, ovaries, kidneys, liver, spleen, and so on through the whole list. How frequently do these conditions occur and what is their relation to the whole organism and to the condition of feeble-mindedness? We must study these organs by every known means in life. We must use, for example, the now highly perfected method of the X-ray which easily shows brain tumors, thickened or injured skull, the condition of stomach, of bones, and other organs—all of utmost importance to a complete understanding of the feeble-minded. We must study these organs also in life, through their functioning; that is to say, the physiology or metabolism of the person. This we can do by weighing and measuring what they eat, and weighing, measuring and analysing the excretions. Knowing the normal condition of these individuals, we can then vary the diet and note the effect upon the different excreta, thus determining what organs are functioning normally and which ones are not.

All of this work involves the establishment of *norms;* that is to say, we must get a standard of performance of normal people in these various lines, and that means not only an average but the *limit of variation.* Let me illustrate by an example. A healthy normal adult may eat a certain amount of sugar without the appearance of sugar in the urine; but if he goes beyond a certain amount, there will be sugar in the urine, even though he is perfectly healthy. If sugar appears in the urine when a person has taken only so much as one normally gets in his foods, it indicates disease—some form of diabetes. The point at which the amount of sugar becomes greater than the person can digest without it showing in the urine is spoken of as his limit of tolerance for sugar. Now we need to know what is the average for healthy normal adults and for healthy normal children of the various ages; and we also need to know what is the individual variation, so that, when we examine a defective child, we can know whether he is outside of the average but still within the possibilities of individual variation, or whether he is outside the known limit for all normal persons. Preliminary studies have already shown that certain types of the feeble-minded have a very high sugar tolerance. Similarly studies have

shown that the excretion of calcium, phosphoric acid, nitrogen and various other compounds is abnormal among defectives. How *far* from the normal, is a question yet to be determined, as is also the question of the relation of this to the feeble-minded condition, whether it is cause or effect, or merely a symptom.

Time forbids me to go further in the enumeration and illustration of these points. The patient pursuit of these problems would give us a body of information which would enable us to act intelligently in the prevention of feeble-mindedness. This work should be carried on very generally, in a great many different places, on many different groups and by many different investigators. There is no danger of duplicating results. Different investigators may work on the same problem and each will check up the other. We must care for the feeble-minded, but for every dollar we spend in taking care of them we should spend another dollar in studying the condition.

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FIELD WORK AN INDISPENSABLE AID TO STATE CARE OF THE SOCIALLY INADEQUATE*

Charles B. Davenport, Ph. D., Resident Director, Eugenics Record Office, Cold Spring Harbor, N. Y.

There was once a man who discovered in his fields a vine on which were some large, ripe fruit. He tested one of them and found it a bitter, acrid gourd and absolutely inedible. He said to himself, "This is most unfortunate! Here is a vine occupying a large place in the field: a good, healthy, vigorous vine. It is a pity that the fruit is so bad; I must fix this." So he stretched an awning over the remaining gourds; manured the ground carefully, protected the plant from all competition with other plants and smiled complacently as he said to himself, "This ought certainly to make a sweet, toothsome fruit." This man was a trustee of an insane asylum. Nobody else, I feel sure, would spend so much time in trying to improve the characteristics of an organism without knowing anything at all about its origin and hereditary potentialities. He was a cousin of a trustee of a state hospital, who once said to me: "We have no time and money for all these frills of eugenical field work; our business is to make sick folks well!"

Now, I have said it before, and I shall probably say it many times in the future, that different men are just as fundamentally

*Section meeting Saturday, May 15, 9:15 A. M.

unlike in their hereditary constitution as different melons and gourds. There are more distinct varieties or species of men than there are of dogs and it is no more foolish to try to train a dog to catch rats without knowing if he has terrier blood, or to try to grow a tree in a dry sandbank without knowing whether it is a black oak or a witchhazel, than it is to try to cure a person whose conduct is abnormal without knowing the nature of the person.

Oh, but I hear my trustee friend exclaim: "We spend a great deal of time in trying to find out just what is the matter with the patient; we have one physician who spends his entire time in classifying the patients." Now, I know that this matter of classification is very interesting—I was an entomologist myself once; but is it not desirable to have in addition to the officer who determines *what* is the patient, another who shall determine *why* is the patient? "Oh, but you do us an injustice," says my trustee friend, "we always try to find out why the patient is ill. We take Wasserman tests of all and lumbar punctures of many. We always inquire as to use of alcohol and have some tests for alcoholization. We ask if the patient has had any love affairs, or lost relatives or money, or masturbated or smoked cigarettes or failed of promotion at school, or fallen down stairs when he was a baby, or been slapped in the face by a girl school-mate—Oh, we get at *causes*, all right!"

How blind we are! Is it not perfectly plain that a man may have syphilis, have drunk alcohol, have had numerous disappointments in love, lost his parents and fortune, masturbated, smoked many cigarettes a day, failed of promotion in school, as a baby fallen down every set of stairs in the house—and still be a highly effective citizen? The things that we think of as causes are as truly causes as the touching of an electric key is the cause of the explosion of the mine. No! the particular disordered mind is the specific reaction of the weak constitution of the patient to the temporary stress that was laid upon it. It was not merely the last straw that broke the camel's back, but this straw added to all the other straws and to an inherent weakness in the intervertebral ligaments of the camel.

"But," says our trustee, "we do get family history. Our admission schedule definitely calls for this information." Some time I hope to write a book on the psychology of the reply made by the mother of an insane, feeble-minded, or epileptic patient as she is interrogated by the official at the reception desk as to mental defect in the applicant's family. Query: "What other members of your family are insane, feeble-minded, or epileptic?" Answer, "None." Write it down, no insanity in the family.

History quite clear of mental weakness or defect. Important information gained with little trouble and expense. One is reminded of John Phoenix's survey of a base line along Kearny Street, San Francisco. The chief of the survey found to his dismay when the chainmen reached the farther end of the street that they had merely dragged the chain behind them. So he inquired of a cab driver how far it was to the other end of the street and was informed that it was half a mile which, he says, "I accordingly noted down . . . very much pleased at so easily obtaining so much valuable information." Now, so long as we accept the theory that all men are born equal and, therefore, differences must be due solely to accidents of development or later life, inquiries concerning heredity are as useless as the replies; but when we have once thoroughly grasped the fact that most insane are insane because they belong to one or more races that carry the elements that make for disturbed mood or presenile deterioration, then it becomes of the first order of importance to learn just what hereditary elements are involved. Before diagnosis, even before treatment, the first and foremost requirement for an understanding of the case is a knowledge of the constitution. And as for prognosis, what is usually a pure gamble becomes in the light of family history almost a certainty. The prognostician who knows the family history of his patient is using marked cards in his game. Now, experience has shown that there is only one way to get a satisfactory family history of a stranger and that is to go, or secure a trained assistant to go, to the various members of the family and with tact and patience and time secure the necessary facts. At the home, to a tactful and gracious field worker, the true facts of family history are readily divulged. The trained field worker also secures a fuller account of the developmental history of the patient and learns the general conditions of development and of the specific stresses to which the patient was subjected. Incidentally, the parents or other relatives of the patient are pleased to think that the hospital or school takes such an interest in the patient as to send a visitor to the home.

But perhaps the most important and indispensable service that the field worker performs is still to be mentioned. In the scientific study of those who arrive at the state hospital or training school we apply certain tests; we grade their physical condition, we measure their degree of intellectual development and we do well. But there is one part of their make-up which is of primary importance for society which we cannot at present properly measure at the institution, and that is the emotional control that the person has; especially his reactions to

the stimuli which rain in on him in the real, tumultuous world of affairs outside the institution's walls—his capacity for reacting according to the *mores*—his *morality*. From the very nature of the case this cannot be adequately measured anywhere else but in that world. The best measure is the past reaction to situations that arose in the patient's world before he or she came to the institution. This history, so important for understanding the emotional make-up of the patient, can only be properly secured by paying a visit to the patient's home and learning of the patient's behavior at home, in the neighborhood, at school, in business. The practice of post-hospital observation of those who have been discharged is now widespread; is it not equally or more important to make pre-hospital studies? To get from several independent sources the true history of the patient's early reactions? It is, indeed, necessary to get concordant testimony on important points from at least two independent witnesses.

I urge, then, the importance of field work for state and private institutions, to learn the facts of family and developmental history and to learn the facts of the reactions, or behavior, of the patient in his natural habitat. For five years now the Eugenics Record Office at Cold Spring Harbor has been furthering this work by offering to pay the salary of a field worker for one year if an institution will maintain the field worker and pay the traveling expenses upon trips to which the field worker is assigned by the hospital. Of the 28 or 30 superintendents who have used such field workers practically all have spoken well of the results and in nearly half of the institutions the field worker was taken over by the institution at the close of the year's contract with the Eugenics Record Office. Thus field work is coming to be recognized as an indispensable, irreplaceable function of the institutions for those who require special care.

THE FEEBLE-MINDED AS SUBJECTS OF RESEARCH IN EFFICIENCY*

E. E. Southard, M. D., Director of the Psychopathic Hospital, Boston

It is said of my old teacher, Professor Royce, that he is able to give a more or less well rounded account of his philosophy in a word, a phrase, a sentence, a paragraph, a chapter, a book, or a series of books. The topic of feeble-mindedness is almost equally elastic. I have but one note to strike in this company,

*Being Contributions No. 120 (1915.23) of the State Board of Insanity.

namely, the note of research. It is really due to my colleague, Dr. Fernald, that I am here at all, being a psychiatrist of laboratory training.

Psychiatry has neglected feeble-mindedness, although the feeble-minded, under the laws of many states, are admitted to be *non compos mentis,* and in certain legal senses insane. Just why psychiatry has neglected feeble-mindedness, it is difficult to say; but one good reason is that laboratory work has been neglected both by the pathologists and by the psychiatrists who apply the principles of pathology. Very little has been done since the work of Hammarberg, twenty years ago, upon the systematic study of brains of the feeble-minded, as correlated with their functions. The Waverley researches in the anatomy of feeble-mindedness, now in progress, are an endeavor to fill the gap of recent years. The gap is not merely an American gap—the world at large has neglected this topic. Anatomical material seems to be scarce and hard to collect, except for the enthusiast. Enthusiasts in the field of feeble-mindedness have naturally been far more interested in the immediately practical concerns of the teachableness of the individual and of the preventableness of his disease, as indicated by eugenic and environmental studies. Of course the psychologists have entered the field, but they have been occupied in fitting the curves of normal psychology to the feeble-minded. They have found that the current has been in the reverse direction. My plea today is that a current of new ideas must eventually begin to flow from feeble-mindedness toward psychiatric and psychopathological and even general psychological theory. It is with the greatest pleasure that I perceive that in the National Conference, the mother of advanced social movements, the note of research is to be struck,—nay, that it is, as Dr. Fernald tells me, the psychological moment to strike such a note.

I suppose that most of us here present feel that feeble-mindedness is one of the saddest features of the world. The interest of us all must primarily be a humanitarian interest. What shall we do for the feeble-minded, and what shall we do to protect society from them? Coldly speaking, it becomes a question with us, what to do with these waste materials. Now the modern doctrine of efficiency in economics and other divisions of practical service is to make use of all such waste materials. I am told that we make car wheels from the refuse of cheese factories and that all the great firms are putting research men to work on the disposal of their by-products. Let us, then, look upon the feeble-minded as in some sense by-products of society. Let us in addition to our humanitarian and more grossly

economic motives add the motive of research in efficiency. You are aware how theoretically and practically important have been the conclusions of Dr. Maria Montessori and how her work derives its inspiration from the work of Seguin upon the feeble-minded. It is not necessary to agree with all of the conclusions and proposed methods of Montessori to see that in any event her kind of contention is of the greatest educational importance. It is easy to see that from a study of feeble-mindedness has proceeded an important educational theory; in this room are a number of persons who have contributed to the basis of such theory in a practical way by carrying the school training of the feeble-minded to a pitch of perfection. I often feel in speaking with Dr. Fernald that it is barely possible he could add a number of important points to such a theory as that of Montessori and to other theories of education which are based upon physiology and psychology. The specialist in feeble-mindedness has in fact much more to bring to educational theory at the present moment than have the psychiatrists in the narrower sense. The laboratory man by training—such a person, for example, as myself—sees in the feeble-minded one of the best fields of research in efficiency psychology.

Efficiency psychology has considered in the past such matters as vocational guidance, improvements in the railway and ship service, the very interesting field of the telephone worker, factory efficiency and scientific management. I have only to mention the names of Mr. F. W. Taylor and Mr. Gilbreth to remind you how near home are many of the developments in efficiency psychology. The United States is a region in which enthusiasm is readily excited for improvements in efficiency. The pedagogical problems of the principles of improvement in learning, the principles of transference of methods from teacher to pupil, the effects of heredity, the effects of instinct and habit, the utilization of the memory, the highly important field of the attention, the intricate topic of fatigue (to which a number of books have been of late devoted), and the whole subject of individual differences, form fields in which it is obvious that the feeble-minded may serve as subjects. In some of the higher grades of feeble-mindedness, questions of emotion, of the psychology of confession, suggestibility and so on, can effectively be studied, but a glance at such works as that of Thorndike and Pyle on *Educational Psychology* and of Bagley on the *Educative Process* or a glance into such works as Münsterberg's *Psychology in Industry and Efficiency* will show that the facts of feeble-mindedness have been far too little drawn upon.

My point is in brief this: The feeble-minded are now observed intensively and taught intensively to work to the utmost of their capacity in all the best schools for the feeble-minded throughout the country. Public opinion is such that no institution for the feeble-minded ever thrives unless it is termed a *school,* and this appellation naturally leads to an endeavor to make an institution which might be custodial into a truly pedagogical institution. Parenthetically, I might say that as a psychiatrist, interested in the insane and psychopathy in general, I much regret that there are not schools for the insane and psychopaths also. Of course you are aware of the utilities of industrial colonies to this end and of industrial departments of the great state hospitals, but in the past perhaps too much emphasis has been laid upon the economic value of work done in these colonies and departments rather than upon the pedagogical and therapeutic value of such work. Upon recent inquiry, I found, for example, that really no scientific enumeration and characterization of the *workers* in our state institutions for the insane had been undertaken, although some endeavor is being made in this direction at the present time, at the Gardner Colony in Massachusetts.

To return to the topic of feeble-mindedness; it is clear that practical conditions are entirely right for a psychological study of efficiency and of work in general. Now the interest of the anatomist, whether he has a pathological interest or embryological interest in this state of affairs, is fleeting.

Unfortunately for a development of the theory of how the brain works efficiently and how its product may be increased, the insane, whose brains are being examined in considerable numbers year by year, offer certain obstacles. For a variety of reasons the insane are not using the apparatus which they possess to the utmost. Not only does their disease interfere with the operation of the still unharmed parts of their apparatus, but also they are not being trained intensively after the fashion of the feeble-minded. Accordingly no one knows just how far a given chronic case of mental disease might be led to go by methods of a proper *Pedagogium.* At least no one knows this in a great number of cases and no one has called attention to the importance of anatomical work in this field. We have been trying to find a basis of disease in our anatomical and histological work and we have not interested ourselves so much in the grosser aspects of the brain and the correlation of its various parts to various normal activities; the relation of the size of the association areas to the rest of the brain is entirely neglected, to give but one instance of our modern neglect of this problem.

Now in the case of the feeble-minded, we have neural machines which are for congenital or early acquired reasons, subject to loss of parts, either as in rare instances a generalized loss throughout or, as is more commonly the case, a partial, irregular, as it were, serrated loss of parts. Of course all grades of loss of neural machinery exist in the feeble-minded. Meantime, these machines are being utilized to the utmost of our present knowledge. Accordingly we have the minimum machine working at the maximum capacity. We are not so much interfered with by the social and individual concerns of the normal human being or the particular obstacles or obscurations that the insane or epileptic person is subject to. As soon as we envisage this fact it seems to me we come upon a vista of great depth. Schools for feeble-mindedness are experiment stations for study of mental efficiency. Industrial colonies for the insane are being developed which will help in this matter and eventually we may find pedagogia for the insane which will yield still more particular insight into our cases; but, on account of the excess machinery which we shall probably always find in the majority of cases of sane and insane persons, we shall find that schools for feeble-mindedness will remain the great experiment stations for work in efficiency.

As an anatomist I wish to call your attention then to one point, namely, that by a study of the minimum neural machinery of feeble-mindedness, we may discover something important about the nature of efficiency and about the nature of *work* at large. This, then, is all I need say upon the topic of feeble-mindedness as a subject for research in efficiency.

I wish to thank Dr. Fernald for the opportunity he has given me, a somewhat anatomical and visionary person, to make a research point in such a company. I am sure that the National Conference, whether or not I make my own point clearly, is now aware of its great task of forwarding social research in general. It should not neglect psychological science in the process, and, above all, it should not fail to remember that back of psychology and psychopathology, there is a considerable field of novelty in brain anatomy itself.

AVAILABLE FIELDS FOR RESEARCH AND PREVENTION IN MENTAL DEFECT

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The gravity of the problem of mental deficiency has always been recognized; but only lately has there been any well-grounded hope that it might ever be partially, if not entirely, eliminated from society. Today, at least, many people are awake to the realization of the public responsibility for the public provision for, and public prevention of feeble-mindedness. But nowhere has there yet been a strong, vigorous enough campaign to ensure the assumption of this public responsibility. To be sure, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Delaware, New York and recently Utah and Arizona have had Commissions appointed to inquire into the matter. The results of these investigations have been unanimous in finding no adequate program for the detention and protection of those unfortunate members of society who fall so far short of the line of normal mentality as to be an inherent social menace.

Conditions found by the New York Commission are typical, and I quote these figures here merely as illustrative of the situation all over the country. In our recent state census of the feeble-minded, there were found 6,075 in state and city institutions, and 1,565 more being given the more haphazard, irregular care of county almshouses. Besides these there were found 19,698 cases definitely diagnosed as defective, at liberty in the community. And these 19,000 represent but a small percentage of those mentally deficient who are left without public restraint or even public recognition. It is from this group that vice, crime and degeneracy draw such a large number of recruits; it is among this group that there flourishes the real peril to the mental and moral stamina of our nation.

These facts have long been known, but their determination has as yet brought about but little improvement. Patients receiving institutional care are everywhere but a small portion of those who stand in urgent need of it for the sake of their own happiness and the safety of the community. And even those who have been committed, are there because of some serious crisis that has already occurred in their own lives, or because of the dire poverty of their guardians. There is no scientific method of selection used, and the motive for segregation seems rather to be the ridding the community of an individual than the sympathetic elimination of the nuisance, itself. The

few attempts, notably in Massachusetts, Ohio and Washington, to detect and provide for the feeble-minded on a basis of scientific diagnosis, have been significant as experiments, but can in no way be regarded as leading to any complete solution of the problem.

One reason why this matter has never been taken up on a comprehensive scale by our legislatures, is because it has never been conceived in an adequate fashion by our scientists and social experts. This lack of adequate conception is due to the failure to regard the whole question of mental defect as a great field for experiment and as a great laboratory in which may be analyzed the causes of social inferiority. We must give imagination full rein; and give the broadest scope to the dogged, persistent spirit of scientific research. Our ultimate goal must be the adequate and sympathetic provision for the care of all the feeble-minded and the discovery of, and protection against all the etiological factors causing feeble-mindedness. Only by working on in the faith that that goal will yet be achieved, can we really come before the public and ask their support in our effort to conserve the mental virility and moral integrity of the race.

Every branch of social endeavor that in any way comes in contact with the mentally defective is an available field for research and prevention in mental defect. Not only is this so because of the incompleteness of each of these branches, but also because of the incoherence and nonco-ordination of them all. It will be my hope in this paper to indicate what these fields of research are and, further, how they must all be combined into one great comprehensive plan of work that will make for efficiency and success.

At present the first net spread for the detection of the feeble-minded child is the public school. Here—at least in our large cities, the suspiciously dull child is supposed to be given a thorough mental examination and, if found defective, is placed in a special ungraded class. Here an attempt is made, though very largely limited by poor financial support and vocational facilities, to give him that manual skill and technical training that will fit him for community life. As a matter of fact the majority of these special-class pupils leave school as soon as the law permits, totally unprepared to become peaceful and useful citizens. They swell the number of the criminals and ne'er-do-wells, the inebriates and paupers. Only too often they live on—a financial burden and a social menace to the community which tried to educate them. There can be little doubt that the training now given in the special classes is superior

to that which could be given the feeble-minded in the ordinary grades; but, on the other hand, no one can affirm that it in any way measures up to the responsibilities it has undertaken. As in the institutions, the children that are given the mental examination are selected mainly because they have proved troublesome to the teacher, or exercise an immoral influence over the other pupils. There is no adequate machinery for diagnosing the mental status of all children who show defective tendencies, or for the correct classification and resultant care of those found actually to be defective. Thus we know that in New York City there are ungraded classes with pupils ranging from hopeless idiocy to the state of slight mental retardation. In one room the Commission found a child but one year below the Binet scale normal, and another who fell ten years behind that standard. Yet there is no method—in practice, at least, of giving these children the special and individual attention for which their condition calls. So tremendous is this problem in the educational system of our large cities that the mental examination can be little other than the application of a few over-codified tests, without any comprehensive prognosis for medical treatment or social supervision. Perhaps it succeeds in rating the retardation of these subnormal pupils, but it does not in the least reveal, or even indicate, the cause for that retardation. Nor can it accurately differentiate the child whose retardation simulates mental deficiency from the actually feeble-minded.

And still, this special ungraded class system does protect many defective children five hours a day, five days a week, forty weeks a year and eleven years of their lives. This, although very expensive, is doubtless a true economy to the state in the long run. But it is only a small part of the necessary training of the subnormal. For, during the stressful periods of adolescence and early manhood, or womanhood, these defective children are left almost entirely to their own resources and to the supervision only of their well-intentioned but ignorant parents and associates. The result of this neglect can be seen everywhere in our courts, prisons and charitable institutions.

The low grade types of defectives are, of course, easily recognized and some are segregated in custodial asylums. Here, again, an effort is made to give an industrial training that will make the inmates useful and contented citizens of these limited communities. Most of our institutions are beautifully situated in the country, and with the development of the farm-colony plan, much is being done to make the patients self-supporting and industrious. Yet, in all our states, these colonies reach

but a handful; the rest roam at large, continually getting into trouble. Our almshouses are forced to give temporary shelter to the feeble-minded pregnant woman who is, naturally, unmoral. Our reformatories are filled with many who can in no way be held responsible for the derelictions that brought them there, nor be in the least benefited by the treatment there received. Our prisons are crowded with repeated offenders against the law who have not the mental stamina to resist the temptations that everywhere beset them.

Many of our institutions and courts are commencing to give mental examinations to these prisoners. But even the most careful diagnosis is of little use, since we have not provided any place for the permanent segregation for the defective delinquents. Meanwhile the tragic farce of trial, imprisonment, and discharge goes on without abatement and the net result can be only the further degeneration of those who are mentally helpless before the degeneracy to which a neglectful community has left them. Let me cite an instance here of the fallacy of our present system of so-called care.

Girls arraigned in New York for prostitution are sent to the reformatories at Hudson and Bedford. Under a law only recently enforced, the boards of managers of these institutions are enjoined from receiving as inmates those who are mentally incapable of benefiting from the discipline and training there given. Feeble-minded girls must be returned to the sheriff of the county from which commitment took place, and he has no alternative than to return them to the life of the streets. And so the weary round goes on. The enforcement of this law negatives the serious work attempted by the Rockefeller Foundation at Bedford and practically sets back any attempt to study these cases from either the personal or the casual point of view. Of course, the intent of the law is to enforce the state to care for this class of defective delinquents in special colonies. But there seems little prospect of securing such colonies in the near future, and even when secured, but little hope that they will do more than provide for the segregation of another handful of those in need of custodial care.

For, even in the present institutions, there is no serious study possible of individual cases or of fundamental causes. In only one asylum in New York state is there even a pretence of any research work, and here the effort is largely negatived by the lack of adequate financial support for a competent staff or a complete laboratory equipment. Surely public institutions specially designed for the care of the mentally defective form the most available field for study into the etiology of mental de-

ficiency. They should be attractive for the highest type of medical, psychological, and social research student. All modern experimental appliances should be available and no expense should be considered too great in the achievement of success. The result of such research may be of the greatest economic benefit to the state, as well as of inestimable social value to the people.

Heretofore we have been satisfied with noting those in the community who are seriously retarded in mental development, and of tracing the relationship between that condition and its social symptoms, such as crime, vice, and dependency. We are just now beginning the far more important task of inquiring into the causes for such retardation and the possibility of its ultimate eradication. Nor is this just a matter of perfecting any system of mental examination or of developing any scheme of supervisory care. The solution of the problem of feeble-mindedness has been delayed many years in this country, by the bitter bickering and petty partisanship between the supporters of various theories of treatment. Important as details are, they must always be kept subordinate to the greater problem of research and prevention. If we be sincere at all in our desire to serve the community, we must overcome all lines of partisan prejudice, and unite in a determined and comprehensive attack on the etiological and social factors which cause the suffering. All our energy must be directed, all our machinery must be designed for this co-ordinated effort. Schools, clearing houses, institutions, and probationary colonies are all a necessary part of social protection and must join hands in the great task of social inquiry. Teachers, social workers and physicians must all work side by side in the great field of social prevention. There is every reason to feel hopeful that we may go far in our search for a solution of this problem if only we will work honestly and distinterestedly.

To make success more feasible, I have long agitated the establishment of state psychopathic clinics where all cases suspected of mental defect might be observed, diagnosed and permanently registered. Such clinics would be the focus point for original research on which would be trained all the energy of those most vitally interested in the elimination of mental deficiency. Cases of doubtful mentality would be referred to these clinics from all social agencies, public and private, that come into contact in any way with the community. There would be no need to wait until a retarded child was of school age for a thorough examination. Through an arrangement, preferably enforceable by statute, all physicians and nurses would be forced

to register for examination all children who in their earliest years showed signs of marked developmental retardation. Very often infants will show symptoms of a condition that but simulates feeble-mindedness and can be cured or at least mitigated if given the proper attention at the right time. Thus it is to be seen that some may be saved who otherwise would be condemned to the life of a mental defective. Very often, also, they will be readily recognized as incurably defective, and of such a low grade of mentality as to be utterly unadaptable to community life. These wholly-uneducables would at once be segregated, thus saving the enormous loss of energy and money now consumed in extravagant and fruitless efforts to provide for them in the pubic schools.

The creation of such clinics would permit of a continued observation of, and supervision over high grade cases that might, with proper care, be made socially useful in the community. Such supervision and observation should continue, in so far as practicable, throughout life; but, on the other hand, it should be of so sympathetic and informal a nature as never to hamper or embarrass the patient who is being given his "test of liberty." The permanent registration, possibly only in such a state institution, would be of invaluable assistance to the judicial and charitable officials in dealing with offenders against the law. For the first time we would have the machinery available for the comprehensive study and supervision of all the feeble-minded in the state. It would make possible many of the steps in research and prevention that are today out of the question. It would provide a system for the adequate mental diagnosis and social prognosis of all cases that must in one way or another become social responsibilities.

This last function would alone justify the existence of such state clearing houses, for it has heretofore been the one great missing link in our attack on the whole general problem. But, with the establishment of such clinics, the development of special classes and special institutions for the training and care of the mentally defective becomes an intelligent proposition. And with the supervision of such clinics in the hands of one centralized state board, on which there would be representatives of all the various professions interested, to control the whole system of diagnosis, treatment, training and after-care, as well as the supervision and co-ordination of the experimental work to be done at the various institutions, we could, for the first time, be of real service to the individual and to the community.

A modern attempt to do just this was begun three years ago in the establishment of the New York Clearing House for Men-

tal Defectives. Through the kindness of the board of trustees of the Post Graduate Medical School and Hospital, we were given the free use of clinic rooms and office facilities. With the co-operation of Hon. Michael J. Drummond, then Commissioner of Charities, we were given the official recognition of and partial support from the city. The doctors in charge of the Clearing House also served on a special board at Randall's Island, thus giving opportunity for continued observation and treatment of a patient. While greatly hampered by lack of support and of a sympathetic understanding of our motives, the Clearing House has justified its existence by having examined and recommended treatment for over 7,000 patients in the last three years. But, of course, such work can be really effective only if it is given that official recognition and generous support which it is most likely to obtain as a state institution.

Equally important, if not more fundamental to the whole problem than this question of perfecting the social mechanism, is a sound method of inquiry into its causative factors.

Etiologically, feeble-mindedness can be divided into three main types. These can, to be sure, be re-divided into many subordinate groups, the discussion of which would carry me far beyond the scope of this paper. In general we find, then:

1. *The formative type,* wherein the cell development of the nervous system has been disturbed.

2. *The traumatic type,* wherein the brain tissue after development, has been destroyed.

3. *The Functional type,* wherein the cell development may have been normal, but the cells are unable to respond normally to stimulation because of a disturbance of their metabolism.

In the present status of medical science the first two types seem absolutely hopeless, and our effort must be one of prevention, rather than of treatment. But of the last, or functional type, we have at least enough sure knowledge to make us see in what way the truth will come, and along what lines the remedial methods will reveal themselves. Let me reduce here to simplest terms the theory of functional activity, which has already proven its value in the cases of Cretinism, and which holds out so much promise for the ultimate eradication of many other functional types of defect. The nerve cells depend for their developmental and their functional activities upon the chemical substances which nurture them. These chemical elements are to a certain extent selective in their effect upon the cells. Moreover, the strength of the reaction of any particular cell to an afferent sensation depends upon stability of its protoplasm, which, in turn, is regulated by these special chemical

elements known as hormons, which are glandular secretions. Thus, as in the case of Cretinism, the disturbance of the secretion of the thyroid gland dwarfs both the developmental and the functional activities of the brain cells. This dwarfing can be greatly mitigated, if not entirely eliminated, by the external supplying of thyroid extract in just the right amount necessary to make the metabolism of the nerve cells normal.

Increased study of other types of feeble-mindedness will reveal further the relationship between the development of the nerve cells and the production in the body of various other internal secretions, the nature of which are still a mystery to science. Moreover, deeper research will make clear the effect of a poison, or of a metabolic disturbance within the body of a pregnant woman, upon the cellular development of the foetus, and thus, perhaps, indicate the cause of many of the cases of feeble-mindedness which today we know to be hopeless, and attribute to the vaguest of explanations—heredity. Scientific inquiry will yet make clear the casual relationship between the degeneracy of one generation and the mental deficiency of the succeeding generation. And this casual relationship will be found to be a much closer one than is defined by our present loosely drawn conception of hereditary transmission. But we must be willing to follow to its logical conclusion our faith that feeble-mindedness, like every other abnormal condition, is unnecessary and, therefore, possible of elimination.

The available fields of research and prevention of mental deficiency are, then, all social agencies within the community that are dealing in any way with the mental defectives. To carry out effectively a state-wide campaign for state control, we must develop a centralized system of diagnostic clinics where the mental status of all suspected cases of mental defect can be scientifically determined and registered. We must, further, provide enough well equipped schools and asylums for the treatment and training recommended as a result of that diagnosis. And, lastly, we must establish completely equipped laboratories at these institutions where the pathological findings can be correlated with the clinical symptoms. With clinics, schools, institutions and laboratories, fully equipped and co-ordinated under centralized state control, we will at last be enabled to begin the work of prevention and research.

The problem itself is the most serious facing the country today. Every state in the Union is realizing the gravity of the peril and is awakening to the need for action. A sound program of provision and prophylaxis must be adopted by the various groups of authorities throughout the nations, and a national campaign

must be at once undertaken, that will rise far above any questions of personal ambition or contentious rivalry.

The successful control of amentia is the most imperative of public duties. Only by attempting our task in the broadest and sincerest of spirits can we hope for genuine success. We must at once begin, and work on and on, in faith made strong through experience and with hope stimulated by knowledge.

METHODS OF PREVENTING FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS

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The aim of this paper is practical and the prevention of feeble-mindedness, here discussed, relates to social measures which may be enacted at once, apparently without objection to them, by federal, state, and county authorities.

Comments will be made on some of the measures mentioned in the course of this paper, to give to it balance and perspective, rather than to furnish new information. Every man who is interested in his work is more or less imbued with a sense of the importance of his own particular field and for this reason the writer, whose labors have been among the feeble-minded at large in the community, rather than among the feeble-minded in institutions, has conceived the opinion, mistakenly or not, that the most important lever in attacking the co-called feeble-minded problem is the official registration and the permanent probation of the feeble-minded who are at large.

We wish to be clear about this at the outset, to the end that critical attention may be directed toward these particular measures when they are discussed later on in this paper.

Feeble-mindedness is a biological, a medical, a psychological, an educational, a sociological and eugenical problem. For this reason many measures, from different angles, may be advocated to combat the condition. At the present time no one measure is acknowledged as a sovereign measure and therefore twelve measures for the prevention of feeble-mindedness, more or less efficacious, are briefly discussed seriatum:

1. The exclusion of feeble-minded persons who are prospective immigrants.

2. The deportation of feeble-minded aliens now in the United States.

3. The fixing by common consent of the lowest grade of intelligence which can be called normal, and the fixing of a corresponding lowest grade of intelligence which can be termed border-line or anything else than feeble-minded.

4. The establishment of the principle of permanent segregation in the care of the feeble-minded by the state.

5. The provision by the state of more institutions, and further provision for the separation of the high grade feeble-minded from the middle and low grade.

6. The adoption of a program of state care which will be much less expensive per capita than the present one.

7. The provision of legal machinery which will register the feeble-minded at large in the community.

8. The provision of legal machinery which will efficiently segregate those feeble-minded at large who exhibit either dependency or delinquency.

9. The education of our judges, district attorneys and legislators to an appreciation that social prevention is better than social correction—an appreciation obtained by the absorption of the principles of sociology, including the subject now under discussion.

10. The sterilization of the feeble-minded.

11. The prohibition of marriage of the feeble-minded.

12. The combating of gradual degeneracy by measures designed to gradually raise the human stock.

I.

The exclusion of prospective immigrants who are feeble-minded is at the present time more or less of a failure for the simple reason that the great mass of our immigrants come from southeastern Europe, mentally retarded in the great majority of cases by past poverty, provincial life and lack of education, and speaking Yiddish, Italian, Russian, Polish and Lithuanian.

The writer has seen so many Italian, Russian-Jewish and Polish feeble-minded children that it has been thought desirable to gather a few figures for presentation to this Congress.

At the Philadelphia House of Detention and Juvenile Court since January 1 of the present year, out of 120 feeble-minded and border-line cases, the parents of 53 were born in Europe and distributed as follows: 18 born of Russian-Slav parents, 7 of Russian-Jewish, 22 of Italian, 5 of German and 1 of English parents.

At the Philadelphia Bureau of Compulsory Education, out of the last 200 feeble-minded and border-line cases seen by the writer, the parents were born in Europe in 67 instances as fol-

lows: 22 Italian, 28 Russian, including both Slavic and Jewish, but almost all Russian-Jewish, 5 Polish and 11 Germans and Austrians.

At the Seybert Institution at Meadowbrook, Pennsylvania, which has undertaken to temporarily care for and to train some 75 feeble-minded and border-line cases, all Philadelphia boys, the parents of 21 cases are foreign-born as follows: 7 Italian, 12 Polish and 3 Germans.

Taking all these cases together, it may be noted that out of 395 feeble-minded and border-line children the parents were foreign-born in 141 instances, or 35.7 per cent. of the whole number. If these figures, taken from the schools, the court and the charities in Philadelphia, represent general conditions, it means that one-third of the feeble-mindedness in our large cities have come into the country during the last twenty-five years, and this fact certainly indicates that the menace of the feeble-minded in our large cities at least should be guarded against at the outset.

It is true that a straight literacy test would exclude many normal persons who come from countries where education is not common, and on first thought we are confronted by the alternative of altruism with damage to ourselves, or self-preservation necessitating unsympathetic treatment of those poor Europeans who are doing what our own ancestors did one hundred and fifty years ago. There are a number of tests of intelligence however, apart from the literacy test.

II.

A certain number of feeble-minded children are not only the children of alien parents, but are themselves actually born in Europe. The writer has seen probably a dozen since the beginning of the present year—five months ago. The question of the deportation in the case of these children is a very prominent one. Such action, however, is not being taken, the majority of the cases being handled by private charities, many of them sectarian in character and not disposed to place community welfare before the welfare of the individual child in their hands. It was not the business of the medical examiner to secretly report these cases to the federal authorities, and the result, so far as I know, is that these children will remain in this country a permanent burden on the state.

One should not, however, criticise too harshly those organizations which fail to report the feeble-minded alien children under their guardianship. After all, the decision to make a report must orginate with some individual and the picture of the

helpless child deported back to Europe, and of the unhappy parents, is sufficiently harrowing to make any one not absolutely hardhearted or specifically assigned to the police force or the secret service, hesitate a long while before stirring up such dire unhappiness.

III.

A third measure looking indirectly toward the prevention of feeble-mindedness is the creation of standards whereby the existence of feeble-mindedness in an individual may be adjudged. The writer believes it is impossible to define feeble-mindedness in medical or psychological terms by statute any more than it is possible to define insanity in such manner. Doubtless the latter has been attempted for the last hundred years, but so far without success. This is easy to realize when one remembers that the mind is made up of the intelligence, the emotions, and the will, that each of these may exhibit differential variations in different people such as, for instance, varying abilities to read or to do arithmetic in people of the same general plane of intelligence. The diagnosis of feeble-mindedness must ofttimes rest on a statement which is based on a considerable mass of evidence of widely diverse nature.

It is possible, however, to fix, by common consent, the lowest grade of intelligence which can be called normal, below which a person is either a feeble-minded or a border-line case; and, again, *to fix by common consent the lowest grade of intelligence which cannot be called anything else than definitely feeble-minded*. In other words, a level below which the condition is indisputable. When one considers the number of border-line cases not able to progress further than the third or fourth grade in school and lacking emotional control, that have been considered and treated as normal and when one considers the number of feeble-minded and even imbecile cases that have been tolerated as backward—a more or less euphonious term—it is evident that the identification of even the most apparent cases will add a great number to those already officially recognized as well as point suspicion to those not quite identifiable under this low grade rule. The matter is entirely practicable. For instance, any child in an American environment who has arrived at the age of twelve years with a record of four years in school who is unable to do second-grade arithmetic, second-grade reading, and follow simple reasoning, or fails in two of these three performances is feeble-minded without any doubt.

IV.

The principle of segregation should be applied to all persons in state institutions for the feeble-minded. Segregation does not

mean the opening of a boarding home by the state in which parents may place their feeble-minded children, have them trained by much labor, to the point where they become dangerous to the community if allowed at liberty, and then remove them and turn them loose to sell newspapers and thereby add thirty or forty cents a day to the family income. Nor does it mean that such children should be removed by the parents under the same conditions to help them work on the farm. There are institutions—even state institutions—which now "graduate" or discharge their young adult feeble-minded of the higher grades without subsequent supervision, protection, or probation. We all know the result. In the city the feeble-minded boy thus returned to liberty stays out late at night, fails as he becomes older to earn more than a few cents a day from the sale of newspapers or running errands, falls into vagrancy or petty delinquency, and then, when placed back in the institution at the urgent request of the same parents, is a nuisance to the institution because of his restlessness in the quiet institution. The feeble-minded country boy propagates feeble-minded and often illegitimate children in the manner only too familiar to those who have made surveys in the back-country districts. No one can deny that this whole procedure is the antithesis of what we preach, namely, that the feeble-minded at large unguarded are a menace to the community.

The folly of this procedure also from an economic viewpoint is apparent. The parent who has the right to demand and obtain his feeble-minded child from an institution which has supported his child for ten years at a cost of $250 a year is simply taking $2500 from the state treasury. A beautiful illustration of these conditions existed a few years ago at the Institution for the Feeble-minded at Spring City, Pennsylvania, to which parents brought their children after a commitment by a local magistrate and in many cases subsequently tormented the superintendent of the institution by demands for their release. The superintendent was so harassed that he, himself, made a rule that he would receive no children unless they were committed to him by the courts, so that the state was made a legal guardian of the children in the institution. We are happy to say that this principle was afterwards embodied in an act of the legislature, in effect October, 1914, which provided that all admissions and discharges from the state institution at Spring City should be by court commitment.

There is no reasonable objection to the principle of segregation. Those in the institutions who are considered by any one to be not feeble-minded have the same safeguards that the

supposedly insane possess, namely, an appeal to the State Lunacy Commission, which has superior powers over the institution authorities.

V.

The provision by the state of more institutions for the feeble-minded, or increased facilities in the same institutions, is a well known need in almost every state of the Union. In every state of which the writer has definite knowledge of conditions, there are waiting lists of feeble-minded, many of whose poor parents absolutely cannot afford to support them at home. In other instances the organized charities are burdened with these feeble-minded children. In Philadelphia the Seybert Institute at Meadowbrook has taken 20 feeble-minded boys from the Juvenile Court because the institutions at Spring City and Elwyn cannot take these and dozens of other cases committed by the Juvenile Court.

The matter of increased provision, however, is a much broader one than is indicated by the waiting lists of imbecilic and idiotic children who now make up the bulk of our institution population. What we are looking forward to is the existence of institutions for the feeble-minded which will take high-grade cases picked up by the courts as delinquents and vagrants. While our institutions are filled with helpless boarders, as they now are, with waiting lists of more of the same type, where will we put the high-grade cases when we have perfected the machinery to discover them, to correlate their defect with their delinquency or dependency, and then have committed them? No doubt, if the accommodations for the feeble-minded in the United States were doubled, the situation would not be properly met.

One cannot leave the question of increased accomodations for the feeble-minded without pointing out that the happiness and contentment of the feeble-minded in the institution is a factor in the attitude of both the feeble-minded person and the parent toward the institution. The institution that places in close daily contact the high grade feeble-minded with the lower grades, that places boys and girls anywhere near each other, and that places epileptic feeble-minded with those that are not, in the judgment of the writer, will never do its part in the work of preventing feeble-mindedness in the community.

It has been said that feeble-minded children are happy when helping other feeble-minded children more helpless than themselves, and this is true; but it applies to the care of idiots by imbeciles, not the care of imbeciles and idiots by high grade

feeble-minded. The latter come so dangerously close to normality that there is a constant temptation to be dissatisfied and run away. The intelligent parent who brings his feeble-minded child to an institution where he is met by a child who has an epileptic seizure out on the ground in front of him, is so terrified by the unusual sight that he hastens back to the railroad station determined to make every sacrifice before leaving his child at this institution. The institution superintendent who allows feeble-minded boys and feeble-minded girls to work together even in the garden, is running the risk of a second generation of illegitimate feeble-minded children.

In short, the writer believes that the state should provide separate institutions for the feeble-minded epileptic in its care as soon as any such exist in considerable number, absolute physical separation of the high grade feeble-minded from the middle and low grade, and the reception of the feeble-minded by the institutions in the order of their commitment by the court. This scheme entails certain inconveniences on the management of the institution or institutions, but no more than those encountered by any official doing public work.

VI.

The institution that we provide for the feeble-minded should be constructed and maintained at a moderate cost. There has been a disposition to build marble palaces for the most degenerate members of the community, taken, almost without exception, from the poorest social order. This absurdity has been perpetuated because of the former feeling that these feeble-minded were few in number, and costly buildings, therefore with proper contractors' profits were not out of order.

One very unfortunate effect of these costly buildings has been to turn the inmates from the performance of manual labor, which is the work indicated for them whenever they are able to do it. A remarkable contrast to the usual type of buildings are the farm colonies in New Jersey conducted by the Training School at Vineland and the authorities of Burlington County and the farm colony annex of the institution at Waverley, Massachusetts. Moreover, the extraordinary expenditures in one state, at least, has turned the minds of the legislators against further provision for the feeble-minded. A congressman said to the writer not long ago: "Doctor, I could board the feeble-minded cheaper in the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel than you people are making them cost the state." Until we get the per capita cost of the high grade feeble-minded down less than $100 per year there will be objection to their segregation on the ground of expense.

Theoretically they are self-supporting under supervision. Why can we not make the theory fit the practice?

VII.

The registration of all the feeble-minded, both those at large and those in institutions, is one of the most important steps looking toward the reduction of their number. It furnishes the necessary medical testimony to the court when the feeble-minded subjects are before the bar in later years on charges of vagrancy or delinquency. It also gives us the information concerning the actual number of the feeble-minded—a necessary preliminary to adequate provision by the state for custodial institutions. The matter of registration in the large cities at least is not difficult in certainly 95 per cent. of the cases. Neither is it expensive. The writer handles all the cases of the Philadelphia Juvenile Court, the Bureau of Compulsory Education, the Children's Aid Society, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and the Philadelphia Children's Bureau. There are in the Philadelphia Public Schools, in round numbers, 400 definitely feeble-minded children and 3,500 border-line cases. These latter are not at the present time officially examined, but it could readily be done in the Division of School Medical Inspection at a cost of certainly not more than $3,000 per year. The sum of $10,000 per year would register every feeble-minded child in Philadelphia, for every public and private agency, all expenses of medical and clerical service included. When one considers the tremendous cost to the city and county of the feeble-minded now taken in charge by the police, the district attorney, the judges and the prisons, the economy of this measure is evident. The registration, of course, would have to be under the sanction of the courts or of some official especially designated by the legislature. There exists at the present time a list of several hundred Philadelphia feeble-minded children not in institutions, the majority of whom have been seen elsewhere than in the Juvenile Court, and the publication of the names of these children would involve the risk of damage suits on the part of indignant parents.

In passing, it should be noted that the compulsory education laws which require the school attendance of all normal children are uncovering great numbers of feeble-minded children. So are the Binet tests, which have stimulated the entire school system into a new era, the teachers now realizing that they have some means of learning with approximate accuracy something about the mentality of their charges without waiting for a professor or a physician.

Finally, in this connection the work of the first four school grades should be standardized by law so that the private schools will not only apparently but actually do the work done in public schools. With this legal definition of the first four grades of school work, a close inspection of the third school grade, in which the high grade feeble-minded as a rule stick fast, and a requirement by the state board of education that all children failing to be promoted into the fourth grade at the age of twelve years should be given a medical expert examination, will make the registration of the feeble-minded an easy task. The work of the standardized third grade very largely corresponds as a test to the ninth year Binet test, and the great majority of high grade feeble-minded children, eleven or more years of age, with exceptions either way, test nine years plus by Binet and coincidentally with third grade in school work.

VIII.

The provision of legal machinery which will segregate the feeble-minded who are dependent or delinquent is the most important of all the measures here considered. Before the details of this plan are considered, however, we will emphasize the corrollary principle that *there is no other basis for segregation than the social basis*—namely, the existence of actual dependency or delinquency. The proposition has been made to segregate persons of a certain grade of mentality without regard to anything else than their scholastic ability or ability to answer certain tests. The proposition has also been made to segregate persons of defective mentality for the sole reason that their progeny may also be mentally defective. These psychological and eugenical bases of action might be practical in Russia, or a purely socialistic community, or in the millennium, but the first is absolutely contrary to the principles of democracy and the second would be more humanely exchanged for the principle of sterilization, to be discussed later. In the matter of insanity the legal principle was laid down centuries ago, that the person deprived of his liberty must be a menace to himself or to others, in the matter of person or property. If it were not for the heredity aspect of feeble-mindedness, which has been very forcibly emphasized, with resulting suggestion of drastic action, the same principle in the handling of the feeble-minded that obtains in the handling of the insane would be accepted without question.

The protection of the public, however, must not be neglected, even though the handy method of segregating a person on psychological tests alone or on combined psychological and eugenical grounds is acknowledged to be impracticable. We do know

that a large proportion of the high grade feeble-minded are not able to earn a living; we do know that feeble-mindedness is to a great extent hereditary; we do know that a large percentage of feeble-minded women bear illegitimate children. We cannot ignore a class of people at large in the community who carry with them the menace of pauperism, illegitimate and feeble-minded children. These people, although allowed at large, should never be lost sight of and delinquency or dependency on their part should be the signal for vigorous action. In other words, they should be placed on permanent probation before unsocial acts are actually committed. This is a true preventive measure, granting that it is in a smaller, immediate sense a corrective measure.

The vocational test which decides whether a feeble-minded person should or should not be at liberty is in its crudest form simply the ability by test to hold a laboring job. Several high grade feeble-minded boys, who have come before the Philadelphia Juvenile Court have been placed in simple jobs and allowed continued liberty, or, on the other hand, committed to the state institution at Spring City, according to their ability to hold these jobs. The court has, however, endeavored to ascertain the cases of young children mentally deficient in slight degree, knowledge of the vocational ability through instruction and observation at school. The Seybert Institution at Meadowbrook is now applying vocational tests to some forty border-line and high grade feeble minded boys, an original and interesting procedure too lengthy to be described here.

Briefly our legal machinery for the segregation of the feeble-minded should be perfected by the following three legislative measures:

(a) Our institutions for the feeble-minded should be sufficiently enlarged and differentiated to afford the facilities needed by the courts.

(b) The juvenile court and, in fact, every criminal court should be assisted by a psychiatric clinic, where the mental examination of dependents and delinquents can be officially made and a non-partisan opinion given.

(c) All the feeble-minded who are at large in the community, these having been discovered by their early commitment and registration, should be put on permanent probation. This probation does not imply offensive supervision, but it does imply that everyone of these feeble-minded persons in whom there is a strong probability of future dependence or delinquency, should be known to the authorities just as are well known criminals

who, although not stated offenders, are looked upon as dangerous. If this were done our feeble-minded would not be brought into the court with a long delinquency or vagrant record, as most of them are at the present time.

IX.

The education of our judges, district attorneys, and legislators is a matter which should be given definite attention. The legislators are educated largely by the force of public opinion and, being mostly politicians and business men, they are endowed with abundant common sense to appreciate the situation when a propaganda is launched. The education of professional men is a much more difficult matter. These are prone to be extremely narrow and to think entirely in terms of their own profession. We must admit that, in the case of the majority of our judges, their legal training along the lines of books rather than people and the conservatism of age makes the matter of social education rather difficult. The signs are in the air, however, that the younger judges are awake to the human equation.

X.

The sterilization of feeble-minded is now universally acknowledged to be impracticable, principally because the line of demarcation between feeble-mindedness and normality is not definite, because the hereditary influence in this field has not been quantitatively determined, because the operation is dangerous, the idea more or less revolting and, possibly, because it is not in consonance with the religious thought of a certain portion of the community. Sterilization, therefore, need not be further discussed at this time.

XI

The prohibition of marriage of the feeble-minded is statutory in most if not all the states. The weakness of such legislation has lain in the fact that the county clerks, clergymen and magistrates have been unable to recognize the condition except in flagrant cases. If legal prohibition included the clause that certain tests should be applied, comprising the ability to read a newspaper intelligently and do ordinary arithmetic, with the alternative of a certificate of normality from an official expert physician, it would be successful.

The legal prohibition of marriage of the feeble-minded should not have included with it a prohibition of the marriage of the epileptic. Those cases in which epilepsy is hereditary are mostly those in which the epileptics are feeble-minded. Epilepsy may be due to a number of causes. It is really a

complex, rather than a disease. It is true that most epileptics who are not institutionalized come from neurotic families, but the symptoms of epilepsy, both grand mal, petit mal, psychomotor, and even localized, are so interrelated that there is no more reason for separating epilepsy from hysteria than there would be for separating brothers and sisters, who exhibit the same basic traits, merely because they exhibit them in apparently widely different complexes.

XX

The controlling of gradual degeneracy by measures designed to gradually raise the human mind to an impressive necessity in isolated country communities where interbreeding negative natural selection, and various practices born of a declining environment, have produced a condition which is almost that of pure-quality feeble-mindedness. A large number of field workers' reports have portrayed these conditions in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and other states. It is the testimony of field workers that the entrance of railroads, trolley lines, telephone, and of new blood have remarkably improved these bad centers. If we assume that hereditary feeble-mindedness follows the Mendelian law, these measures, with the exception of inter-marriage of new stock, will be of no avail, and the labor of bad relative value; but if we believe that feeble-mindedness is a condition of general degeneracy in most cases, a matter of accident in others, a matter of disturbance of the internal secretions in a few, possibly a matter of infantile malnutrition in some, possibly a matter of parental alcoholism or tuberculosis in some cases, and even commonly a matter of poor environment superimposed on a basis of moderately poor quality, then the betterment of community conditions will help all the people in the community, and the introduction of new blood will help the normal generation, not as a Mendelian ratio, but as a replacement of cases constantly occurring with every successive generation.

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THE RELATION OF MENTAL DEFECT TO THE NEGLECTED, DEPENDENT, AND DELINQUENT CHILDREN OF NEW HAMPSHIRE*

Mrs. Lilian Carpenter Streeter, Chairman, State Children's Commission, Concord, N. H.

I feel that I should say first of all when coming before this company of experts and attempting to discuss the relation of feeble-mindedness to dependent, neglected and delinquent children, that I cannot treat the subject in any scientific or technical way, for I am wholly untrained, except by experience. I shall only try to tell you simply and plainly what we have discovered in regard to feeble-mindedness in my own state, and the reasons which lead me to believe that mental defect is more often the cause of dependency and delinquency than any other one factor.

During the last twenty years, as I have each year in my work been brought more in contact with poverty and crime, as each year I have seen more of the mentally deficient, it has been borne in upon me that in feeble-mindedness lies the tap root of most of our social problems; that the only effective, radical way to deal with these problems, is to strike at this tap root with the strong ax of prevention. Why when trying to care for the continually increasing numbers of drunkards, of immoral women, of the poor and shiftless; why when attempting to shelter, educate, and train in right living the countless hundreds of helpless little children, should we never give a thought to stopping the ever swelling flood at its source? So when two years ago the Children's Commission was established in New Hampshire to investigate all questions of child welfare in the state, and report to the governor and legislature, with recommendations for action, and I was made chairman, the one thing which it seemed to me must be done first was to try to get at the bottom facts, if possible, concerning the extent of feeble-mindedness in our own state, study its causes and rate of increase, and try to find out what preventive measures it was best to recommend, thinking that if the real conditions were once clearly set before the governor and legislature, they could not help heeding the story, and would let nothing interfere with the immediate granting of state help.

The first recognition of the needs of the feeble-minded in New Hampshire was made just fifty years ago when the legis-

*Section meeting Monday, May 17, 9:15 A. M.

lature of 1865 appropriated $500.00 for the "Education of indigent, idiotic or semi-idiotic persons residing in this state, at the Massachusetts school for idiotic and feeble-minded youth," and further stated that "such sum or so much thereof as his Excellency, the Governor, shall think expedient, be expended and applied for the benefit of such and so many of those persons as his Excellency, the Governor, shall elect and approve." This liberal appropriation was renewed annually until 1891 when it was increased to $1,000.00, a sum just enough to support three children at the Massachusetts school. In the meantime, however, in 1877, in addition to the annual appropriation of $500.00, the legislature enacted the following peculiar provision, entitled:

AN ACT IN RELATION TO THE SUPPORT OF INDIGENT, IDIOTIC AND FEEBLE ADULT CHILDREN

"Section 1. Whenever, by reason of any infirmity of body or mind, it is fit and proper that children should remain in the family and under the control of a parent after they arrive at the age of twenty-one years, and such parent is unable to support such children without diminishing his estate, such children shall be supported by the town or county by law liable for their support, and the parent shall not be regarded or deemed a pauper by reason of the support so furnished to such idiotic or feeble-minded adult child or children residing in his family and under his control."

Whatever one may think of the principle here set forth it certainly shows that the public conscience regarding the feeble-minded, was even then beginning to be awakened, and the need of more generous provision for them recognized. Yet the annual appropriation was not increased for 14 years longer, and then to only one thousand dollars. The appropriation continued to be $1,000 a year from 1891 until 1901, when the law was passed providing for the establishment of a New Hampshire School for the Feeble-minded and appropriating $30,000 for that purpose.

The Awakening in New Hampshire

It was in 1893 that the first attempt to collect information regarding the defective, dependent and delinquent children in New Hampshire was made, and it was in 1895 that the effort to remove the children from the almshouses and establish a State Board of Charities and Correction was successful. It was in the spring of 1895 that I first visited each one of the ten county almshouses in the state, where at that time all the dependent feeble-minded in the state were taken care of, excepting the three supported outside the state under the $1,000 appropriation.

It was at that time that I first realized the close relation of mental defect to poverty and crime, and the horror of that survey is still so vivid in my mind, even after twenty years, that

I can hardly bear to speak of it. Yet in considering the relation of mental defect to the neglected, dependent and delinquent children, it must be spoken of, for the most fundamental truth borne in upon the student of feeble-mindedness, is the frightful part that heredity plays in its evolution, and the descendants of the wretched people I encountered then, are the very ones that make New Hampshire's record of feeble-mindedness so startling today. True it is that "the fathers have eaten of sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge."

At that time in New Hampshire all the wreckage of humanity was herded together in the almshouses with only a very small percentage of the respectable and infirm poor included. There were found the diseased, the insane, the imbecile, the epileptic and the criminal; no classification was maintained and often no separation of the sexes, and with them all were living the innocent, helpless, little children and the adolescent girls and boys, many of whom had been born, and had always lived at the almshouse. Let me give you two or three brief extracts from the report made at that time:

The records show that the great majority of inmates have had pauper parents and grand-parents. In one county farm are five generations, from the great-great grandmother to a baby in arms, and I was told that there had been at one time thirty members of this same family there. From another county farm a boy and girl, thirteen and fourteen years old, ran away, several years ago, have since had thirteen children, and are now back at the almshouse with four, the oldest a girl of thirteen about to become a mother. These young, feeble-minded unmarried mothers are the saddest of all, and I could multiply instances again and again.

One county reports that every one of its almshouse inmates are feeble-minded except the nine insane. In another county farm there are at present four generations of the same family, from the great-grandfather, seventy-one years old, to a baby of five months. The great-grandfather has always been supported by town or county, is feeble-minded, and thievish. His daughter, the grandmother, has also spent most of her life in the county farm, is feeble-minded, has had seven children, all county charges, one of whom is the mother of the five months baby of the fourth generation. The mother, the third generation, is nineteen, and has always been at the farm more or less—is "not exactly foolish but not quite bright." She has had two children, both now at the farm with her.

There are two feeble-minded boys at this same farm whose mother was feeble-minded, and died at the farm. One of these boys, now about fourteen, seems like a criminal degenerate, can pick any lock in the house, climbs anywhere, is very sly, and never speaks. One of these days New Hampshire will have a costly criminal case on her hand through this boy, unless all signs fail.

In still another county are a father and mother, there as prisoners, with six little children, three of them babies. Twenty-five or thirty years ago this woman's father and mother were also at this same county farm as prisoners with six children, herself one of the number.

Instances similar to the above could be duplicated in almost every county in the state.

This you will remember was in 1895, twenty years ago. Since that time conditions have been much improved at all the county almshouses. First the normal children were removed, then most of the feeble-minded children, then the insane. The men and women are now separated in every almshouse, and separate quarters are provided for the prisoners. But for the twenty years since 1895, as in all the years preceding it, the feeble-minded families have continued to increase and multiply without let or hindrance. The feeble-minded girls are still unprotected; the number of feeble-minded and dependent children has grown steadily greater, the number of dependent children showing an increase of 61 per cent. from 1900 when statistics were first collected, to 1910, while the population of the state increased only 4.6 per cent. in that time.

The school for feeble-minded was opened in February, 1903, with accommodations for 60 children, though no provision was made for custodial care for feeble-minded women and girls of child-bearing age. Its record since then has been one of steady increase in the number of its inmates, and continuous demands for admission far beyond the available accommodations, although they have been several times enlarged. At the same time the pressure upon the state hospital for the insane has continually increased, and some feeble-minded have been perforce confined there, because there was no place for them anywhere else.

Children's Commission Sets to Work

These were some of the circumstances which influenced the Children's Commission to decide upon an investigation of the extent of feeble-mindedness in the state, as their first duty under the law. The fact that New Hampshire is relatively so small a state (only 9.031 square miles), and so thinly populated (430,-572), made the question of prosecuting a state-wide investigation less formidable than it would have been in most of the other states, and the additional fact that New Hampshire has in her institutions a larger number of children in proportion to her population than any other state in the Union except New York, presented at once an unusually large number of children easily available for study in the 18 orphanges of the state.*

With a view to ascertaining the percentage of feeble-mindedness among the children in the orphanages, it was decided to begin our study by applying the Binet tests to all children in

*In this connection it is interesting to note that the area of Massachusetts is smaller than that of New Hampshire, being only 8,089 square miles, while her population, 3,366,416, is nearly eight times as large as the population of New Hampshire.

these institutions, and also to the children confined in the State Industrial School, the only place in the state where delinquent children are cared for. For the purposes of our study only two grades of retardation, backward and feeble-minded, were recorded. Any child three years or more retarded in intelligence was considered feeble-minded; those two years retarded, backward. All children were recorded as normal whose mental age was within a year above or below their chronological age. We also studied and obtained statistics regarding the feeble-minded in the State School for Feeble-minded at Laconia, the State Hospital in Concord, and the ten county almshouses.

In an attempt to discover the extent of feeble-mindedness throughout the state, outside of institutions, questionaires were sent out to all school superintendents, chairmen of school boards, physicians, overseers of the poor, county commissioners, probation and truant officers, district nurses and charity workers in the state, 1,500 in all, making inquiries as to the number and grade of the obviously feeble-minded in every town, and remarkable as it may seem, it is yet true that answers were received from every one of the 235 towns in the state. In addition to the questionaires, our field worker spent some time in each of the ten counties of the state, studying a few representative towns, 52 in all, 22.1 per cent. of the whole number. In each case effort was made to study the county evenly, visiting a typical agricultural town, a typical manufacturing town, a typical lumbering town, prosperous communities and remote rural districts. In this way it was hoped to obtain a fair idea of the extent of feeble-mindedness throughout the state. In this state-wide study, information regarding the adult feeble-minded was sought, as well as facts about the children, on account of our special interest in the feeble-minded women and girls of child-bearing age, and the pre-eminent importance of getting exact facts as to the number of these women. Any adult has been considered feeble-minded who has been found to have less intelligence than a normal child of 12.

In the questionaires sent out to the towns, the terms *high grade* and *low grade* only were used, as their evidence regarding feeble-mindedness must of necessity be chiefly social rather than psychological,—the term *high grade* applying to the class now generally known as *morons*,—and *low grade* to the idiot or low grade imbecile. And to aid those answering the questionaires and insure uniformity, feeble-mindedness was defined as follows:

> The term feeble-minded is used to cover both idiots and imbeciles, idiocy denoting extreme stupidity; imbecility indicating a lesser degree

of mental incapacity. The idiot is a feeble-minded person who is able to give little or no care to his person, and who is incapable of work, or who is able to work only under supervision and direction. The imbecile, on the contrary, is capable of caring for his person, and of doing certain kinds of work without supervision, but is incapable of earning his own living. The high-grade imbecile, now known as the moron, is one who can do fairly complicated work without supervision, but who cannot plan who lacks ordinary prudence, who cannot resist the temptations that are common to humanity. The high-grade imbecile or moron is most dangerous because except to the expert, he is apparently not feeble-minded, and is therefore usually treated as normal, and permitted to multiply his kind, and to corrupt the community.

In reading this paper I will simply summarize the results obtained. The statistical tables show the figures in detail. I will be glad to furnish them to anyone upon request.

The Feeble-minded in Institutions

The results of the Binet tests as applied to 1,248 children, in the 18 orphanages of the state are significant. The tests were given by trained, experienced workers in every orphanage, save one. 262 of the 1,248 children were found to be feeble-minded, and every orphanage but two (one of which only receives infants) contains some feeble-minded children. This is significant in one respect, in showing that there are more feeble-minded children in the different orphanages in the state than in the State School for Feeble-minded at Laconia, which accommodates only 185. Only one institution of over 100 children has as many as one-half of its children normal, and the percentage of feeble-mindedness we found, ran much higher in the larger than in the smaller institutions. The final summary for all the children in orphanages showed that 18% of the boys and 54% of the girls in the orphanages of the state, taken collectively, are either backward or feeble-minded. The feeble-minded alone constitute slightly more than one-fifth of the total number of children (21%), while the backward are somewhat less than one-third of the total (30%).

The large percentage of feeble-mindedness found in the orphanages is probably due chiefly to the great number of feeble-minded women and girls who go to the county farms to bear children and then go forth again to repeat the cycle, leaving their babies for the county to care for. There is no control or oversight of these feeble-minded women, no record is kept of their children, and no effort is made to determine their mentality or to prevent their following in their mothers' footsteps, as they grow older. 440 of the total number of children in orphanages are county charges,—35%. In one orphanage over 50% of the children are county charges.

Another study was made of the mental grade and sex of the 147 boys and girls at the State Industrial School. These tests were given by one of the assistants at the State School for Feeble-minded, a trained young woman of much experience. Of the total number of 147 children, only three were found normal, all boys. Of the 34 girls, one was backward, 33 feeble-minded. Of the 113 boys, 87 were feeble-minded, 23 backward, and 3 normal, the summary of all the children showing 98% feeble-minded and backward, 2% normal.* Surely no one who studies this record can doubt that it is from the feeble-minded children of New Hampshire that her criminal classes are recruited.

In the county farms, only occasional Binet tests were given, but out of their total number of 946 inmates, 275 were unmistakably feeble-minded, or 29%. This includes both men and women as well as boys and girls. One of the most serious aspects of the feeble-minded problem is the great number of illegitimate children born at the county farms. At least twenty-five per cent. of the women now in the county farms have had illegitimate children. Many of our almshouses have records showing generation after generation of the same feeble-minded family cared for. One county farm has never been without members of a certain family since it was opened in 1870. Another was found sheltering four generations of the same family at the same time. Another now has three generations of the same family. Had there only been time histories of pauperism, crime, and feeble-mindedness rivaling those of the Jukes and Kallikaks could have been written from more than one of New Hampshire's county-farm families.

In addition to the feeble-minded found in the orphanages, Industrial School and almshouses, 105 are confined in the State Hospital, and 185 in the State School for Feeble-minded, making a total of 947 institutional cases, whose mentality was all determined by the Binet tests, excepting those in the almshouses.

Cases at Large in the State

Now leaving the institutions, we come to the cases at large in the state. There were found 2,019 in all—861 boys and girls under 21 years, 1,158 men and women over 21 years; a total of 895 women, of whom 550 are of child-bearing age. But this number, large as it is, is probably much smaller than the whole number in the state, when we consider the difficulty of identify-

*Since this paper was given all the Binet test sheets of the Industrial School children have been sent to Vineland for examination, by request of Mr. Alexander Johnson, with the result that the accuracy of the above figures was confirmed.

ing the most dangerous class—the high-grade imbeciles or morons. And when we realize that each one of these women is likely to give birth to several children, of whom the greater proportion will probably also be feeble-minded, it must be a very short-sighted person indeed who cannot see the imperative necessity of taking care of these women at once.

From the questionaires sent out, and the personal canvass, 2,019 cases were reported, which added to the 947 institutional cases discovered, makes a total of 2,966 recorded cases of feeble-minded in the state, or sixty-eighth one hundredths of 1% of the total population. Since the tables were prepared, nearly one hundred more cases have been reported, showing that large as the number of feeble-minded recorded in the state is, the number is not exaggerated.

But though only 2,966 cases are actually recorded, we estimate a total of at least 3,168 cases at large in the state. This estimate of the total number of cases is based on the ratio of the canvass returns to the questionaire returns, in the 52 towns studied intensively. These towns showed only 350 feeble-minded in response to the questionaires, while the personal canvass revealed 1,391, almost four times as many. The total number of cases reported to the Commission by questionaires was 792, multiplying this by four (3,168), and adding the 947 institutional cases, we have 4,115 as the estimated total feeble-minded population of the state, ninety-five one hundredths of one per cent.—almost one in every hundred.

Further Analysis of Data

A compilation showing the number and percentage of the feeble-minded outside of institutions by counties, is one of the most significant of the whole series and throws much light upon the causes for the large percentage of feeble-mindedness in New Hampshire. One of the most significant revelations of this table is the range of feeble-mindedness gradually ascending from the smallest percentage in the most populous county of the state, .27% to the larger percentage in the two most remote and thinly populated counties, 1.2%. This speaks volumes for the need of improving rural conditions, of bringing the people in the remote farm and hill districts into closer touch with the currents of healthy, active life in the great centers.

The returns of all the children's cases reported outside of institutions, give a total of 861. We find that 57.1% of the feeble-minded children outside of institutions were born in the towns where they now live, 8.9% elsewhere in New Hampshire, 3.7% elsewhere in the United States, and only 1.9% were born outside

of the United States. The birthplace of 28.4% was not reported. The feeble-minded population of the state thus does not appear to be a shifting one. Of the 8.9% of cases born in New Hampshire but outside the town of present residence, the majority were born within the county as well, often in an adjacent town, and the majority of those born in the United States, but outside of New Hampshire, were born in one of the other New England states.

A classification of children's cases by the nationality of parents shows 61.5% to be American, 18.3 French or French Canadian, 5% Irish, 2% Canadian, 1% German, 4.7% of all other nationalities and 7.1% nationality not reported. The most significant, and to me the most painful showing here is the large majority of cases of native American stock. The forty-one miscellaneous cases tabulated contain English, Scotch, Italian, Polish, Swedish, Greek, Hebrew, Armenian, Finnish, Indian and Negro stock.

When we observe the civil status of 360 feeble-minded women reported on the basis of the questionaires, it is indeed a shock to find that 76.4% of the feeble-minded women are married. And of those who are not, many are immoral and engage in such promiscuous relations, as to make them an element of even graver danger in the community. The danger of allowing such women their liberty in the community is by no means confined to the consequent increase in illegitimacy. Far greater evils are the spread of disease for which they are responsible, and the character of their children, whether legitimate or not. At least eighteen per cent. of these women are known to have borne feeble-minded children.

Replies to questions as to the causes of the feeble-mindedness reported were so few in number, and so unsatisfactory, that it was impossible to prepare a table of any value from them.

This completes the study of feeble-mindedness made by the Children's Commission. Startling as the figures seem, they probably underestimate the situation. In making a card record of the 2,019 cases found at large in the state every doubtful case was thrown out. The fact that these statistics were compiled from what might be termed social evidence, whereas the 947 institutional cases were all determined by the Binet tests, is proof that there must be a great many more of the high-grade cases at large in the state than we were able to discover. So, careful as the study was, we only claim that the results approximate the total number of the feeble-minded in the state. The only way to arrive at a complete census of the feeble-minded in New Hampshire would be by making a house-to-house canvas, and by apply-

ing the Binet tests to all doubtful cases, and to all the backward school children in the state,—an almost impossible task. And even if that were done, we could not be certain of finding all the feeble-minded!

Yet, imperfect as the survey was, the Children's Commission felt that it proved beyond question that the great burden of dependency and delinquency under which New Hampshire is now laboring was chiefly due to the large proportion of feeble-mindedness in her population, and its steady annual increase, and they were unanimous in making the following recommendations to the governor and legislature, none of which, I may remark in passing, were acted upon favorably:

First—Custodial care should be given to feeble-minded girls and women of child-bearing age either at the State School for Feeble-minded or in a colony under its supervision.

Second—Until the establishment of such a colony, girls and women of child-bearing age should be admitted to the School for Feeble-minded in preference to girls under twelve and boys.

Third—In justice to the helpless little girls every day growing older, and the boys, provision should be made as soon as possible for care of all the feeble-minded children of the state, in addition to the small percentage now being cared for at the State School for Feeble-minded.

Fourth—Provision should be made in the large public schools in the state for special classes for backward children, and the mentality of all backward children in the public schools should be tested by the Binet Measuring Scale.

The Commission did not advocate sterilization as a preventive measure, because the experience of the twelve states which have adopted such laws did not seem to show it to be generally advisable. It is liable to many abuses; there is grave question as to its constitutionality, and it does not prevent the spread of disease nor lessen immoral conditions.

Special Study of Public School Children

The Children's Commission through lack of both time and money, were unable to make any study of public school children, but since their report was completed a somewhat limited study has been made of the public school children in a small city, by two young women from the Vineland Training School, Miss Taylor and Miss Bishop, the results of which are most significant and interesting. This city, it should be stated, is a quiet, residential place of only 20,000 inhabitants, with no mills and only four small factories. The chief industry of the place is granite-cutting, which gives employment to many Swedes and Finns, as well as other nationalities. There is quite a large proportion of French Canadians in the population, many of Irish birth or descent, and a few Italians, Greeks and Armenians, in addition to the native Americans.

The total enrollment in the schools of the Union School District, exclusive of the High School, is 1,824. 362 children were tested, 186 boys and 176 girls, in fourteen different schools, 10 chosen from the Union School District in the compact part of the city, and four from the outlying, rural or "town" districts, but all within the township limits. Two of the schools were of the primary grade, average age of pupils 6 to 7 years; seven intermediate, average age 8 to 10 years; one grammar school, average age 12 to 14 years; and four one-room, ungraded, rural schools, where the ages ranged from 6 to 16. There were only 36 pupils in all four schools. The total enrollment in the town district is only 105.

Of the total number tested, 176 were found normal, 126 backward, 60 feeble-minded; or stated in percentages, 49% normal, 35% backward, 16% feeble-minded. In this connection it is interesting to note that these percentages are almost exactly the same as the percentages found in the orphanages, where 49% of the whole number were normal, 30% backward and 21% feeble-minded.

Separating the sexes, 48% of the boys were normal, 33% backward, and 19% feeble-minded; while 50% of the girls were normal, 37% backward, and 13% feeble-minded. In the orphanages, 52% of the boys and 48% of the girls were normal, and 18% of the boys and 24% of the girls feeble-minded.

Separating the grades, 73% of the primary grade were normal, 25% backward and only 2% feeble-minded; while in the grammar grade, the highest tested, only 27% were normal, 50% backward, and 23% feeble-minded. This school, however, could hardly be called typical, as an unusual number of backward children from the lower grades had become stranded there, until they should reach the age of 16 years and be allowed to leave school. In several grades of this kind, big feeble-minded boys of no morals and little self-control are associated as schoolmates with little girls only 9, 10, or 11 years old—a grave danger.

Because of the low grade community which supplies one particular school, and brings its percentage of feeble-minded and backward up to almost incredible proportions, (24% normal, 35% backward, 41% feeble-minded), it was thought best to omit that school, and two other outlying schools in one table, to find out what the percentages might be without them. It was found by so doing that the percentage of feeble-mindedness was reduced from 16% to 11%, backwardness was reduced from 35% to 32%, and the percent of normal children was increased from 49% to 56%. Still one does not like to feel that in any city only 56% of the children in the public schools are normal, and that 43%

are either backward or feeble-minded, especially when only the most favorably located schools are included in the estimate.

The largest number tested in any one grade was in the intermediate, 241 children out of the total 362 being from that grade. The percentage of normal children found was 45%, backward 35%, feeble-minded 20%. This result may be considered as fairly typical of the public school children as a whole, for the schools tested were taken from every quarter of the city, and it surely is as strong a proof as the most skeptical could demand of the crying need of special classes for backward children in all public schools. I was rather surprised to find that in the rural schools the showing was much better than in any of the city schools except the primary grades. This may have been due to the fact that there was a large proportion of quite young children among them, who seldom show the three years retardation necessary to call them backward. Yet in one rural school tested, of only 7 pupils, 5 of the 7 were of one family, and all showed differing degrees of retardation, and will all doubtless become feeble-minded in time. Among the number are triplet girls, 5 years old, one of whom is already a low-grade imbecile, though at present she shows only about two and one-half years retardation. The other two are about one and one-half years retarded.

Only 58 children of foreign birth were recorded, 37 French, 11 Swedish, 6 Italian, 2 Polish, and 1 each, Greek and Scotch. In every doubtful case a child who had come to this country so recently as not to be familiar with the language was given the benefit of the doubt.

In addition to the 362 cases, taken as they came, in the schools tested, 19 special cases were tested at the request of the teachers in some of the other schools that we were unable to have tested as a whole, and many more special cases were brought forward that we were unable to test for lack of time. The great interest the teachers showed in the work was one of the marked features of the study, and their eagerness for help in solving their many problems in connection with backward children was really pathetic. Of the 19 special cases brought for examination, all but 3 were feeble-minded, and these 3 were somewhat retarded, though so slightly that they were listed as normal. Ten of the 19 were children who showed special need of institutional care, owing to their marked criminalistic or delinquent tendencies, their sex consciousness, or evident inability to ever earn any kind of a living. Among the 362 other children examined, 13 such institutional cases were found—a total of 23 imperative institutional cases recorded among all examined.

Many of the feeble-minded children found in the schools are members of notoriously degenerate and shiftless families, who have intermarried and procreated, thus filling the schools and institutions, with their defective, unsocial offspring. This is the type that should be put immediately into institutions before they become criminals, or parents, and thus increase the public's burden. The young women making the tests were extremely careful and conservative in their work, and in addition to the Binet tests, a great deal of social evidence was considered. The school nurse accompanied them to every school and was of inestimable service to them in giving information about the children examined, their family histories and health conditions. Though a far greater prevalence of feeble-mindedness in the public schools is shown from this study than any one anticipated, no one who watched the young women give the tests, could doubt the thoroughness and patient carefulness of their work. And though those skeptical about the Binet tests may question the totals of absolute feeble-mindedness recorded, no one can question the fact that a very large proportion of the children are sub-normal and need special classes and teachers.

THE PREVENTION OF FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS — A PROBLEM YET UNSOLVED*

Bleecker Van Wagenen, New York, Member, Board of Managers of the New Jersey Training School, Vineland

Feeble-mindedness has many ramifications. It is inextricably intertwined with all our social and educational and many of our economic problems. It has engaged the study of investigators in many branches of science. Anthropologists, biologists and psychologists, anatomists and physiologists, pathologists and psychiatrists, biochemists and medical research doctors, criminologists, statisticians and lawyers have all contributed to the literature of the subject, which is already extensive and growing rapidly. The reading of a variety of this literature in the endeavor to be eclectic, tends toward confusion of mind. Much of it is controversial; much evidently hypothetical. Some is dogmatic, some tentative, some suggests practical applications, some offers fanciful theories. Much evidence is adduced and it is often conflicting. On the whole, however, this material em-

*Author's abstract.

bodies the record of a great advance in scientific knowledge and offers confident expectation of still greater developments to come.

At first one is inclined to ask—do we really know anything certainly about feeble-mindedness? But, after giving these varied writings time to filter through one's mind, there does emerge a series of facts about which there can be no question. These form the safe and sure basis for a great campaign of enlightenment and instruction, nationwide, which ought now to be undertaken. Its object should be to acquaint as nearly as possible every person in the United States who knows or has ever seen or heard of a feeble-minded individual, with these essential facts, and to point out simple and practical methods by which everyone can do something to bring about state control, protection and care of the feeble-minded throughout the land, having in view as the ultimate purpose, the elimination of this defective class.

It would take all my time to enumerate what I think we really know about feeble-mindedness, and I want to speak more particularly about what we don't know, but what we know might be grouped under these heads—its Prevalence, its Complexity, its Burden, its Identification, its Treatment.

About causes, remedies and Prevention we know less. Still, it is enough for present purposes, and with the knowledge we have we may now make an invaluable contribution to the great cause, provided we go about the work with sane ideas, adhering closely to ascertained facts, discarding for the time all unproven theories, keeping an open and unprejudiced mind for the reception of truth, from whatever source it may come, and endeavoring to harmonize and utilize as far as possible, in cautious experiment, all ideas offered by competent investigators which seem to have a sound basis and appeal to common sense.

It is universally admitted that heredity is accountable for a large percentage of the feeble-minded. How large a percentage and how feeble-mindedness came originally into any family line are still matters of dispute and uncertainty. The most obvious means of prevention, and, indeed, practically the only one now available, is to stop procreation on the part of those individuals liable to bring defective offspring into the world. This everyone concedes. How can it be done?

Segregation—with control throughout the reproductive period, if not for life; sterilization; legal restrictions of marriage: these are the three methods proposed which can be made effective at the present time, and these can be made effective only to a limited extent.

I have not time to elaborate all the reasons for the belief, but it is my present opinion that no one, nor all, of these measures of prevention will be found adequate to carry us to the goal of practical elimination of feeble-mindedness. Segregation will be too slow of accomplishment under our system of government and under existing conditions, and too costly in outlay, to catch up with the natural increase of uncontrolled defectives. Compulsory sterilization has to encounter the deep-seated, instinctive prejudice of the masses and the quiet but unrelenting opposition of the great Roman Catholic Church. Hesitation about practicing it in a wholesale way has already been shown by many of those members of the medical profession to whom the duty was assigned, not because of any dangers inherent in the operations, but probably because so little is known as yet about the ultimate effects on the individual and on the race, and because of public opinion. It is not likely to become a popular remedy nor a great factor in the elimination of defectives, at least in our day, although undoubtedly it has a useful place within a limited field. In my judgment its usefulness at present can best be secured without compulsion and without authorizing or mandatory or restrictive laws. It is not likely to become a wholesale remedy. Restrictive marriage laws so far seem not to have accomplished much in respect to feeble-mindedness. In feeble-mindedness procreation does not depend greatly on marriage and, while such laws may be useful in other directions, it does not seem that they can be very effective in the prevention of feeble-mindedness.

Segregation we must chiefly depend upon until we discover new methods of prevention. Sterilization will help if used discreetly with careful regard to each individual case, but its sphere will be limited. These methods we may confidently utilize and push forward while we wait eagerly for the further discoveries which will surely bring to light new means of prevention. The literature of our subject suggests whence some of these may come.

Of first importance are the studies in heredity. Some day we shall know of a certainty how far Mendel's law of inheritance can be applied to human beings. Whether feeble-mindedness is or is not a unit character and recessive, following a recognized formula in its appearance and disappearance, or whether it is a complex, involving deficiencies of the brain, not only, but also more or less abnormalities of all the organs, glands, cells and tissues of the body.

By following down family histories we shall learn in time whether those records which we have already worked out back-

wards through three or more generations are confirmed and supported by those obtained at first hand from living subjects, or whether they must be modified and new inferences drawn.

Some day we shall know what effect, if any, the so-called racial poisons, syphilis, alcohol, lead, etc., have in the production of feeble-mindedness.

The time will come when we shall know what causes of feeble-mindedness there may be which arise during the embryonic and fœtal life of the child, and what measure of control it is possible to exercise over those causes. Thus far the study of feeble-mindedness has been chiefly confined to individuals after the period of infancy. We shall probably get a lot of new light on existing feeble-mindedness when intensive and extensive studies are made covering the period from the hour of birth through the first five years of the child life.

At one time *anterior poliomyelitis* (infantile paralysis) in this country was reported to entail a mortality of 75% of cases, and it was said that of the surviving 25% all but three in one hundred became feeble-minded. Since the discovery of the germ and the use of its serum the mortality is said to have decreased to about 25% of cases, but we are not told what proportion of the 75% surviving now become feeble-minded. We need to know this and what other diseases of infancy are doing to cause feeble-mindedness and to what extent.

Further exploration and experimentation in the field of the glands of internal secretion seem to have great possibilities. That these so-called ductless glands have a powerful influence on growth and development of the body and the brain is well established. That feeble-mindedness involves abnormalities in structure and in functioning of these glands is demonstrated at least in some types. That these glands may be stimulated or modified in their development and action, thus effecting changes in physical and mental growth and power, is believed by good authorities. How it can be done safely and surely is yet to be revealed.

These are only a few suggestions drawn from many lines of scientific study, in the further prosecution of which much new knowledge is to be expected, and with the knowledge will come greater power of control. Our present duty and our task are clear; first to do our utmost to make known everywhere and to everybody what may be accounted as the incontrovertible facts of feeble-mindedness and to use every effort to get the feeble-minded recognized, understood and properly cared for by competent authority in every state in the Union. Second, to promote and encourage and, if we have the ability, assist in,

further investigation and scientific research in laboratories, in hospitals and clinics, in field work, in the schools, in all kinds of institutions, in connection with juvenile and criminal courts and in isolated and backward communities. More knowledge, more light, more power! These are what we need and they will surely come if we press steadily on. It is tremendously worth while.

DISCUSSION. The following members participated in informal discussion: E. R. Johnstone and Alexander Johnson, Vineland, N. J.; Dr. M. J. O'Meara, Boston; Alfred Fairbank, St. Louis.

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THE FEEBLE-MINDED: THE NEED OF RESEARCH*

Amos W. Butler, Secretary Board of State Charities of Indiana, Indianapolis

Eight years ago, in concluding my address before the Minneapolis session of this Conference, I stated:

> Feeble-mindedness produces more pauperism, degeneracy and crime than any other one force. It touches every form of charitable activity. It is felt in every part of our land. It affects in some way all our people. Its cost is beyond our comprehension. It is the unappreciated burden of the unfortunate. It is a burden we are compelled to bear; therefore, let us bear it intelligently, to the end that the chain of evil may be lessened, the weak cared for, and the future brighter with hope because of our effort.
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> "Ye who are strong *must* bear the infirmities of the weak."

We know more now. We need to know still more.

The increase of our knowledge concerning the feeble-minded has served only to emphasize the points made. From home and school, from country and city, come additional appeals for help for these unfortunates. The demands upon our overcrowded institutions have become more importunate, until those of us who are connected with this branch of the public service are greatly troubled as to what can be done. No state has made provision for the larger part of its feeble-minded population. Some have done nothing at all. None has done its full duty toward these needy ones.

The urgent necessity for more institutions is clear. At the same time there is ground for serious concern in the steady demand for additional provision, not only for mental defectives,

*Section meeting Tuesday, May 18, 9:15 A. M.

but for all classes of public wards. Just how many persons are now on public support we do not know, but the number is undoubtedly more than one million. We have the Bureau of the Census as authority for the statement that five years ago there were, in round numbers, 136,000 persons in penal and correctional institutions, jails and workhouses[1]; 187,000 in hospitals for the insane[2]; 20,000 in institutions for the feeble-minded[3]; 84,000 in almshouses[4]; 412,000 in various kinds of benevolent institutions[5].

Heavy as is this institution burden, there is an equally heavy one outside. The general public, unfortunately, has not understood this. Lacking the statistics, it is not surprising that the institution population has been taken, largely, as the measure of our burden of dependence, defectiveness and delinquency.

Take the single problem of pauperism. In Indiana, if I may use my own state as an illustration, there has never been a time since poor asylums were established (1821) that it was not easily possible to learn the number of inmates. It was not until 1896, however, that we had even the slightest idea of the number of persons who received public aid in their own homes. That we had 3,000 persons in our asylums aroused little interest. That for every person in an asylum there were at least twenty-five on the lists of the overseers of the poor, which we discovered from the first reports under our outdoor relief law of 1895, caused our leading newspapers to print column after column, with big headlines: "Is Indiana a State of Paupers?"

The same thing is true of our penal and correctional institutions. They deal with but a handful, compared with the enormous number of offenders who pass through the courts, to say nothing of those who go undiscovered and unpunished of law. Our institutions for mental defectives are crowded, yet they are caring for but a small proportion of that class.

There is no one thing to which we can point as the cause of all this anti-social condition. Certain it is, however, that feeble-mindedness is back of a very great amount of it.

In the presentation of a scientific proposition it is essential that one know his problem and state it correctly before proceeding with its discussion or solution. Do we know the problem of the feeble-minded? In some of its aspects we do; in others we do not. We know something of what feeble-mindedness is

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[1]Bulletin 121, page 8.
[2]Bulletin 119, page 8.
[3]Ibid, page 80.
[4]Paupers in Almhouses (1910), page 47.
[5]Benevolent Institutions (1910), page 58.

its conditions, causes, results; we understand some things that can be done to prevent it; we have learned how to educate, train, improve and care for its progeny.

There is much that we do not know, chiefly, perhaps, its extent and gravity. True, we have the results of valuable studies in several directions by competent investigators. The work of untrained, inexperienced persons in this field is valueless. In fact, a considerable amount is published that is inaccurate, therefore harmful. What we need is a thorough investigation in every state, and data that are accurate and reliable.

The operations of the compulsory school attendance law have brought forcibly to our notice both the community and the educational problem involved in feeble-mindedness. Children within a prescribed age have been forced into school and the regular schools are not able to care properly for them. The feeble-minded boy or girl, unrestrained in a community, particularly in a town, threatens the home. A single feeble-minded girl among a group of young boys becomes a plague-spot, the consequences of which are frightful. The spread of venereal disease by mental defectives is well known. Feeble-minded boys become the butt of the neighborhood. They are led into pranks, frequently into vices, and often find their way to a state institution. Of 229 boys who entered the Indiana Boys' School in 1914, 141, or 62 per cent., when tested by the Binet system and the Goddard form-board, were found to be feeble-minded to a greater or less degree[1].

Many orphans' homes know the trouble caused by this class of children and the injustice to others of forced association with them. From their records helpful knowledge is often to be had of personal and family histories.

Of the close relation between feeble-mindedness and pauperism, there is conclusive evidence. Statistics of Indiana poor asylums indicate a percentage of 26.9 of feeble-mindedness, while feeble-mindedness, insanity or epilepsy is reported in 43 per cent. of the inmates[2]. In Missouri as investigation of almshouse conditions resulted in the conclusion that nearly half the almshouse population is mentally defective[3] and that is the opinion expressed also by Dr. H. H. Goddard[4].

Recent studies of official outdoor relief have given additional information regarding feeble-minded persons and families receiving public aid. Of 199 cases recently studied in Missouri, 37

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[1]Hickman: Ind. Bulle. Char. and Cor., June, 1915.
[2]Report Ind. Bd. State Char., 1914, p. 149.
[3]Rept. St. Bd. Char. and Cor., 1911-12, p. 70.
[4]Goddard: Feeble-Mindedness, Its Causes and Consequences, p. 17.

per cent. gave evidence of mental defectiveness either in the beneficiaries or in their dependents[5] and the conclusion was reached there[6] and in a somewhat similar study in New York[7] that "county money encourages such persons to live at large and propagate their kind, or at least makes it possible for them to do so."

That feeble-mindedness enters largely into the problem of commercialized vice is becoming more and more apparent. Miss Miner characterizes it as the most important individual cause of that great evil[8]. Many competent judges estimate that 50 per cent. of prostitutes are mentally abnormal[9].

It is from institutions for the feeble-minded that most of the evidence has come. For example, there are two children in the School for Feeble-Minded Youth at Fort Wayne, members of a degenerate family whose history is one of crime and immorality, alcoholism, disease, mental defectiveness, illegitimacy, pauperism. We have information, more or less extensive, regarding 477 members of this one family, representing seven generations.

The mentality of delinquents, also, is being studied, with valuable results. Dr. Goddard estimates that from 25 per cent. to 50 per cent. of the people in our prisons are mentally defective and incapable of managing their affairs with ordinary prudence[1]. Of 374 men examined at the Indiana State Prison, 90, or 24 per cent., gave a personal history and 111, or 29 per cent., a family history of mental defect[2]. There are some who go to the extent of saying that from 70 to 95 per cent. of prisoners are feeble-minded. We do not know the definitions and standards used by those who reach these conclusions. One thing, however, I think is sure,—we are not doing our cause any good by publishing extreme statements. On the contrary, we are hindering it. Already the courts are beginning to question. Some say, "You would have us believe that every person who commits a crime is irresponsible." I want to say emphatically we must have the courts with us in this work.

Every accurate piece of work in this field is worth while. Valuable material is accumulating, the result of studies by trained and experienced investigators in schools and universities, in institutions for mental defectives and delinquents, and in different

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[5]Warfield: Outdoor Relief in Missouri, p. 84.
[6]Ibid, p. 4.
[7]N. Y. State Char. Aid. Assn.: Outdoor Relief in Dutchess County.
[8]Proc. N. C. C., 1914, p. 198.
[9]Goddard: Feeble-Mindedness, Its Causes and Consequences, p. 17.
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[1]Goddard: Feeble Mindedness, Its Causes and Consequences, p. 7.
[2]Ind. State Prison: Report, 1913, p. 34.

laboratories. The laboratories at Cold Spring Harbor and at Vineland represent the best we have. The information which has been collected from these different lines of social activity but emphsizes the need of research. It should extend to all parts of our land, and the net result should be a mass of facts that will form the basis for future study and proper action. The whole public must realize its burden and awaken to its responsibility.

The latest expression on this subject, prepared by our friends at Vineland, was presented at a meeting at the residence of Mrs. E. H. Harriman in New York, a few weeks ago. The meeting was called to consider whether the time was ripe for a nation-wide propaganda for their care. The importance of this was recognized and for the present the Training School at Vineland was asked to undertake the work[3]. I give in substance the statement referred to:

> The most conservative estimate of the number of feeble-minded in this country is one in every five hundred of the population. This means 200,000. About one-tenth of this number are receiving proper care. At least two-thirds of the feeble-minded have inherited their feeble-mindedness.[4] The average number of children born in a family is four, whereas in these degenerate families we find 7.3 each, and if the still-born children are included, the disproportion is still more striking, as the average number of children born in each family is brought up to 8.4[5].
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> Sixty-two per cent. of all cases committed to our inebriate homes are either insane or mentally defective[1]. Of 300 prostitutes fifty-one per cent, were feeble-minded. All doubtful cases were recorded as normal. Not more than six of the entire number seemed to have really good minds[2]. It is highly probable that at least fifty per cent. of the inmates of our almhouses are feeble-minded[3]. One study of the mentality of truants shows upwards of eighty per cent. of them feeble-minded[4]. Many different studies show from forty-six per cent. (Rahway, N. J.) to eighty-nine per cent. (Geneva, Ill.) of reformatory inmates to be feeble-minded[5]. If these statements should be taken at only half their value, they still show a condition important enough to need prompt action.

These things we believe. The evidence gathered shows they are probably understated. They serve as a basis for our work. They offer a just cause for our appeal to the public. But of the

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[3]The National Committee on Provision for the Feeble-minded has since been organized and the work turned over to it.

[4]Goddard: Feeble-Mindedness, Its Causes and Consequences, p. 47.

[5]Tredgold: Report of Royal Commission of England, Pt. 6, p. 199.

[1]Branthwaite.

[2]Mass. Com. for the Investigation of the White Slave Traffic, So-called. Report 1914, p. 29.

[3]Goddard: Feeble-Mindedness, Its Causes and Consequences, p. 17.

[4]Goddard: Ibid, p. 19.

[5]Goddard: Ibid, p. 9.

highest importance is more facts, greater knowledge, scientific research. With a modification of emphasis this is as true of the insane and epileptic as of the feeble-minded.

When we view the number of the feeble-minded, their fecundity, their lack of control, the menace they are, the degradation they cause, the degeneracy they perpetuate, the suffering and misery and crime they spread,—these are the burden we must bear. We cannot escape. We should bear it aright. We need more strength, more wisdom, more help, more light.

Author's Note: Since writing the above, I have had the privilege of reading the excellent report of the New Hampshire Commission, prepared by Mrs. Frank S. Streeter. I feel that special attention should be called to it to the end that other states may be inspired by it to similar activities.

THE PREVENTION OF MENTAL DEFECT, THE DUTY OF THE HOUR

Martin W. Barr, M. D., Chief Physician, Pennsylvania Training School for Feeble-minded Children, Elwyn, Pa.

That the prevention of the transmission of mental defect is the paramount duty of the hour, is a truism not to be questioned; and to this end, honest, rational eugenics is an absolute necessity to stem the tide of degeneracy, now steadily on the increase. Life stands not as the product of the Demogorgons, but as a gift of the great King Himself; and is revealed in many forms; no one form left to chance, but made according to law from a pattern for which the forbears are responsible. This may be hidden, like the ocean drift-wood, but at last, sooner or later, it is cast up.

Heredity, the law of life for human, as truly as for beast or plant life, is clearly proven. To be born aright, one must be born again; but the inception must be with the forefathers. Degeneracy, once permitted to invade a lineage, can never be *wholly* eradicated; lessened materially, and even reduced to a minimum it may be, but sooner or later, in one generation or another, a defective is bound to appear.

The carelessness or ignorance of an apparently normal mother during parturition; or that of a physician at the birth; the neglect of a nurse—all may become tributary to defect; and the concentration of neuroses in a child, frequently unsuspected, may date back a century before a physiological house-cleaning takes place.

The Registrar General's last statistics in Great Britain show that in England and Wales, with a population of 36,070,492—161,963 were returned as suffering from mental infirmity, 106,660 being insane and 55,303 mentally defective; and since 1901 shows an increase of insanity 27.3 per cent., and of mental defect 13.2 per cent. In the United States there are over 350,000 avowed cases of mental defect, showing one to every 200, or a little less than ½ of 1 per cent. of the entire population. Some 21,000 of the feeble-minded and epileptic are provided for by 27 States in 37 institutions; in addition, about 1,000 are cared for in private schools. Therefore, there are at least 328,000 mental and moral defectives at large, perpetrating, unrestrained, the defilement of the race.

Throughout the entire United States no less than $94,000,000 is annually spent in the care of the insane, and $90,000,000 for the feeble-minded; making a total of $184,000,000 expended yearly upon our helpless population.

The percentage of mental defect among the foreign element in the city of New York, where our immigrants are mainly admitted, is 2.48 times greater than that of the native-born. A study made there in 1912, of the alien insane and feeble-minded cared for in the state hospitals, shows no less than 13,163 foreign-born patients. For these, at a cost of $262 per capita, the annual expenditure amounted to $3,448,706; and, as the average hospital age is eleven years, the sum of $37,935,766 will have been paid by the state at the end of that period for the care of mentally defective and diseased aliens.

Herein is it clearly shown that the physiologic, psychologic and sociologic researches of the 18th and 19th centuries have, within the 60 years portrayed, certainly produced practical results in providing protection for the *defective*. But it also shows that the greater aim of protection for the *race* has not been attained. A glance at the exposition which science has given in relation to cause and effect, may make clear the means by which the ultimate suppression of so great an ill may best be attained. That heredity is naturally a dominating factor in all life is clearly proven in the researches of Mendel, which exhibit unerringly how definite characters are formed in the individual, and how directly they are transmitted, so that decendants to at least the fifth generation may develop the characteristics of their forbears in greater or less degree. Not that the child will necessarily exhibit actually the same defects, or qualities, of the parent, but it does inherit a strain, be it good or bad, which will be stimulated or kept in abeyance according to the prepotency of connection.

Science, following up this principle, has shown furthermore that by a careful study of family history, recognizing peculiarities, or traits lacking, it may be possible to suppress, but not to eliminate this strain. The Mendelian law clearly affirms that the germ plasma of normal male and female contains a "determiner element," for every tissue of the body; and when these "determiner elements" are of equal potency, and blend perfectly, the decendants will possess characteristics of both parents. Whenever there is a defect in the germ plasma in one parent, the analogous "determiner" of the other will assert itself, and the child inherits the stronger characteristics, be it good or evil. Thus it is not infrequently observed that apparently normal persons produce feeble-minded children; or there are families where some members are bright, and one or two, for no apparent reason, feeble-minded; while on the other hand is seen a normal child, the offspring of parents—one normal and the other abnormal. Such are clear examples of the prepotency of the infusion of pure blood; the taint is there all the same, in abeyance, ready to respond to the first call of inheritance or accident. This is especially to be noted of mental defect; imbecility will breed imbecility, and where there is a trace of feeble-mindedness in a family it is sure, sooner or later, to reappear, the defective "germ plasma" producing an abnormal.

Venereal diseases cause much idiocy and imbecility, and both directly and indirectly are potent factors; nullifying the wage-earning capacity of the father, and reducing the poor, innocent mother to a state of hopeless invalidism. In thus destroying domestic happiness it lowers the whole *morale* of family life, and finally is visited on the unborn child, who enters life the diseased, starved victim of an unhealthy heredity and environment. Similar results may be traced to the abuse of drugs and to alcoholism, which latter, with its deleterious effect on cell and germ-life, may, even in moderation, according to Darwin, Gladstone, Cobden and Comte, accomplish more harm than a combination of famine, pestilence and war.

Insanity and defect—mental, moral and physical—are sure to find a corollary in the after family history; while syphilis is fitly named the "King of Abortionists," and gonorrhea, the "Queen of Sterility."

In a study of harlots numbering 424—80 per cent. plus were found to be distinctly imbecile, their mental age never exceeding twelve years. The 20 per cent. adjudged normal were found to be unable to carry on a consecutive conversation; and, never reading papers or books, were absolutely ignorant of the ordinary topics of the day. A large majority of the whole had contracted

venereal diseases and were pronounced alcoholics and drug fiends. Of some studies made in the juvenile courts, numbering 1,487 cases—61 per cent. were found imbecile beyond a peradventure, their mental age averaging from 7½ to 11. Of these, over 50 per cent. were victims of venereal diseases.

Recently my attention was called to a family where, both parents being feeble-minded, there were 22 imbecile children; in yet another were 18 idiot children—also of defective parents—the community in which these latter lived, taking pride in exhibiting them as curiosities. One family shows, in four generations, 82 imbeciles; a second, in three generations, 34 imbeciles; and two other families, each with an idiot mother, show in the one 7, in the other 9 illegitimate children. Surely some one should have suggested that these cases required surgical aid; yet no steps had been taken to such end.

From this brief scanning of statistics, one cannot fail to recognize the necessity for the enforcement of measures which experience has demonstrated as absolutely needful steps toward prevention, viz: The separation, sequestration and asexualization of degenerates; and further revision of marriage laws forbidding increase. Such separation protects society from contamination and the defective from a world where, brought into competition with normal people, he is forever misunderstood and driven backward—be it in the home, the school or in business circles. Separation, first, of normal from backward children in the schools; second, the massing in classes of those of similar mental capacity, that they may be trained in occupations proven possible for them—industrial, manual or intellectual—such as farm and house work, shoe-making, carpentry, dressmaking, painting or printing; in these aiding also in the living expenses.

In order to effectually accomplish these aims, there must be permanent sequestration, otherwise the trained imbecile is a greater menace to society than is the untrained, in that, with latent powers and talents developed to the point of concealing defects, he is no longer recognized, and has opened to him a larger field for the indulgence of emotional or criminal instincts. Training schools for defectives, without the protection of permanent sequestration, find themselves often twice defeated in the aim of preventing increase and lessening crime; and by the loss of their trained laborers, aiding in self-support and in the care of the helpless. For this evil, legislation offers no remedy, no state in the union providing for indeterminate sequestration. Why may not the government, rather, set aside a reservation for such? Surely they are as deserving as are the Indian or the

Negro, and such protection more reasonable and cheaper than penitentiaries for which there would soon be no need.

Asexualization has at last won its way to legal recognition as the only assured means of dealing with present numbers, not only preventing increase but lessening the exaggerated sexual impulses and contributing to the happiness of the individual, thus insuring a certain amount of freedom in home or community life. In this matter the past decade seems to present a new trend of thought, in that what was formerly termed brutality is beginning to be viewed as simply the safe-guarding of the innocent, and the preservation of nations from racial degeneracy. Some 12 states have concurred in affirming the necessity for sterilization, Indiana leading the way in finally gaining the endorsement of legislative action.

The application of the principle in these states cannot fail to correct prejudice and misunderstanding in the mind of the general public, making clear the nature and simplicity of an operation involving no danger and almost no discomfort to the subject, and insuring benefit to all. The removal of the organs is not always essential, but is to be preferred as giving absolute security; and when performed upon youth desire almost entirely ceases, or at least is held in reasonable abeyance. There is no reason why the operation should not be so safeguarded as to prevent license. It should be permissible only after study of and testing by accredited alienists and surgeons, and this is best attained in the grouping of numbers by separation and segregation.

In the reconsideration of marriage laws, progress is shown also in that a large majority of states—some 38—make proven defect in either or both parties a nullification of marriage; but none as yet require for obtaining a marriage license a certificate exhibiting a clean bill of health for two generations back; notwithstanding the large number of cases recorded showing the reappearance of unsuspected defect, usually intensified, in the third or fourth generation.

It has been urged that stringency of marriage laws would encourage vice; but why not make illicit cohabitation with a defective a penal offence, as does the Mental Deficiency Act recently brought into operation in England? It is to be hoped that the day is not far distant that shall bring a consensus throughout the union, regarding the prevention of procreation of the unfit as absolutely necessary to stem the tide that is polluting the race.

The separation, segregation and asexualization of the unfit in one generation must in the nature of things bring a twofold blessing, not only reducing numbers in one, but rais-

ing and accentuating the standards of successive generations. With such division of classes presenting a permanent object-lesson of fit and unfit—the question with each individual being simply "to which shall *my* decendants belong?" eugenic marriage *will*, as the outgrowth of such civilization, become a natural custom with all, as it is now with a few, needing no law to enforce it.

The experience of the ages shows that the progress of a nation is co-equal with its maintenance of race-ideals, and that the survival of the fittest can never be attained if no restriction is placed upon the propagation of the unfit.

In this study of imbecility the vital importance of its early recognition is a point arrived at by science on many lines—physiologic, psychologic and pedagogic—a dictum which workers in social welfare also endorse, as being clearly proven in their varied experiences. That the general public—the entire lay world—be brought to regard every imbecile as a social menace, and the segregation and asexualization of such imperative, has long since been affirmed by leaders in charge of them; and was clearly acknowledged by the women of our land, when, the subject being broached before a conference of mothers, I was urged by them not only to preach this doctrine, but to preach it in terms that he who runs might read.

With public thought so crystallized, the demand for increased facilities for the care of irresponsibles must meet with better success than in the past, being accepted by legislation not as contributions to charities, but a protection to the safety of the general public—an ounce of prevention being recognized as truly worth a pound of cure.

The effect of such conditions and environment upon a rising generation would tend to create a far higher education than the much-vaunted teaching of sexology in schools. Under present conditions a subject forbidden general discussion is often greedily swallowed as poison food by semi-defectives, to the detriment of themselves and others. Whereas, the evils of heredity guarded by legislation, and as openly discussed as are the evils of war upon a nation, will bring to our youth a normal consciousness that the rite of marriage is not a mere legalizing of the cohabitation of the sexes—the sentiment of too many of the present day—but is a sacred entrance to the vocation of parenthood to which all are not called; a vocation for which the fitting of oneself by the cultivation of the being—mental, moral and physical—toward the gaining of a noble self-hood is the truest religion as well as following the dictates of the highest patriot-

ism. Such preservation of things sacred would lead, surely, to a day of chivalry greater than that of past ages.

When the world shall be brought to recognize that the production of maimed life is a greater crime than it at present regards its destruction to be; when the arm of law shall be extended to control sexualism as it now does brutalism; then, growing generations, viewing in family and community life the result of true self-control in the noble self-hood attained by their elders, will press onward, inspired by high race-ideals, in this work of race preservation.

DISCUSSION: The discussion was continued informally by the following delegates: Eleanor H. Johnson, New York City; Charles Bernstein, Rome, N. Y.; Dr. Frank W. Keating, Owings Mills, Md.; Alexander Johnson, Vineland, N. J.; James F. Bagley, Augusta, Me.; Amos W. Butler, Indianapolis, Ind.

CORRECTIONS

PROGRAM

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Payments to Prisoners, section meeting, p. 385.
The Treatment of Inebriety, section meeting, p. 396.
Women Police, section meeting, p. 411.
Police Work, section meeting, p. 421.

Introductory Remarks*

Demarchus C. Brown, Member Board of State Charities of Indiana, Indianapolis, Chairman

The question of *corrections* is always with us. We must be corrected ourselves; we are compelled to correct our children—and in some cases our children correct us; and then we have this general subject of corrections for those who have violated the laws of the state. The subject is as old as the world and yet absolutely new. New problems are arising every day on the question of punishing and reforming those who have been anti-social. I believe we should find new ways to improve the condition of the unfortunates in our penal institutions, if the old ways do not succeed—and we are constantly told that they do not; that crime is on the increase instead of on the decrease.

Who is to blame for this inefficiency of treatment—our courts, our penal institutions, or society? Necessarily we are compelled to consider new problems. A few of these new problems will be discussed by this section. It may be worth while to mention them. Shall we give payment to convicts while in the institutions? What effect does inebriety have on crime and how can inebriety be lessened? Convict camps in the South. Should we have police women; what is their province and what have been the results where women have served as police? And lastly, the whole question of the police department and the social problem. These are, comparatively speaking, radical problems. They upset in large measure the conventional theories and practices of the treatment of criminals. May I

*General session Monday, May 17, 8:15 A. M.

say a word about them by way of introduction and then leave the matter for the papers and discussion from the floor?

Payment to convicts—how far away that sounds; how like a dream. Conventional penologists, both the theorists and the practical men, immediately say: the man is sentenced for punishment and for deprivation of everything that he ordinarily enjoys outside the prison walls. Why should he be paid? Would it not be an incentive for a man to commit crime in order to be properly housed and still make some money for himself or his dependent family? These questions might arise, and justly too; and they must be answered in the discussion of this problem. As the chairman of the committee sees it, there is no proposition to take away the idea of punishment, by shutting the criminal off from those with whom he has tried to live and whom he has injured either in person or in property. He must be shut away from the rest of the world. That alone, with human beings, is a tremendous hardship. By punishing him in this way, however, shall we totally forget his wife and children, his father and mother? Society may be and often is compelled to support them while the criminal is shut up behind the walls. Is it not better, even by force, to make him work, pay him something for the work and thus support those on the outside who otherwise would be on public charity? But if he does not have dependents, shall we pay him then?

Well, why not pay him something in order to teach him that he must save and have something ready to rebuild himself when he goes out into society again? If he is a human being is he not worth this much at least? Here he is with us always, apparently, and in large numbers; shall we try to rehabilitate him while punishing him? Shall he have some reward for his work? The modern view is that he is an unfortunate, whatever he has done. He is down and out. Shall he be set up and put back in again? The old view says, no. You are, in doing this, soft and sentimental, a *namby-pamby* and a *mollycoddle*. The old idea is, isolate, punish, deprive; otherwise you are not deterrent. You simply help the man who has committed the crime. Which view is correct? The modern view is, to speak truthfully, quite radical. It upsets the old schemes and ideas. But at times we must be radical if we are to make any progress at all; otherwise we rot and rot. But when shall we be radical and revolutionary? As your chairman sees it, institutions are for men and for their improvement, whether these men be violators of the law or not. Institutions are not for themselves alone. In the words of our great poet:

"Is not the greatest institution the love of comrades?"

The second topic which the section has for discussion, is *Inebriety and Crime.* Is the first-mentioned the cause of the second? If so, how far, and how shall it be treated? Does crime merely accompany inebriety and the use of intoxicating liquors or is it the result of inebriety? Are we derelict in this matter? There are many who hold that the use of intoxicating liquors has, comparatively speaking, a slight effect only on crime. Others, on the contrary, insist strenuously that much crime, if not the most crime, results from inebriety. It is the hope of the chairman of this committee, and he believes his hope will be fulfilled, to have the experience of men who are trying out this question, testing whether inebriety can actually be cured and whether the results lessen appreciably the number of crimes. I cannot answer any of these questions or solve any of these problems. The topic will be presented by skilled and experienced men who may be able to throw some light on its solution and to suggest some way of improvement in this whole situation.

Another comparatively new question will come up in the treament of misdemeanants, of men and women sentenced to jail. When the International Prison Congress met in this country I recall that Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise expressed very strong criticism against our jail system. He told us in Indianapolis in public that we manufactured our criminals in our county jails; that we enabled men to make money out of them; that we commercialized the unfortunate lying in jail; that we did not give him any work; that we sent him out more worthless than when we put him in. Even the Russian delegates to that association shrugged their shoulders at our jail system and told us the same thing that Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise told us. We knew this in Indiana very well and the Board of State Charities had been making a fight for the abolition of our county jails for many, many years; but at that time nothing had resulted. The question for discussion, then, is, what shall we do with the men sentenced to jail for thirty, sixty or ninety days? Shall we leave them there or send them out to work in gardens and farms? Is the jail the curse of our penal system, as has been frequently charged, or is it all that it should be and all that the *jail bird* deserves? This problem also you will have an opportunity to discuss.

Another problem that the students of social questions, particularly from the South, will take interest in, I trust, is that of the convicts camps in the South. It may be quite difficult for workers in the North to appreciate or to understand the con-

ditions in some southern states which have led to the leasing-out of convicts and putting them under the control of officials not employed by the state. I have no doubt that there is much misunderstanding on this question. Your chairman would be particularly glad to be enlightened on the whole problem. He has just read a description of the Turpentine Camps in Florida, conducted for profit, purely from the work of men sentenced to receive punishment but not to receive any assistance; and yet to be made better while they are under the control of the state. On the face of it, these convict camps seem bad, but maybe there is much to be said on the other side. We want full information, and a full and free discussion on all sides of the question.

Another topic that we hope to have reviewed at one session will be that of policewomen. There, again, I fancy the old-time penologist and the practical police officer raise their eyes and their hands in holy horror. They ask, shall we degrade a woman by making her a policeman? What sort of an innovation is this that takes our women to the streets, to the railroad stations, to the police stations and jails to serve as police? What can they do? Can they save girls and boys any more than men can? The believer in the new system says, men did not save the boys and girls and why shall we not give the women a chance? Have not the results been satisfactory? Have the women who have undertaken this work been degraded and have they lost the respect of citizens generally? Here is a new field for women workers, a field where, in the estimation of your chairman, women can take an important part in the salvation of the world, a practical sort of salvation.

We are going also to talk about the policeman, or rather the police force. Has our police system materially lessened crime? Has it, to any great extent, been a source of prevention? Of course the believer in the old time system will say, yes, immediately; that an immense amount of damage has been prevented by the present police system. And yet, after all, has it not been a failure? How much has the policeman done toward solving the great social problems in all our cities? So frequently his duty seems to be to arrest boys and let other criminals go. How little has he assisted the first offender, and how frequently has he taken the intoxicated man home and assisted him? He has always deemed it his privilege to take him to jail for the sake of a fee. We have, comparatively speaking, given him little to do. Why should he not be an assistant in all the social work of the great city in preventing crime, in saving boys and girls and in cleaning up the streets,

in being a saviour of unfortunate men and women and children, instead of an arrester, a man with a club to beat somebody? Are we to have any change in this system? Is any change necessary? Are we going to have a police system of order and discipline and decency and helpfulness, and not merely men who are servants of a political group and secondary in the great work necessary for the salvation of those whom we shall call the unfortunate?

It is not the purpose of the chairman of your committee to go into detail in the treatment of any of these problems. But I merely indicate to you here that they will be taken up and request your presence and your participation in the discussion when they are presented at the various sessions.

THE INDIANA STATE FARM

Demarchus C. Brown, Member Indiana Board of State Charities, Indianapolis

The state of Indiana for a quarter of a century has been making an effort to get rid of county jails except as places of detention for the accused awaiting trial. The jail system has seemed well-grounded and strongly supported by many people, and especially by local authorities. The Board of State Charities has recommended to the governor and the legislature the establishment of district workhouses or farms, to provide work for men under jail sentence. It has been a matter of education. The matter has been discussed in the state conference, and finally we have secured results in the establishment of one State Farm, which at least will be the good beginning in what may seem to be the solution of the problem of the short-term misdemeanant.

It has been interesting and instructive to note the opposition to the project. It has been largely local, of course. The reasons have been that the county authorities could take care of their own misdemeanants, that no state interference should be allowed; and that, too, in spite of the fact that jail sentences were for the violation of state laws. County authorities claimed that they were as competent as the state to do this work. The sheriffs, particularly, made the plea that it would deprive them of certain fees; that they had a right to these fees because they had spent money in their campaigns and must be reimbursed. That this reimbursement came from the public treasury and from unfortunates seemed to make no difference. It was purely a commercial question. And then, too, local politics has always

interfered. Positions must be given in the county jail for political workers. This has been a very strong source of opposition, and very naturally, then, it has taken a period of twenty or twenty-five years to get anything done. It has been difficult to bring the people up to the idea of a state institution instead of a local one. They have been engaged in their business enterprises and have taken comparatively little interest in it.

The greatest shock which the people received was given them by Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise at the time of the meeting of the International Prison Congress, many of the members of which visited Indianapolis and had there a public meeting. He plainly told the people that the county jail system was the source of crime; that it was a disgrace to civilization and to our humanitarian instincts.

In 1913 the assembly authorized the governor to appoint a commission of four to select a site for a state farm. This commission, by the appointment of the governor, was composed of high class, disinterested men, serving only the public, thinking only of the general welfare. They went about their work wisely. They visited many sites in the state that were offered for the purpose of the State Farm. By a process of elimination they brought the places down to three. It was necessary to consider many points, such as supply and quality of water, nearness of transportation facilities, varied soil, stone for road and building purposes, quality of the clay for brick, high-lands and low-lands for orchards and garden stuff. All such questions were taken carefully into consideration and by this process of gradation many places were eliminated. One object in view was to purchase cheap land and require the inmates to make a great farm of it. This commission finally secured at an average price of a little less than $37.00 per acre a piece of land containing 1,605 acres, quite near the center of the state, accessible to two railroads and containing all the qualities mentioned above. The soil and stone on the ground were carefully examined by chemists and geologists in order that their qualities might be known and no mistake made when it came to supplying building and road material. The water was examined, the trees, the roads and everything that would make it serve the public welfare and the good of the inmates.

When the superintendent was appointed a certain number of prisoners from the State Prison at Michigan City, and some from the Reformatory at Jeffersonville were sent to the Farm, and, making their residence in tents, they have begun work to prepare buildings for the use of the inmates. The men who were sent were carpenters, brick layers, tin workers, etc., who

could intelligently put up the buildings. Some of these buildings are now ready. They are inexpensive, but will fullfil their purpose thoroughly. This is true because the object will be to have the men out-doors most of the time. Some men have already been sent from the various police courts to this Farm. A few days ago there were 100 men there. It was interesting, while on a recent visit, to hear expressions from the prisoners from the State Prison, that they wished to stay there where they could work in the open instead of going back to the prison.

One question arises immediately, whether escape will not be easy from such a farm. The answer is, Yes, and yet apparently there will be only a few more attempts than from the prison and reformatory. The law makes it a felony for an inmate of the Farm to escape and this will be deterrent in a very strong degree.

I was intensely interested in a visit to the Farm a few days ago to find gangs of men working on the roads, on sewers, on lumber cutting, on brick making, on the construction of the buildings, in farming and gardening, on stone cutting and quarrying. These interests have already been started. Later on others will be added. The men were busy and in good health. When asked if it was better for them in their estimation to be there than to be lying in jail, many of them said, "Come into the dining room and see us eat; then you can decide for yourself." They were working in the open eight or nine hours a day, with ample facilities for bathing and recreation, which, by the way, has already been established.

After seeing men lying in jails for months and months, with nothing to do but brood and plan other crimes, it was a matter of actual joy to the observer to see these men digging the soil, to see them in good health, enjoying their meals and learning a trade, and also reimbursing the state for the expense to which it had gone. It is a complete revolution from the former system for misdemeanants. The marvel is that we have been so long reaching it, and the further marvel is that there are county officials in the state who are strongly opposed to it even yet. But, after it is thoroughly established and worked out, I believe the people will never want a change. The expense connected with such an institution, inasmuch as the Farm itself will supply nearly everything, will be comparatively small, and the humanitarian results will be correspondingly large.

The time may come—and we trust it may come soon, when it will be necessary to establish other such farms in different parts of the state and to require all misdemeanants, not merely those under sixty-day sentences, to be sent to such farms.

THE ONTARIO PLAN

J. T. Gilmour, Superintendent, Ontario Reformatory, Guelph

About three months ago the assistant superintendent came to my office one morning and, naming two prisoners, said they had prepared a ladder with a view to going over the wall and making their escape. This was in our old-time prison in Toronto, which we have since vacated. I knew the two men fairly well. One had served a term with us twelve years ago when he had been so troublesome that I remembered him distinctly. The other I had formed a favorable opinion of and wondered why he should do this. I did not wish to have a tragedy, and gave orders to lock up the two men at once. In a few minutes the officer came back to report that the men refused to be locked up until they saw me. I went in. The spokesman, the second-term man, demanded to know why they were to be locked up. I said, "I think you know quite well. The game is up. We have your ladder and you must go to your cell." They stoutly denied it. I was inclined to accept the denial of the first-termer, but I had no doubt about the guilt of the second-termer. When they saw I was determined not to yield, the second-termer fell into a passion and said, "Yes, I did it. I made that ladder. I am going over the wall, and you can shoot as much as you like. I would rather die than stay here. But that fellow there, I despise him. He was the means of bringing me here, but I won't trust him. He's not in this game with me, so I take the whole blame myself."

There was something about his plea for his enemy and his frankness in confession that appealed to me. I let my officer retire, and I said, "Sam, what's the trouble?" He replied, "O, I've been here so long I am tired. Something's the matter with my stomach. I have nobody to care for or who cares for me, and I would just about as leave die anyway." I said, "Why didn't you come and tell me? We have not understood each other." I called the officer and ordered for the man the best official diet, the same as that given the officers of our institution, and all he wanted, but he must go to his cell. He did so about ten o'clock in the morning. At two o'clock I saw him, and said, "Now, I should like to help you, but I cannot do it in this cell, for you require exercise and fresh air. Will you play square?" He looked surprised, and said, "Yes, if I give my word of honor I'll live up to it. Only two people in the world ever trusted me, and they had no cause to regret it." I took him out and said, "I want you to spend three hours in the forenoon and three

hours in the afternoon doing just what you like while you are on the invalid list."

After about ten days I satisfied myself that he was fit to go to work. I told him, "I want to send you to the farm, if you will do the right thing." He promised, and I sent him there, where he has been two months, and I could not wish for better results. Coming down this afternoon I was reading the papers and came across these lines

"The kiss of the sun for pardon,
The song of the birds for mirth,
We are nearer God's heart in a garden,
Than any where else on earth."

My man is not in a garden, he is in a large dairy, with seventy or eighty splendid Holsteins, and it is a delightful sight to see him. "He is worth any two men I ever had," the superintendent of the dairy says. He takes an intense interest in his work, and he says there is something about the life that appeals to him different from the shops in the city where he has worked.

Some of you may remember the illustration I used last year, of the boy who came in April, 1914, to our old-time prison at Toronto and who asked me one day if the buds were yet out on the trees. That question cut me to the heart,—that he had to come to me to inquire what the God of Nature was doing. I immediately took him to the front and told the officer there the boy might stay with him. I saw him wandering about and was afraid he was going to run away, but he was picking dandelions. He brought back two to the officer. As that boy picked those common, everyday flowers, I thought of that revelation that John received on Patmos, where it was revealed to him that "the leaves of the trees were for the healing of the nations." Shakespeare tells us that there are "tongues in trees, books in running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in everything." These young men sent to us, imperfect in mind and body, have never been permitted to listen to the tongues in the trees, nor to read the books in running brooks, nor have they had a chance to see good in everything. But our old-time prisons have done their best to give them sermons in stones, good and plenty.

I am not at all comfortable in my mind in regard to my attitude toward the boy I have referred to, whom I took out to the farm. He served his term twelve years ago, and the question with me is, "Did I do the best I could for him then? If I did, would be be back with us today?" The illustrations I have used have been introduced for the purpose of showing the importance of the personal touch in dealing with delinquents. Kingsley was

asked the secret of a joyous life, and his ready reply was, "I had a friend." Human nature craves for sympathy. Our Savior was no exception to this as He approached Gethsemane, for he yearned for a friend to watch with him during his great trial.

Then we have the honor question, a subject much written and talked about. I am not one of those who preach much along this line. We have nine hundred men and boys today in Ontario, out on the farms, and every one of them is under continuous observation every hour of the day and night. If these men were such strong characters that they could go to our farms and stay there for one, two, or three years without any supervision, and purely as a matter of self-denial, they would be such strong characters they would never have come to prison. You may ask, "What do we learn?" We learn this. On our farms we have not a weapon of any kind, never have had, and hope we never may have. My officers do not even carry a cane. I do not like the looks of it. We have learned that a firm but kindly supervision is quite sufficient to do what guns and armaments formerly were thought to do. When we realize that infinitely more men come to prison through weakness than through wickedness, the line of treatment is clearly indicated. Our farms have been in existence about five years. We have our troubles, of course. Our escapes for the first five years were eight-tenths of one per cent. Those figures are compiled over a period of five years in dealing with six thousand different men and boys.

In my humble sphere I have tried to make two points in the realm of penology. One has been outdoor work for the delinquent, and the other has been the abolition of the animal cage as a proper home to reform men and boys in. The first year we started our farm I asked a great many men and boys at different times and in different places one question: "What do you find the greatest difference between life on the farm at Guelph and life in the prison at Toronto?" I was surprised that I received the same reply in one form or another, and it was this: "To get away from that cell." An educated man once said to me, "To sit in that cell all day Sunday, and Saturday afternoons, and see that cell gate staring you in the fact is hell." He did not say it to be disrespectful. It was his pent-up emotions. A cage is a cage, even though it is gilded. We have gone on, century after century, decade after decade, building our prisons in the old-time way, quite oblivious of what happened to the warden of old Phillipi who became so fossilized it took an earthquake to stir him. And then he had such a bad case of stage fright that he was going to commit suicide for fear his prisoners would run away. Instead, they stayed around to

help him, and it is worthy of note that they were able to advise him what he had better do, not only about himself, but about his family. My dear people, it is just as true today as it was in the days of Paul and Silas, that if we are going to help these men we must live near to them and learn of them.

The first year we started our farm, there was an acre of land adjoining the main road,—a low morass, covered with stumps. You could not drive across it; a man could not walk over it. There was a beautiful stream flowing into it and out of it, but not through it. We took ten of our boys, with one officer, and put this water into a channel, took out from four to five hundred stumps, underdrained it, and now that acre grows enough celery every year to pay for the clearing three times over. "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose."

Have you heard of the man who went to that great preacher Spurgeon, and told Spurgeon of his troubles and how earnestly he prayed over them? Spurgeon told him to pray with his hands. We have heard a lot in recent years about manual training. Now we are commencing to realize that there is a great deal in manual praying.

The Chairman tells me my twenty minutes have expired.

CONVICT CAMPS IN THE SOUTH*

P. St. Julien Wilson, Assistant Director, Office of Public Roads, Washington, D. C.

That treatment of the convict which takes into account both humanitarian and economic considerations is most desirable. Unfortunately, the subject has been too frequently approached from one of these standpoints without regard to the other. Those who have striven for conditions which would best promote the physical comfort and the mental and moral uplift of the convict have in some measure disregarded the right of society to lighten its burden by utilizing its criminal population along economically sound lines. I am not entirely in accord with the theory that the criminal is merely a weaker brother whose treatment must look to his benefit rather than to that of society. On the other hand, I fully realize that the old conception of punish-

*Illustrations for this address were given in a series of stereopticon views taken in the course of the investigation, on Saturday morning, May 15, by Mr. Herbert S. Fairbank, Highway Engineer, Office of Public Roads.

ment and repression as essentials to the handling of the convict question is clearly wrong. The convict is entitled to humane and considerate treatment. He should have healthful, invigorating environment and the opportunity to develop his mental and moral being. In other words, there is, to my mind, a sensible middle ground between the somewhat sentimental "fallen brother" attitude on the one hand and the brutal domination of the lash and chains on the other.

I shall not enter to any extent into what may be termed the sociological phases of the convict question, as these have been ably presented from almost every angle, and as the fundamentals are generally known and understood by your distinguished body. My own experience has been largely with the economic phases of the subject and I can, therefore, talk more intelligently to you along those lines.

Since it has come to be generally recognized that the convict should be given something to do, certain economic considerations have shaped the character of convict labor in the various sections of the country. In the South, climate has made practicable outdoor work during the greater part, if not the entire year; and this has given a strong impetus to utilizing the convicts for outdoor work. A second important factor in determining the character of the convict's occupation is the fact that from 70 to 90 per cent. of the southern convicts are negroes. It is recognized that, in general, the negro is accustomed to outdoor occupations. He is, as a rule, experienced and capable in manual labor, and he does not possess the same aversion to working in public on the so-called chain gangs as is characteristic of the white race. This racial factor has, therefore, further accentuated the tendency to use the convicts in outdoor labor in the southern states. A third important factor is that in the South there are comparatively few large cities. The convicts are, for the most part, from rural sections and are, therefore, best adapted by training and environment for outdoor work.

The leasing of convicts by the state to private interests has been condemned almost universally as against the dictates of humanity and as open to the gravest abuses. I am glad to say that, with a few exceptions, this system has been abolished in the southern states, but I think it is no more than just what we should consider that in the treatment of prisoners nearly all nations of the world have been passing through a process of evolution, just as in all other lines of human progress. The lease system, iniquitous though it be, represents simply a stage in that evolution which has characterized the treatment of the criminal classes. In fact, it was an actual advance over the old

systems of solitary confinement with the accompanying paraphernalia of discipline and torture.

Assuming, therefore, that the lease system has practically had its day, we are brought to a consideration of the other methods of employment which are being utilized in the southern states. Bearing in mind the trend toward outdoor employment, the limitations as to the character of service which the convict may render under direct control of public officials are such as to make necessary his use in farming or allied operations or in the construction of public works. Road building has developed during the past twenty years at a remarkable rate because of the pressing needs of the country for an adequate transportation system. The most logical step which could be taken, therefore, in the southern states was the utilization of the convicts in the building of the much needed public roads for the development of agricultural resources. The use of convicts on public road work is now quite general in Virginia. This has been the case since 1906, at which time the State Highway Department of Virginia was created, and the granting of state aid to counties in the form of convict labor provided for. North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Texas also use state convicts quite extensively for road work, and in Georgia the entire male state convict force is employed in this manner. This use of convicts may be justified on the grounds:

First, that there is little or no competition with free labor; second, that outdoor employment is more beneficial as a general rule to the health of the convict than any form of indoor employment; third, that public improvements greatly needed by the community are thus provided. The beneficial effect of outdoor employment on the health of the convict has not only an economic significance, but also meets the humanitarian requirement that the welfare of the convict be given full consideration. It is now generally recognized that a healthy condition of the body exercises a salutary influence on the mental and moral qualities of mankind, and so this outdoor employment may be justified from the sociological as well as the economic standpoint.

Throughout the southern states guarded camps are the rule rather than the exception, in contrast to the practice followed in some of the far-western states and to a limited extent in the eastern states, of maintaining what are known as honor camps. The practice is quite general, however, of rewarding the most trustworthy convicts by giving them a certain measure of liberty, designating them as trusties and allotting to them lighter tasks than are given to the gunmen. As a rule, the drivers, waterboys

and camp men are made up of the trusty class. Even the most sanguine advocates of the honor system do not contend that it is applicable to more than a limited percentage of the total male convict force. Such estimates run from 20 to 35 per cent. of the total number, except in the far West where they go in some instances as high as 60 per cent. Inasmuch as trusties in the Virginia camps comprise fully 30 per cent of the total, you can readily see that the only essential points of difference between the plan followed in Virginia and that in those States which have adopted the honor system, is that in the former trustworthy convicts are divided among all the camps, while in the latter they are concentrated in a few camps. I must say, however, that the term "trusty" has no hard and fast definition. There are some camps in which the trusties are placed very much upon honor, while in others the difference between the trusty and the gunman is comparatively slight. In the camps of all the southern states, except Georgia the trusties wear the same distinctive convict garb as the gunmen and are usually chained at night in the same manner as the latter class.

I believe that the plan now generally followed in the South could be modified, with great advantage to both society and the convict, by approaching more nearly the honor system; and, conversely, I believe that, in order to obtain the best results, those states which are following strictly the honor system should modify it in the other direction. A specific arrangement, which would bring about this desirable condition would be to establish strictly honor camps to contain those convicts who seem to merit such assignment; that there should be a second grade of camps which would be a sort of medium between the honor camps and the strictly gun camps, where the largest proportion of the convicts would be employed; and that, finally, there should be the rigorous, strictly disciplinary camps with every convict under guard. Under this arrangement every convict assigned to road work would first be given his assignment in the intermediate camp, with the assurance that good behavior and faithful service would entitle him to advance to the honor camp and that insubordination and shirking would send him to the lower-grade gun camp. In the honor and intermediate camps there should be a small compensation allowed for efficient service. Such convicts as serve most satisfactorily in the honor camps should be given still further advancement by means of parole and the assignment to patrol maintenance of roads at a reasonable monthly compensation. Progress upwards or downwards to reward merit and to signify demerit, in my mind, comes nearer

to solving the problem both from the economic and humanitarian standpoint than any other plan.

In this connection, I am glad to say that, following an extensive investigation conducted by the United States Office of Public Roads into the management of convict camps in every part of the United States, an arrangement has been made by that Office with the Board of County Commissioners of Fulton County, Georgia, and the Georgia State Prison Commission for the establishment at Atlanta of a model convict camp, conducted on the honor system, for the purpose of trying out in practice the conclusions which our investigators have reached as to the best policies, the best methods, the best equipment to be used in convict camps. As the experiment proceeds we hope to try out by the utilization of other camps the progressive plan to which I have just referred.

I need not remind you that the problem is rendered more difficult in the southern states by reason of the fact that the negro criminal, composing so large a proportion of the southern convict force, is, generally speaking, of a low order of intelligence—much lower than the white criminals of the North and West. The latter class can much more quickly grasp the possibilities for their own welfare contained in the honor system. We must, therefore, expect the progress to be slower than in the operation of the plan in the North and West.

There are conditions of a material character in southern camps which are highly unsatisfactory but which may be easily improved. Too little attention is paid to the physical condition of the convict when he enters the camp. Our investigators estimate that not less than 50 per cent. of the male convicts in southern camps were suffering from diseases or ailments preventable or curable by the exercise of a rigid system of personal hygiene and adequate sanitation. A curious phase of the question is the disinclination on the part of convicts to conform to even the simplest requirements of cleanliness. To those of us who are accustomed to a healthful, cleanly, normal existence, it would naturally seem that lack of the facilities for personal hygiene would constitute a great hardship upon the convicts. Here, then, is a condition which must be remedied for the benefit of the convict over his protest. There should be, and can be, at relatively slight expense, a proper system of water supply and sanitation at all convict camps. I believe these camps may be made as clean, healthful, and comfortable as any other temporary human habitation. Ignorance is the chief cause of the low mental, moral, and physical condition of the convict. Even if against his will he is taught to know what it means to be healthy,

cleanly, industrious, and orderly, he will have reached a higher standard of living by reason of his experience on the convict force.

The convicts in southern camps are almost uniformly well fed, so far as the quantity of food is concerned, and for the most part the food is wholesome; but we find that little or no attention is paid to the dietary requirements so as to give the convict those food values which will best serve him in the production of physical strength and vitality to perform to the best advantage the work allotted to him, and to send him out at the completion of his term in the best possible physical condition. For example, a study of the diet in a number of camps revealed the fact that protein, which is very essential in forming and repairing the tissues of the body, was deficient in amount, while fat was present in such quantities as to form a very one-sided diet. An abundance of energy was furnished, but with too little building material. While the health of the convict is generally good by reason of his outdoor employment, the tendency is toward too much crowding in the sleeping quarters; and too little attention is given to segregating those who are suffering from minor ailments. The result is that when a convict has a slight attack of grippe, for example, it is likely to go through the entire force. On the whole, I should characterize the handling of the convict camps in the South as more or less haphazard and individual. In other words, the centralized control and correlation are conspicuous by their absence. In the primary essentials, such as humane treatment, adequate food, and protection against weather conditions, the southern convict is well cared for; but in the more advanced essentials, such as sanitation, prevention of diseases, the enforcement of personal hygiene, scientific development of diet, development and practice of systems of management and discipline, there is room for great improvement.

As a general proposition, the camp sergeants or superintendents, and the camp guards are very poorly paid in southern states, and as a result these men are of a far lower standard than should be required for positions of such importance in the working out of this great problem. I have seen too many contrasts between the miserable conditions prevailing under the management of an inefficient sergeant or superintendent and the exceptionally good conditions prevailing under the relatively few capable and conscientious sergeants to fail to realize that there should be a higher standard and a uniform requirement so that these glaring contrasts should not exist. Guards receive as low as $25 per month and their board, and it is manifest that

men who will consent to live in close proximity to the convict, in more or less personal danger, for that compensation can scarcely be expected to be the type who will show intelligence and consideration in his handling of convicts.

By way of discipline southern convicts are under the constant surveillance of these guards in the proportion of about 10 to 15 convicts to one guard. The cost of guarding, even on the basis of the very low wages paid the guards, forms a high percentage of the total maintenance costs of the convict camps, and if these wages were increased to a point necessary to obtain a higher order of guard the outlay would be very large. It is thus evident that wherever the honor system can be introduced it will effect a great saving on this item of guarding. Other disciplinary measures include as a rule the shackling of the convicts on a long continuous chain during the night, while each convict, during his working hours, wears an anklet and leg chain. Striped clothing is still the distinctive garb in most of the southern states, except that in Virginia the jail prisoners wear brown suits and in Georgia the trusties have brown suits. It is quite generally held by those in authority that the distinctive garb is absolutely essential to prevent escapes. I believe that under the progressive system which I have already described it will be possible to eliminate the distinctive garb for the honor camps. Corporal punishment is resorted to in most of the southern camps, but not nearly so frequently as in the past. I believe that the abuses under this method of discipline have been comparatively few and have been grossly exaggerated in the public press.

In conclusion, I should like to emphasize the fact that from a strictly economic standpoint convict labor in any kind of occupation will not meet all requirements, and we should approach the subject fully realizing this fact. Convict labor in road construction is handicapped in comparison with free labor in a great many ways. In the first place, it requires from one to two weeks to harden a convict sent directly from the penitentiary. In the second place, the weak and inefficient must be carried with the strong and capable. In the third place, the force is constant and can not be increased or decreased in accordance with the immediate requirements. In the forth place, the convict force must be carried, not merely through the strenuous working season, but steadily throughout the year. Our aim should be, therefore, to take into account all economic considerations which will lower cost and increase efficiency so that the plan, while it may be a losing one, comparing convict with free labor, man to man, will not entail an excessive loss. We should bear in mind

that the primary consideration is the safeguarding, development and improvement of the prisoners so that society may be protected in the fullest degree and the prisoners given an opportunity to reform and lead a normal, useful life. To this end I favor outdoor employment for the convict, the practice and development of the honor system as far as practicable, and the improvement of conditions of living in the convict camps so as to approximate normal average conditions among our free citizenship.

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THE PAYMENT OF WAGES TO WORKHOUSE PRISONERS*

K. L. Schreiber, Superintendent, Parole Department, Board of Public Welfare, Kansas City, Missouri

Into and from every workhouse, reformatory, or house of correction, there enter and depart a large number of persons who have violated some laws of the community, for which acts society has decreed by statute that they be punished, with a monetary fine, a certain number of days imprisonment, or by both the monetary fine and days imprisonment. Some are wholly responsible for their acts, while others are physically and morally irresponsible.

They have erred, and for this they must be punished; but whether they were responsible or whether they alone suffered for the offense, the judges formerly did not take into consideration. Recently considerable attention has been paid by courts to the condition of the man, whether he is sick or well; whether there is need of a medical and mental examination, to determine what sentence to impose; whether the party is able to work; whether his standing in the community will suffer because of his incarceration; and if he has dependents and must be incarcerated, what provisions will be made for their maintenance while their wage-earner is away from them.

Modern Purpose of Imprisonment

This important and much-needed change in trying those who have violated the law should be followed by the same careful and practical handling of these unfortunates while they are in custody; and to this end remarkable and oftentimes apparently revolutionary methods have been adopted. These newer methods not only tend to guarantee the safety of the community, by keeping the person in custody, but they are bringing about a

*Section meeting Thursday, May 13, 11:00 A. M.

better understanding between this man and the people in the community. The aim of the newer institutions is to see to it that the man is thoroughly renovated while under their care; that his associates will not be detrimental to his welfare; that his attitude toward society is improved; that he shall conceive the desire to make good when he is liberated; and that he be given steady and profitable employment, which will enable him to earn some money to carry out this purpose.

There are many penal institutions—though, happily, their number is decreasing, which are unprofitable financially, and in which the inmates are allowed to remain idle. Such institutions, often discharging their inmates the worse for their incarceration, should be closed down. Offenders would far better be admonished by the court and placed on probation. In some of the larger workhouses the problem of idleness has been solved by installing industries, operated under the contract system. Under this plan, the welfare of the prisoner was of little concern, and those whose health became impaired were replaced by new men. However, last year the workhouse of one of the larger cities turned back to the city a profit of $12,500, in addition to the $15,000 which was put to the credit of the men, who produced it under the coöperative plan.

Can institutions be made self-supporting if they eliminate the placing of men out to contractors and the production of goods directly in competition with outside labor, and can the officials make the workers sharers in the profits? The eagerness with which the contractors have tried to get the services of the men, and their reluctance to give them up, is sufficient proof that there has been a large profit in these men. The profit that some of the institutions are making off the men, employing them in their own industries, many of them unskilled in the work that they have to do, proves the productiveness of the men, themselves, if given an opportunity to work properly. If this profit can be made off the men in one or two large industries employing many men, and the goods produced reach an outside market, would it not be just as profitable to have a number of smaller, regulated industries, making goods that the community, itself, will consume; such as school furniture, street brooms, prisoners' clothing, hospital bedding, canned foods and other needed articles? In the smaller cities, where there are fewer prisoners in workhouses, a yearly appropriation is needed. In other places the authorities do not make use of, or do not manage well, the laborers they have, and in many instances a large amount of money is needed every year because the buildings are outgrown, poorly ventilated, crowded in some congested part of the city, and filled with fac-

tories that soon destroy the vitality of the men and incapacitate them for their full productiveness. It is wrong for the community to put its men to work in these plants. Fresh air is one of the greatest benefits, and the cheapest, that these men can receive.

Penal Farms Possible for all Communities

If the property used for a workhouse in any city were sold, the proceeds would purchase a farm large enough to accommodate the men in custody, and all the improvements, both temporary and permanent, could be made by the men, themselves, at a great saving to the community. On the Municipal Farm at Kansas City, the prisoners, mostly unskilled laborers, coming into the institution, were placed under the supervision of guards who were skilled mechanics. They have erected over their very heads, at a saving of about one-half the cost, buildings and equipment, which, from the standpoint of workmanship and usefulness, give entire satisfaction. On such a farm there is sufficient work for all the people all the time, if the officials make arrangements to divide the work into that of farm labor, construction work, and industrial occupations.

Such a place will not be self-supporting the first year, or for a number of years thereafter, but with the proper management the appropriation needed from the city each year will decrease. During the last fiscal year the average cost per man per day at the Kansas City Farm was fifty-nine and one-half cents. If the cost of the material used in the permanent improvements is deducted from this, it leaves but a net cost of twenty-four and seven-tenths cents. If from this cost is deducted the cost of work donated to other city departments, it would make a net deficit for the year of $14,414, or a net cost per day per man of only fifteen cents. The average daily attendance was 263 men. Every year the amount necessary for the running of the institution has decreased, and the effectiveness of the farm and the good done to the men has increased. Such a farm, in addition to the raising of the greater part of the food used by the inmates, themselves, should be able to furnish the other city institutions with part of their food. This farm produce, together with the raising of truck and green-house gardening, poultry and live-stock, will not only produce a large profit for the institution, but will employ steadily many of the unskilled and physically unfit, who are always a burden to the authorities when unemployed, and are a large expense to the management. That class of workers who can be employed in the construction of buildings and other permanent improvements, will always find employment,

and their work will be profitable to the management. The group of men who can be used in the manufacturing of commodities used in the other city institutions must be carefully selected because of their skill, and with the assurance that their health will not suffer because of the labor done inside the buildings; and they must be employed on such commodities as can be easily made, and readily disposed of, to the other city institutions. Care should be taken not to compete with outside laborers by selling the goods cheaper, but sales should be at market price, and a trade built up on the basis of a better quality of goods, because they can be produced cheaper. If these goods can be disposed of in this manner at a profit, and the workman or prisoner be given his wage, the authorities employing these men have met every demand of justice both to outside labor and to the prisoners.

Opportunity for All Men to Earn Wages

Officials managing such institutions should have the ability to see that all the men are placed in the work that they are the best suited for, and properly supervised. When this is done their productiveness reaches the maximum. Time and attention should be given to each workman to see that he does the required amount of work that will pay for his maintenance, and his share of the overhead charges. Institutions should provide the opportunity for every man to meet this obligation, and after this obligation has been met, to work for a certain fixed wage. If the men are apt workers and have completed their required tasks, and earned their wage, then if they perform excess labor, they should receive additional pay. And should there be an opportunity for overtime work and their services are needed, they should also receive additional wage for this labor.

In a work-house situated in the heart of the city, with limited space and full of industries requiring only a certain class of strong skilled workers, and with practically no provision made for those less able to work profitably, if they are worked humanely, the authortites cannot give the classification to the men for the different kinds of labor, and can give this wage only to those able to work and earn it in the industries that are in operation. But on a farm, where the workers are divided into three classes, and where there are opportunities for all to work, the authorities can select the men according to their ability, and give them employment that will save money for the institution, and also give the men a wage. This participation by the men in the profits earned allows every man to put forth his best endeavors. There should be no favoritism shown in the work assigned or the

possibility to earn this wage, as fairness tends to improve the man's idea of justice in the work-house. Among the workers will be found the skilled and unskilled, with families on the outside; the same classes without dependents; those who do their best and yet accomplish little; those physically unfit for responsible or productive work; the apt, willing workers who have a short sentence, and cannot, therefore, become big producers; skilled workmen who, because of ill health, cannot follow their particular kind of work and are, therefore, put to less productive employment; men who, on the outside, have good paying trades, but have no opportunity to carry out their particular line of work in the institution; the lazy man who has vicious tendencies and cannot be depended upon, and who perhaps has a family on the outside. These various groups of men must be given remunerative work, must be encouraged by those in authority, and must be improved physically through proper medical attention and suitable employment.

In Kansas City, Mo., the Board of Public Welfare, which has charge of the Municipal Farm, allows to every family where the wage earner is in custody and the family needs relief, relief up to one dollar a day, the exact amount being determined by expert investigators. Even more is allowed should there be urgent need for it. This money is taken out of the appropriation made to the board for its running expenses and the allowance is made whether the man works every day while in prison or spends his entire time in the hospital. The productiveness of the man while in custody is given no consideration in granting this relief. It is an instance of a municipality realizing its obligations to this class of families and meeting this obligation even though it be costly.

The necessity of relief for families of the workhouse type of prisoners is very apparent. Dr. Carol Aronovici of Philadelphia found, upon investigating 167 cases of men serving time in a workhouse in a large city, that 43 of these men had one or more dependents; that the number of dependents amounted to 109 persons, 46 of whom were wives, 8 were mothers and fathers and 65 were children under 15 years of age. 83 of these 109 dependents were not living upon the earnings of their wage earner, who was working daily for a profit to the institution, but they were living off relief that was given to them by charitable agencies. No doubt these figures would apply to the families of prison laborers over the entire country, where there has been no provision made for the care of their families by the community. It would be a conservative estimate to say that 25 per cent. of the prisoners with families were caring for them at the time of their arrest and that at least 50 per cent. were under

moral obligations to do so. An appropriation of $7,500.00 was made by Detroit for dependent families of this class. Washington's system of relief and that of various other cities is an indication that communities are awakening to their responsibilities towards these doubly unfortunate families.

Experience in the handling of workhouse prisoners reveals the fact that very few of the men coming into the workhouses have money enough to pay their fines. Very few of the men can, upon their release, go immediately to work and be assured of a proper place to live and eat until they earn their first pay. Many of them were working at the time of their arrest and it certainly cannot be considered humane treatment to keep the man in custody long enough to lose his position, allow him to wear out his own clothes as many institutions do, send him out ragged, penniless and with no place to go excepting to his old haunts, and then expect this injured man to make good. The enlarged workhouses and penitentiaries and the great percentage of recidivists in these places, show plainly the errors of such treatment in the past. With such glaring and conclusive evidences of the injustice to the men when released without any assistance, let us give a wage to the man who earns it and allow him to come out from the prison with clean, pressed clothes, some money in his pocket, that he has honestly earned, and with the assistance of some organization to get him started right, or with some place to go besides his old haunts. There should be little opposition to the expenditure of a sum of money each year in an effort that has for its purpose reducing instead of enlarging the institutions, and endeavors to give the man, after he has once been incarcerated, hopes of making good, and keeps him from returning time and time again to penal institutions. The moral effect that a wage has on the man while he is in custody and the great benefits that it affords him when he is released, clearly refutes the idea that these men are hopeless, not deserving of a wage, because it is too costly to give them anything besides their keep.

The question of wages to work-house prisoners resolves itself into that of whether the object of imprisonment is to be punitive or reformative. When the prison doors open to allow men to go free we may say for many of them that their trials are just beginning, if they have had no opportunity to better themselves before their release. If reformation and restoration to usefulness is the object, then certainly the work of all persons having men in custody should be the preparation of these men for their release. All modern work-houses are conducted with the idea that their inmates will make good and their assistance must fol-

low the men after they are discharged. The prisoner must be considered a citizen, not a criminal. He needs help because he failed before, and his success will depend upon the encouragement and assistance he will receive from those who know his weaknesses and how best to help him overcome them. Even if the giving of wages to the prisoners does not remove all desire for crime, still it is the duty of the community to remove, as far as possible, all influences that tend to destroy men, and give to every member of society an opportunity to make good. If, with this encouragement and assistance, the man, upon his return to freedom, again transgresses the law, there can be no need of self-reproach by the community for its failure to help the man, but another effort may be made in perhaps a different way, to find out what the offender needs.

On the Municipal Farm in Kansas City the men were given an opportunity to work the last few days of their time for a wage of $1.00 per day, and this money was given to the men for their needs when liberated. Some of them spent it foolishly. Others spent it to very good advantage. The Board of Public Welfare realized that the city was not doing its duty to the unfortunates when they turned the men out penniless, friendless and without shelter, with the expectation of making good, and the giving of this money was only discontinued when the meagre funds allowed for the board's expenditure would not permit its continuation. None of the money earned should be spent inside the institution for the prisoner's comfort. It should be placed to his credit, excepting in those cases where there are dependents needing support, in which case the money should be sent to them. If the man having no dependents is sent to the workhouse with a monetary fine, his earnings should be allowed to apply on his fine. Men who live elsewhere, and who would do better perhaps at home, should be encouraged to use their earnings in buying transportation. The other classes of men will need it for their expenses when they are released. The authorities should make no demands upon the man as to the expenditure of his wage, but should the party be again returned to custody, having wasted his first earnings, the wage that he again earns should then be controlled by some agency for his benefit. It must not be entrusted to the man, himself.

The argument may be advanced by some that the giving of a suitable uniform wage might induce many men to enter the institution in order to earn this allowance. It is hard to conceive of an able-bodied man intentionally committing some offense for which he will be deprived of his liberty and incarcerated with an undesirable class of men, earning only a small wage, when on

the outside he has his freedom, choice of associates and the opportunity to earn a larger wage. Should there be a work-house in the community that is operated on such a basis, that has ample accommodations for a large number of inmates, and where the men can earn their expenses and a wage, would it not be proper for this institution to make arrangements to take care of a large number of unemployed men that might apply for admittance? Instead of this, when work is scarce many men live in the cheapest lodging houses, eat the poorest food, have no money and live among bad associates. There can be little opposition to a community's having such an institution that takes the proper care of the unfortunates, in which goods are produced for the city, at a saving to its people. This institution will eliminate the municipal lodging houses, bread lines and other agencies that now exist for the care of these unfortunates. If such colonies are operated by the community, then there must be installed industries that are seasonable, and which will require large numbers of unskilled laborers. These workers must not feel that they are criminals, locked in prison, but the work should be on large farms, where there is almost unlimited freedom, not because they have committed some wrong, but because they are victims of economic conditions for a while and will be entirely free when there is a change in the conditions on the outside.

POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENT OF SCHEMES FOR PAYMENT OF PRISONERS ON THE BASIS OF THE SERVICES WHICH THEY RENDER

Frank L. Randall, Chairman, Massachusetts Prison Commission, Boston

The laborer was proclaimed worthy of his hire, and the slave received some favor; but the prisoner, being regarded as neither a hireling nor a slave, received the consideration of neither. He was an enemy of society and it was treason to lend him aid or comfort. The cry was to let him perish, and because he was not allowed to help himself, he perished. He had done a wrong act and had been detected in it, and it was not realized that the best that could be done with him was to so order matters that he would not repeat his folly. His labor was sometimes utilized, but it was never thought of as *his labor*, after it had been rendered. It was thought that he had no interest in any work,

that he labored unwillingly, and that it was a part of the punishment he must have measured out to him, because he had been decreed and certified to be an outlaw and a social burden. And when this plan had been tried for a length of time sufficient to satisfy all persons of its futility, if only the available information had been properly distributed and considered—and then for another equal term, and again and again, it came to be recognized that the laws of right, the rules of equity, the by-laws of fairness, and the ordinances of justice might be applied to prisoners.

And now the question is not so much whether or not a prisoner should have an allowance for service of value, but how to make the right allowance reach and benefit the individual prisoner, with proper regard for the tax payer, the prisoner and his family. The idea that a prisoner may have a family, or that he can have any right to have a family, or that his family is a matter of official public concern, seems to be a comparatively new conception; but it is now taken to be a factor in all proposed plans for permitting prisoners to earn money during their imprisonment.

Often it is through the family that the prisoner can be reached, and some prisoners are not responsive to good effort for their betterment, simply because there is no person for whose welfare they have any particular regard. Still it is true that many prisoners of marriageable age have not married, and many others who had dependent relatives did nothing for their support when at liberty. This must not be taken to signify conclusively that they will not do so, after they have learned in prison the satisfaction that comes from the performance of that particular obligation, and shall thereby have prepared for themselves a place of welcome upon their release. The great majority of prisoners are improvident, and a part of their training in prison may well be the proper disposition of such small allowances as may be accorded them.

I am to discuss the payment of prisoners on the basis of the services which they render. I know of no service which they can render equal to that of preparing themselves to become suitable for liberty, and assisting their fellow prisoners in the same direction, and I know of no other service of as much concern to the state. The prisoner who is learning to act and think and speak correctly, having proper regard for each other person as an individual, and for all other persons, as represented by society, and who dutifully and cheerfully works as he is directed to, giving good coöperation and expecting just treatment, is doing as much as he can to realize the best purpose of im-

prisonment, and is entitled to a money allowance as surely as the prisoner who, without turning to either side, or showing interest or change, regularly performs a given task at a machine.

It is maintained by some thoughtful persons that any payment to prisoners should be on a clearly commercial basis, and that for work for which the state receives no money the prisoner should have none. The theory is that when he leaves the prison he can get no wages except for labor that has a present money value, and that he should become accustomed, while in detention, to the conditions, that he will meet on his release.

I believe that the program-makers did not have in mind such a narrow construction of the meaning of service. In a well-regulated prison the prisoners are observed and marked in many things beside misconduct. The attitude of a prisoner may be as significant as his physical movements and should be as carefully recorded. The character of his correspondence may throw a light upon his apparently willing compliance with the regulations, and may challenge his sincerity. His general unreliability may indicate, more clearly than an occasional overt violation of a set rule, that he is not making headway toward respected citizenship. The recidivist who is serving but one of several or many terms, calls for judgment as to how he shall be treated as compared with the man younger in crime and perhaps in years, who has been committed for the first time.

Men with long terms should not have allowances in excess of what is necessary to respond to such demands as their dependents may justly make upon them, and to provide themselves with those things which prisoners may properly have as a result of their effort, together with a proper sum to outfit them upon their release. Many of the prisoners will be found to have no dependents, and to have no desire to contribute to the support of any needy person. For them there should be no considerable accumulation of the money of the taxpayers, which they may entirely control upon their liberation, for a person upon his release from a moneyless term of imprisonment is not fitted to handle money, and is not likely to do it wisely or well, but rather expeditiously and prodigally, to his own detriment.

If a basis of payment cannot be devised which will prevent the accumulation of an unnecessary sum to the credit of a few prisoners, while properly supplying the great majority, it should be provided that such un-needed surplus should be witheld until such time as the man shall have become accumtomed to liberty, and it shall affirmatively appear that the money, if paid to him or disbursed on his account, will probably result to his permanent advantage. Neither should it be understood that all

items set to the credit of a prisoner are absolutely and legally his due, but that they are in the custody and under the control of the management, and subject to forfeiture for misconduct or other sufficient cause, either in prison or afterwards; for it is manifestly unwise to unnecessarily pay public money to anyone who is most likely to disburse it without advantage to himself or to anyone else.

It is a matter of very great difficulty and delicacy to establish any system of wages, based wholly on service, which will fit the case of a prisoner with a family of helpless and impoverished children, and which will not result in an undesirable accumulation of funds to the credit of a man who has no one to provide for, or contribute toward; and it is manifestly unwise to permit the latter to use it in providing himself unusual, or rare and wholly unnecessary articles while in prison. Quite likely the better and wiser way would be to limit quite sharply the allowances made to prisoners in cash credits, and their expenditure of them, to their real and proper needs, and to establish a fund from which aid may be given by the prison authorities, in suitable cases, to the innocent dependents of prisoners, quite regardless of the conduct or service of the prisoner while under confinement, but wholly regardful of the needs and merits of their unfortunate situation.

Such a plan does wrong to no one, and places the burden of the support of the dependents where it belongs, upon the state, which finds it necessary to put aside the natural provider, and would call public attention to one of the most distressing features of present prison management, which is the unanswered and unanswerable importunity of those who ask relief from a condition which has come about without their conscious fault, and which sorely distresses and endangers them.

If it is said that such a plan does not stimulate the prisoner to his best efforts, it may be answered that a man in prison who does not do all that he can to earn his release is a person whom it is quite proper to retain in prison; and that, his family being provided for, the apparent necessity for his release no longer exists, and thus justice may be done between him and the state, despite irrelevant considerations, now so frequently and successfully urged.

Either plan, however, would doubtless result in general labor and industrial improvement in excess of the cost, and would relieve the prisoners from that deadening condition of helplessness, and lack of opportunity to respond, which characterize the inmates of most of the penal institutions of the country. As distinguished from a plan of pay for overtime work, which may

be availed of only by the able-bodied or skillful, it possesses merits of a humanitarian character which that lacks in large part, by providing aid to those who need it, and whose condition is worse than that of the prisoners themselves.

DISCUSSION: Following these two addresses the discussion was continued by: O. F. Lewis, Mary B. Harris and Henry Solomon, New York City; Mrs. Minnie D. Weiss, St. Louis; Herbert C. Parsons, Boston; John J. Sonsteby and Minnie F. Low, Chicago; Royal Meeker and L. F. Zinkhan, Washington, D. C.; William D. Matthews, Oklahoma; W. C. Everett, Dallas; Frank E. Wade, Buffalo; David I. Green and Dr. Edwin A. Down, Hartford; Joseph P. Byers, Trenton; D. Frank Garland, Dayton; Mrs. Benjamin West, Memphis.

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THE PRACTICAL TREATMENT OF INEBRIETY IN A STATE INSTITUTION*

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The futility of fine and prison sentence for habitual drunkenness is now generally recognized; the public, realizing the economic loss to the state from such measures, is becoming more insistent in the demand for the inauguration of some plan which will satisfactorily care for the increasing number of cases of drunkenness which are constantly appearing in our courts, or which voluntarily solicit treatment.

Any plan proposed for the care of such cases should recognize the characteristics and personality of the inebriate and consequently the need of distinctive care of such individuals. The modern treatment of inebriety demands the initiation of a widespread policy, a policy which must be sufficiently elastic to permit of its universal adoption.

The inebriate, dependent on the degree and intensity of the condition, demands a specialized treatment, which may be tentatively divided into two methods, namely, remedial and custodial. The employment of the first method demands minimum institution treatment and maximum out-patient care. The enactment of a plan for custodial care requires more prolonged institutional detention. Prior to the selection of the treatment for these two

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distinctive types an accurate differentiation of the cases must be made. This diagnosis or individualization should be relegated to those who have specialized in the work.

Contrary to the general opinion, a well equipped hospital for the inebriate is so built and regulated that adequate provision is made for the care of the varied types. The requisites of such a hospital are now well recognized. The state care which requires for its success a well defined plan, must include, first, a parent institution; second, a well organized out-patient department, which must allow for extension as conditions demand; third, detention hospitals in metropolitan centers which will care for cases of delirium tremens, alcoholic psychoses, and those suffering from acute alcoholic diseases. The success of state care depends on the coöperation of these interests to their fullest extent.

Much of the ill success of institutional treatment for habitual drunkenness is due to failure to recognize that the inebriate is a distinctive individual, and that in order to appropriately care for him it is essential that an institution be built for him with specialized features.

The treatment and care of the habitual drunkard as above outlined can be adequately provided by the state, which by assuming such control is doing a work of charity, as clearly a duty to the community as caring for the insane, epileptic and feeble-minded. Certainly the benefits resulting from such care prove its economic importance.

Any state inaugurating a plan for the care of the habitual drunkard should realize that the prevention and cure of drunkenness can only come by education. An institution established for such a purpose should be considered a center for the education of the public concerning the evils of alcoholism.

During the past five years two commissions have been appointed in the commonwealth of Massachusetts to investigate the subject of drunkenness, and the best means of correcting and controlling that evil. The economic loss to the state on account of drunkenness was the appealing argument for the creation of these commissions, an argument which could not with justice to the citizens of the state be disregarded. The reports of the respective commissions called attention to the uselessness of sentencing habitual drunkards to penal institutions, declared this custom wrong in principle and recommended its abandonment in most instances as soon as other suitable provisions could be made for the care and treatment of confirmed drunkards. Although the subject-matter of the reports is largely descriptive of existing conditions in Massachusetts it is believed

that conditions analogous must exist in other states. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the plan for caring for the habitual drunkard or inebriate sanctioned by Massachusetts might prove satisfactory if adopted by other states. The policy, which will be described, is sufficiently elastic so that its inauguration by any state is feasible. The real economic importance of the proposed plan is certainly indisputable. Thus far its benefits to humanity have proven its worth.

The Inebriate

A recognition of the need of discriminative care for the inebriate necessarily implies the acceptance of the modern conception of the condition. The failure of the public to recognize the true nature of inebriety and the procrastination of those who have had it in their power to inaugurate and direct reforms or remedial movements, have heretofore proven serious handicaps to the carrying out of any practical plan which could satisfactorily individualize and treat these dependents. Such ignorance or heedlessness has in great part been responsible for the many irregular methods which have been advanced and heralded as cures for drunkenness and allied conditions; therefore, as an essential foreword to the subject of my paper I will define inebriety.

Before we can successfully cope with a disease it is necessary that we know the nature of the malady. Unless we can appreciate the characteristics and peculiarities of inebriety we cannot hope to combat it. For a proper understanding, the study of a condition or a disease must necessarily begin by studying the environment and the individual responsible for the state or disturbance. The study of inebriety is no exception to this rule. A knowledge of the personality of the inebriate must be the foundation-stone for the treatment or for any suggestion made to the public for the control of drunkenness. It has always seemed to me that much of the misunderstanding about inebriety may be traced to our misconception of the word, inebriate. An inebriate, medically speaking, is an habitual drinker or an habitual user of drugs or some other form of intoxicants. All cases of intoxication are not cases of inebriety, but all confirmed or habitual drunkards are properly classed as inebriates.

Inebriety has been called a disease. This has been vigorously opposed by those who would have us consider it a habit requiring only correctional measures for its control. Adherents to the *habit* theory have contended that any existing diseased condition whether mental or physical is due to willful indulgence. Again, it is maintained by some of those who are willing to

consider inebriety tentatively as a disease, that a general acceptance of this understauding would militate severely against any plan proposed for the suppression of drunkenness, as it would eventually lead to the public belief that the inebriate is irresponsible. I have also found that many persons have preconceived ideas about the habit of drunkenness, their opinion being formed either from the observation of a single case or from conclusions arrived at by a wrong interpretation of the types.

It seems unnecessary to say that the study of drunkenness is to be approached with a realization that such a study has apparently many complex features, the complexity disappearing when we appreciate the importance of the personal equation. Although all classifications of drunkenness are indefinite and have overlapping features, it is possible for an experienced person to make a workable classification which can be of material aid to him in determining the value which might come from appropriate treatment. I feel quite sure that considerable time and energy is in many cases mis-spent in the expectation of brilliant results from treatment of cases where the nature of the inebriate condition precluded recovery, or indeed any material improvement. The study of drunkenness is a medical-social study; and for the successful application of any method advanced for its control it is essential that we appreciate that, although the diagnosis and treatment depends on the adjustment of the medical and social findings, the line of demarcation between these two studies is closely defined.

Our studies of the personality or make-up of the inebriate have for the most part a verification of the conclusions so clearly and tersely given by R. W. Branthwaite in his *Report of the Inspector under the Inebriates Acts for the year* 1908. It must be remembered that these conclusions do not refer to accidental or occasional drunkenness which is willful or premediated and not related to inebriate alcoholism. These states of intoxication for our present purposes may be entirely disregarded. Branthwaite's description of the inebriate is as follows:

> An inebriate is a man who may or may not desire to live soberly, but in any case cannot, unless or until some change takes place in his physical or mental state. The more we see of habitual drunkards the more we are convinced that the real condition to be studied, the trouble we have to fight, and the source of all the mischief, is a psycho-neurotic peculiarity of some sort; an inherent defect in mechanism, generally congenital, sometimes more or less acquired. Alcohol, far from being the chief cause of inebriety, is merely the medium which brings into prominence certain defects that might have remained hidden but for its exposing or developing influence.

The writer, for one, does not believe that any single inebriate, of all the many thousands admitted to Retreats and Reformatories, has voluntarily and of intention brought himself to that state. On the contrary he is convinced that all who possess the power to appreciate the seriousness of their condition have urgently and honestly desired to live a sober life, and have fought to this end and failed in a struggle against forces the strength of which a normal man is incapable of realizing. Sufficient credit has never been given to the honesty of an inebriate's fight against inclination, or to the inherent weakness of his power to resist impulse that renders his struggle for victory unsuccessful. If this could be brought home to many people, who now have nothing but blame and abuse for the drunkard, there would be more sympathy shown—and symapthy would breed help. Who knows how many of the inebriates of today might have been saved had they dared to acknowledge their state during the early days of its development, and ask for help, without fear of penalty or ostracism.

The inebriate, then, is the subject of a peculiarity, the distinctive characteristic of which is his inability to take alcohol in moderation, despite the most strenuous effort of which he is capable. It is often possible for him to abstain from alcohol altogether, but rarely, if ever, possible for him to take it without becoming drunken. He is the victim of a psycho-neurotic fault that implies a defective power of resistance to the action of alcohol or drugs, in exactly the same sense as tubercular tendency implies impaired resistance to the specific infection of that disease. The peculiarity or fault is an extremely potent one, calling for recognition as the true inebriate state of which drunkenness, disorder, and erratic behavior generally, are merely outward and visible signs.

Although it is clear that a marked correlation exists between the recognized forms of mental defect or disease on the one hand and habitual drunkenness on the other, the association is not definite enough to justify the commonly heard statement that all inebriates are more or less insane or mentally defective. When inebriates of all social grades are classed together it will be found that the majority are neither the one nor the other; indeed, many typical inebriates are extremely capable individuals during sober intervals. Notwithstanding this, even the most mentally sound amongst them are not normal persons; the evidence of peculiarity is too definite, and its location obscure.

Concerning the mental characteristics and make-up of an inebriate I can safely say that when analyzed many cases of habitual drunkenness show mental and physical defects which may or may not have antedated the drunkenness—a fact which lends additional support to the contention that the punitive measures which are quite generally used toward these individuals are unjust and should be discontinued. It is true that this type of case might consistently be considered hopeless or irresponsible. This is an added reason for condemning the sentencing of such individuals, a method which is irreconcilable with our findings. Statistical knowledge bearing on the subject overwhelmingly supports the conclusion that a considerable number of confirmed or habitual drunkards are mentally defective, the

defectiveness being manifested in various ways, ranging from mild emotional disturbance and judgment-perversion to well defined psychoses. While these mental defects have been quite generally found in the more confirmed or advanced cases, some recent investigations and analyses of incipient inebriates have shown certain functional nervous disturbances which might have antedated the drunkenness. Laboratory methods which are now being used for the study of these cases will doubtless in time give us valuable results; then, and not until then, can we definitely assert that actual mental defect in the drunkard existed prior to the development of the confirmed drunkenness. The results along these lines have been more than suggestive but not entirely conclusive. Recognizing that inebriety is a well defined condition, we can define the inebriate state as follows:

(a) Inebriety is an expression of nervous weakness, the nervous weakness being inherited, a psycho-neurotic fault; founded on this weakness, manifestly a defect, is a habit we call drunkenness.

(b) The inebriate is therefore the sum total of his personality, or make-up, and the symptoms which we call drunkenness.

(c) Inebriety can be considered technically as a form of a disease in the sense above described, a condition which implies a graded responsibility, the degree of responsibility being determined after a consideration of the individual case.

The Institution

There is a popular belief that institutional care is all-sufficient for those unfortunates who are mentally or physically diseased. Especially has institutional care been recommended for those persons who resist the methods usually employed for the care and treatment of chronic disease. Inebriety has been no exception to this rule; indeed, if one would review the history of the treatment of the drunkard he would doubtless be surprised to find that an appreciation of the chronicity of the condition has existed from the earliest times, and that this alone has been responsible for the demand for his segregation or imprisonment. This method of management, with little or no variation, has been handed down from generation to generation; and as no practical substitute has been offered, the time-honored system, punishment, or coercion, in some form, has been continued. I do not deny that many honest attempts, both preventive and remedial, have been advanced to solve the problem. These attempts, due largely to the failure to recognize that voluntary or coöperative methods are superior to enforced or punitive measures, have met with little success. We must remember that today we are better pre-

pared to cope with the problem. The knowledge that the inebriate is an entity, and our understanding of the benefits from individual treatment, have given us valuable weapons to fight with, weapons which, if considerately used, are of considerable range and value.

Any plan which is put into practice for the treatment or amelioration of drunkenness should be controlled and administered by the state. The magnitude of the problem and the closely interwoven economic questions argue against local or municipal control.

The successful care and treatment of inebriety demands the inauguration of a definite policy which includes both institutional and non-institutional departments, both of these departments being inter-related. The institution, which is the fountainhead of the system, demands first consideration. On the threshold of our contemplated plan for the practical care of the habitual drunkard, it appeared to us that our work should be directed: first, to the extension of individual treatment of cases; second, to securing remunerative employment for cases which were under our care and treatment; third, to compiling accurate histories of those who had been discharged from the hospital; fourth, the establishment of after-care, as an integral part of the hospital.

It is therefore at once apparent that something more than the mere housing of the individual is needed. An institution for the purpose must be adaptable, it must have distinctive qualities and be especially built and equipped for the class of persons for which it is intended. Conditions are required which represent departures from the character of an ordinary institution. Lastly, the institution should be so constructed that it can adequately treat the varied types of inebriety committed to its care. The requisites of such an institution are:

(a) A sufficient area of land to provide for agricultural development and for outside employment for the patients.

(b) Sufficient plant for industrial training.

(c) A tract of land of sufficient continuity so that there will be an opportunity for the segregation of the diverse cases.

(d) Adequate provision for both male and female inebriates.

Acting on these principles a large tract of land was purchased in Massachusetts. The area selected has natural advantages. The land is largely undeveloped, thus allowing for considerable work for the inmates and affording an opportunity for affiliation and coöperation with the forestry, agricultural and other state commissions. This coöperation, in our estimation, is an essential part of our educational scheme and has been

conducive to economics which have been helpful in the building and equipment of the plant. The acreage—over one thousand acres, corresponds to the requirements just enumerated. The cottage, or colony, is the pivot-centre of our scheme. Three different colonies are contemplated: first, a hospital colony for men, which will take care of the hopeful cases; second, a detention farm-colony which will provide for the more chronic and resistive type of patients; third, a hospital for women. Briefly expressed, the colony groups would care for the following types of patients:

The cottages for men would receive:

1. Patients who come voluntarily or who are committed by the courts.
2. Young habitual drunkards placed on probation by the courts on condition that they spend a specified period at the hospital.
3. Suitable cases transferred on parole from the detention colony.
4. Non-criminal habitual drunkards committed by the criminal courts or received voluntarily as a condition of probation.

The cottages for women would receive:

1. Patients who come voluntarily or who are committed upon application.
2. Cases placed on probation by the courts on condition that they spend a specified period at the hospital.

The cottages, which are units, are built in groups distributed over the large tract of land. A centralization of the administrative and service group is necessary. For purposes of economy these buildings with the ordinary service buildings form a central group. I would at this point emphasize that the essential part of our housing scheme is the cottage. These cottages must be so situated and constructed that they will readily lend themselves to the needs of the patient groups.

Out-Patient Department

At an early period in our institution career we recognized that the mere training of a patient at the hospital was in itself an inadequate provision when a discharged patient was compelled immediately to return to adverse conditions. Accordingly, five years ago an out-patient department and clinic was developed; modest in its beginnings, it has rapidly grown in extent and usefulness. The Norfolk State Hospital has now established in metropolitan centers two such departments which are serving definite areas of the state. The department, which is in charge of a physician assisted by non-medical workers, is a fixed

part of the hospital. An active vocational bureau is maintained, visits are made to the homes of discharged patients, aid is supplied to dependent families and every effort is made to reinstate the patient in his business interests and domestic relations—for unfortunately it is often the case that the victim of habitual drunkenness has not only lost his self-respect, but has also forfeited the respect of others. At this point a strong helping hand is needed. This was the fundamental reason for the beginning of our out-patient work.

Another feature of the department is medical and social clinical work. An increasing number of persons apply for advice and it is quite often feasible to treat such persons outside of the institution, reserving the hospital, or custodial, treatment until conditions demand it. Furthermore the out-patient department serves as a central educational centre acquainting the public with the aims and purposes of the hospital. This department has rendered valuable aid in carrying on the educational and medical-social work begun at the hospital. Every patient at the time of his discharge is impressed with the idea of coöperating with the out-patient department. Some of these discharged men report to the hospital, others at the office of the out-patient physician, while others are visited at intervals by the physician of the department. As before stated, particular attention is paid by the department to the social readjustment of the patient, and every effort is made to secure for him congenial work and an environment suitable to his condition. During the past year 3,286 visits have been made to the homes and workshops of discharged patients, and over one hundred permanent positions have been obtained for them. In order to emphasize the importance of this department, the following figures covering one year's work, are given:

Visits to office	471
Visits to hospital	105
Visits to homes of patients who are at the hospital	516
Visits to homes of patients who have been discharged from the hospital	2,700
Visits to employers relative to work for discharged patients	130
Situations obtained for discharged patients	97
Men who are working and abstinent	1,188
Men who are abstinent, but not working	227
Men who are drinking some, but working	295
Men who are drinking and not working	472
Men who have not been located	298
No answer to inquiries	481
Men applying at office, recommended for admission to hospital	470
Men applying at office, refused admission to hospital	367
Patients reporting at office, abstaining and working	360
Men drinking whose return was advised	137

Men drinking whose return was refused	184
Inquiries	473
Consultation with outside parties	76
Letters sent out relative to discharged patients	891

Another branch of the parent institution which should be considered is the establishment of hospital clinics or detention hospitals. It is not necessary that these branch departments should be built especially for the purpose, as arrangements can frequently be made to coöperate with general hospitals which are already established. In such branch hospitals should be treated cases of delirium tremens or cases of acute alcoholism which either voluntarily present themselves for treatment or are brought in as emergency cases.

The plan as developed by Massachusetts and which is now in part in active operation, can be described as follows: first, a state hospital for the treatment of alcoholic and drug habitues developed on the colony plan with a sufficiently ample and flexible equipment so that appropriate care and treatment can be given to the different types of inebriety; second, an out-patient department and clinic with broad and well defined duties; third, detention hospitals, and hospital clinics having specialized features for the care and treatment of cases of acute alcoholism. A substantial start has been made. The central state institution has been in part built, out-patient departments have been established and the co-operation of the hospitals is assured. To the trustees and to those of us who are interested in the proposition the real incentive for the continuation of our work is our conviction that the public believes in the integrity and stability of the system as planned six years ago.

I feel that my paper would be incomplete if I failed to describe our method of treatment. Believing, as we do, that the inebriate condition has for its basis a distorted mentalization, our efforts are directed in an endeavor to interest the patient in his individual case and, having accomplished this, to making the interest self-sustaining. Our experience has shown us that the success of hospital treatment depends upon:

(a) The ability of the patient to co-operate in treatment.

(b) Our ability to introduce into the patient's mentality some tangible substitute for the desire for artificial stimulation.

Success is brought about by attention to the patient's mental and physical hygiene, and necessarily depends on the educational measures inaugurated at the hospital and continued by the patient after he leaves the institution. The treatment must necessarily be considered as in the realm of physiologic therapeutics, supplemented by the simplest form of suggestion.

The suggestion is really an auto-suggestion, the result of a correlation of impressions which the patient receives from his association with the physicians and from his relation to the hospital environment. The physician is concerned in an analysis of the individual case, which is made possible by encouraging the patient to co-operate in his own recovery, by strengthening his self control.

I have reserved for my concluding paragraph an account of our work extending over a period of five years. Considering the result of hospital treatment it must be borne in mind that the total number of discharges is considered. No attempt has been made to differentiate cases. Each case has been considered individually, the following conditions determining the final report of the result of treatment:

1. The type of inebriety, divisible for practical purposes into three classes: (a) The regular drinker, one accustomed to the use of stimulants daily. (b) The irregular drinker, one accustomed to the use of stimulants at short intervals. (c) The periodical drinker, one accustomed to drink at periodic intervals, periods of months or years elapsing between the periods of insobriety.

Thus a man whose period of drinking occurs at intervals of six months may be admitted to the hospital in a state of acute intoxication, recuperate rapidly and leave the hospital in six or eight weeks. Under usual conditions this man would not relapse for four or five months. Therefore, the report of the result of hospital treatment should be suspended for a considerable period. At least, a final report on the case should not be made until one or more of the man's episodical attacks of drinking have been successfully combated. On the other hand, if a man who had been a regular or irregular drinker before his hospital treatment, is abstinent for a considerable period after his discharge from the hospital (we have tentatively placed this period at six months), we are justified in considering the man as improved.

2. The conduct and attitude of the patient after his discharge from the hospital. Under this caption we consider the ability of the man to earn his livelihood and his success in readjusting himself to society.

3. The willingness of the patient to co-operate with hospital authorities after his discharge from the hospital.

Guided by these rules we have carefully investigated the present condition of all patients discharged and have made comparative tests. The following figures, therefore, have been compiled after continual and prolonged observation of dis-

charged patients, seclusive of those not discharged for a maximum period of six months: During the past five years 1,174 patients have been investigated as above described. Out of this 1174, approximately 753, or 64%, are today working and either totally abstinent or drinking so little as not to interfere with their work. Practically all of these men had, before coming to the hospital, dropped below the class of the self-supporting.

The successful treatment of the inebriate in a state institution may, therefore, be said to be dependent, first, on an appreciation of the true nature of the condition; second, on a realization that the inebriate, according to the degree and intensity of the condition, demands specialized treatment; third, the necessity for active and continued coöperation with those interests which are genuinely concerned in the problem; fourth, diligent and consistent work and an adherence to the principle established by a definite method of control; and, lastly, the education of the public to a proper realization of the value and meaning of the institution to the community.

INEBRIETY AND CRIME*

G. Milton Linthicum, A.B., A.M., M.D., F.A.C.S., Former President of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty, Baltimore, Md.

As one whose entire life has been devoted to the study of medicine it is but natural that my mind would run in the ways adopted by our profession in the study, treatment, and prevention of disease. I feel, therefore, in dealing with crime and inebriety the methods of our profession would give the best results. The inter-dependence of these two great agencies of human betterment is seen at first glance. Social ills and sickness act and react as cause and effect. As sickness is a prominent factor in poverty, so are its allies, inebriety and crime, strong factors in pulling down the health of the individual. I wish, therefore, to be regarded as representing the medical profession and to tell you that, while "perfect health" is our aim in the medical profession, we feel that moral sanitation is a paramount issue; and no movement for this betterment of health can succeed unless the medical profession in its fight for health is aided by the social profession; nor can the sociologist on the other hand,

*An abstract, with author's approval.

succeed in his ideal of uplifting humanity unless sickness, with its resultant, poverty, be largely eliminated by the medical profession.

For this reason, if none other, I feel the discussion of these two, the greatest of social ills of the present day, by a medical man represents a step in the right direction, a hand-in-hand effort on the part of both in the great fight for the future of our race. The sound body occupied by a sound mind and soul, is the great ideal; to accomplish this ideal it is essential to eliminate as far as possible crime and inebriety. While crime has been regarded rather as a necessary evil, and inebriety attacked only from the standpoint of the moral reformer, they are now beginning to receive the scientific attention which their importance warrants. Doubtless, the fight against inebriety has not attained the success it would have, had it been conducted on a more scientific basis; but the propaganda has done a vast amount of good by directing attention to the enormous amount of evil resulting from the use of alcohol. Science has been awakened from its sleep and made to go to work. In spite of its universal use, alcohol has been placed in its true light as a narcotic, to be classed with chloral, opium and other similar drugs. In its further study, the relationship between crime and inebriety becomes clearer.

I feel it is fair to assume that crime is in most cases the result of a physical degeneration, with a definite basis, or at least with pathological conditions upon which crime is readily engrafted. It is well understood that certain individuals have an inherited tendency to tuberculosis, a vulnerability of the lungs; so that an infection later in life is more likely to occur unless health is kept at par. In the insane and the epileptic there are changes in the nervous element which have been transmitted to the offspring. So in the criminal there are doubtless neurotic changes which lead to crime, unless the environmental and health conditions are maintained at a high standard.

While not convinced that all crime is a disease, I do not question that in the vast number of cases there is an inherent vulnerability of the psychic centers making the grafting-on of the criminal easy. There are doubtless a great number of individuals with an inherited tendency, or as we medically say, a diathesis, which in spite of improved environs will develop into the criminal. But great hope of race improvement, must be looked for, in providing the right sort of surroundings and the proper kind of early education and training.

I will now discuss briefly some accredited facts as to the effect of alcohol upon the human system of the inebriate and his

offspring, and thereby hope to show the possibility of crime being the result of a damaged nervous system, inherited from alcoholic progenitors. The indirect and collateral effect of alcohol as a causative agent of crime in the production of poverty is only too well known, for it has been well said, Want is the strongest passion of the human body and soul. It is the fountain-head of all inhuman and anti-social feelings. "Where want spreads out its wings, then the sentiment of love, affection, brotherhood are impossible."

This close association of pauperism and drunkenness, is acutely seen from the reports of two commissions, unemotional, unsentimental, which with business-like accuracy give an average of not less than 45 per cent. of poverty as a direct result of inebriety. The Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, confining their investigation to that state, found that 39 per cent. of the inmates of almhouses had been brought to that condition by their own drink habits, while 10 per cent. more had been reduced to pauperism by drinking of parents, guardians or others. New York's famous Commission of Fifty, getting reports from various states, found 33 per cent were paupers because of their own drunkenness, and 8.7 per cent. because of the drink habit of others. It would thus appear that at least two-fifths of those cared for as paupers were reduced to pauperism by alcohol. It is further found that at least 25 per cent. of those receiving aid from charitable sources outside of almhouses, were affected by alcoholism. Can we fail to see this terrible influence of poverty as a direct cause of crime in its influence upon growing children? What moral conception of right can they form, with their impoverished brains and bodies, fed upon the sight of a drunken parent, sunk in filth, surrounded by wretchedness, visualized by brawls and fights; regaled with blasphemous oaths, beaten and roughly treated, compelled to lie, to beg, to even steal for the necessities of life? Thus with poverty we have the very incubator of the criminal, a weak mind, a weak body, and an undeveloped moral nature.

Inebriety as a direct factor in crime is difficult to trace. Its role in criminal proceedings is shown by the well recognized fact that not less than 50 per cent. of all arrests are due to drunkenness or its results, disorderly conduct. But the extent of grave crimes committed during inebriety is difficult to calculate. I can do no better than to quote Dr. Sullivan, England's prison physician. With great deliberation he says, "Considering the several categories of serious delinquency, we have found that alcoholic intoxication is answerable for about 60 per cent. of indictable crimes of violence, and for a rather higher propor-

tion of minor offenses of the same class; but on the other hand it makes no appreciable contribution to the crime of acquisitiveness." He further observes that almost all varieties of delinquency are due to chronic alcoholism, with the exception of one form of sexual crime, "rape on adults," which is often committed while acutely drunk. The rape of children is a form of perversion and is more often the result of chronic alcoholism. This statement by one of such authority, experience and position establishes clearly the direct relationship between the mental changes brought about by the use of alcohol and crime.

The other side of the question, the social, or heredo-biological, side has a markedly important aspect also in dealing with alcoholism. Parental drinking, in its effect upon the offspring, is of greatest importance. Statistical data are not easily applicable in proving the influence of alcohol upon the offspring. But there are many observed phenomena which show destructive changes in the brains of the children of alcoholics, such as may be demonstrated in epileptics, imbeciles, and degenerates.

The effect of alcoholism upon the body is, first, to attack the protoplasm of the most highly developed cells. The sense of shame, the sense of decency, the sense of right and wrong, the equipoise; that part of our complex organism which has differentiated civilized man from the savage and savages from animals—these disappear under its influence, and the individual is placed back with his bestial ancestors,—temporarily in acute inebriety, permanently in the chronic; and congenitally in a great number of cases of descendants from alcoholics.

Such influence, as is readily seen, of alcohol upon the individual and offspring, and its relationship to crime brings us sharp up against the greatest factor in the etiology of crime. To prevent crime we must deal with the causative agencies. The Lord Chief Justice of England makes the startling statement that "If sifted, nine-tenths of the crime in England and Wales could be traced to drink." Our own reports, as quoted above, lead us to believe that this is not a greatly exaggerated statement when applied to our own people.

The treatment of moral diseases must be, as of physical diseases, that of prevention. To prevent crime is to eliminate the criminal. To eliminate the criminal is to prevent his birth. To prevent his birth is to use every available means to have procreated normal brains. Normal brains are the offspring of normal fathers and mothers. While all crime, all immorality, all delinquency, are not the products of inebriety, it is the predominant factor and the one which if attacked will yield the greatest results.

The drunkard must be handled as the sick or insane individual. We do not argue, persuade, or plead with an insane person; we place him in a suitable hospital, under scientific treatment. So must the inebriate be treated. The acute case we should restore to his normal self. The chronic or confirmed incurable drunkard should be confined indefinitely with proper surroundings, for his own betterment and for the prevention of offspring. Such a method of dealing with the inebriate will return many to useful citizenship and will do more to educate the public to the dangers of alcohol than ony other one measure.

To summarize:

1. Drunkenness is a disease.
2. The criminal is most often a mentally and morally diseased individual, in the majority of cases a direct or indirect product of inebriety, and should be treated as such.
3. Confinement and treatment of inebriates in farm colonies results in about 30 to 60 per cent. cures.
4. The confirmed incurable drunkard is removed from the community and made to be self-supporting.
5. The removal of the drunkard prevents the renewal of his defect in offspring.
6. The method advocated would relieve the courts and police departments of about one-half their work and expense.
7. Such an institution could become nearly self-supporting, and of marked economic and moral value.
8. It is, above all, doing unto others as we would have done unto us.

DISCUSSION: The speakers of informal discussion were: Dr. J. T. Searcy, Tuscaloosa, Ala.; S. C. Hatchett, Richmond; Charles H. Patterson, New Orleans; John J. Sonsteby, Chicago; Eleanor Clark Vincent, Baltimore; W. C. Brown, Louisville.

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POLICEWOMEN*

Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells, Policewoman, Los Angeles, Cal.

The need for policewomen is one angle of the very general need for women in lines of activity once wholly occupied, and without dispute, by men. Its cause, also shared in common, rises from the fact that industrial and social energy, no longer centered in the home, has given us an age in which men, women

*Section meeting Tuesday, May 18, 11:00 A. M.

and children eat, sleep, work and play together as never before in the world's history. With this social complexity has come a corresponding social responsibility, as playground workers, associated charities, juvenile courts, truant officers, and a score of other forms of service attest. Always, women have cared for and protected the young; yet the police department which has charge of these strategic places where the young gather has been composed of men dependent upon the voluntary or collateral help of women, if any were given.

In asking the city officials of Los Angeles to create the position for me as a regular police officer, an integral and permanent part of the department—that the protective and preventive side for women and children might be developed within the department, I based the petition upon the plea that dance halls, skating rinks, picture shows, and the street, including the curfew law, could not properly be cared for by men officers.

For one year, before other policewomen were appointed here or elsewhere and the work broadened, I had charge of this kind of work. From it I learned two things—i. e., that girls and women in trouble have a right to the sympathy and help of women officers; and that men officers have a right to exemption from what may be a constant temptation to the weak and from a forced and unnecessary association with those who, if resentful, may cast a cloud upon the reputation of the most exemplary. The best officers are the most reluctant to undertake alone the handling of girls, and will resign in preference. The result is that the incipient work, where hope for redemption lies, is left undone by a police department without women, and only flagrant cases, or those definitely reported, are undertaken.

Sometimes the work takes us into the home to talk to mother and daughter as no man could hope to do. I recall one instance reported, of a young girl who was a menace to both girls and boys throughout her neighborhood. Two of us went and talked to her and her mother about the career upon which she had entered; told her to get a pattern, learn to make her own dresses, which, simple and scanty as they were, her hard-worked father was hiring made for her while she ran the streets day and night. We further instructed her not to go out on the street at night except with her father or mother,—an injunction which the officer on the beat later assured me was being obeyed. But I fear we had found her a little too late for very hopeful result.

In another case, a father reported that his daughter had threatened to leave home and he wished us to prevent it. One of our policewomen assigned to the case found that the father, with the narrow vision of many foreign-born, was expecting this

young, motherless daughter to do all of the hard work of caring for the family, including the washing. Her young sweetheart, honorable and considerate, saw the drain upon the girl's strength which her father did not, and was paying her 75 cents a week to hire the washing done, unknown to her father. Though he had good earning capacity, our policewoman labored with him for days before he consented even to buy a neat pair of shoes and a simple dress, that the girl might go on Easter Sunday to Sunday school, unashamed. He finally sent for a woman relative to come as housekeeper.

Eventually the organization of our police Juvenile Bureau, to which both men and women are assigned, took over the handling of all children and youths who come into the hands of the department, and such women as need special care. For one year also I had charge of the Bureau of Lost People, meaning especially the letters which come to us, as to the police departments of all large cities, seeking deserting husbands, wandering sons and daughters, or expressing the haunting fear of sickness or death because the accustomed letters do not come. In its tendency to keep the home ties strong, its appeal to sympathy and patient following of detail, this is a woman's work; but it means a sacrifice of more vital preventive work, until the number of women is increased to a proportion beyond that now existing in any city.

Provided there is no adult probation officer to do it policewomen act as baliffs in police courts where special effort is made to help women already arrested and find work for them that such may not go out only to fall again. They answer suspicious advertisements, help secure evidence against illegal fortune-telling or people who otherwise are preying upon a credulous public; and in many other ways they increase the efficiency of the department in its effort to preserve the peace and safety of the community. The work differs considerably with the size of cities. In large cities there are many workers, each with a carefully defined field of service. In small cities there are fewer workers and boundary lines are vague. There are policewomen at this conference who in their round of duty have done almost every form of social service acceptably.

I would not give the impression that the policewoman's work is a silver lining or an ornamental fringe to the very dark cloud of law enforcement for which a policeman stands in the average mind. She is an integral part of the department and stands for law enforcement; but her largest and best work is to prevent, for the securing of obedience to law is the very best form of law enforcement.

Does the policewoman make arrests? is a question asked. Indeed she does—but as few as possible, and those in keeping with the spirit of the work. She does not try to do the traditional work of the policeman on the street; but when a girl is to be brought in and held for any reason it is right for the policewoman to go and bring her in. If she has to summon to court the proprietor of a place of amusement, she does so. These constitute arrests, yet are no more spectacular or unwomanly than the work daily performed by other business and professional women.

Census of Policewomen

For decades past the "woman policeman" has been a figment of the imagination, has been held up to ridicule as the acme of the absurd and impossible; but, though the last echo of derision still reverberates, there has grown a policewoman movement as great in strength and size as any humanitarian movement has attained in equal time. In giving the present status of this movement, the list of policewomen presented is intended to include regular policewomen—those who are a regular part of the police department, appointed as men are for outside work; and names are given approximately in the order of establishment. Others wil be mentioned under their own respective headings. Los Angeles, 5; Baltimore, 5; Seattle, 5; Vancouver, B. C., 1; Fargo, N. D., 1; Topeka, Kan., 2; Toronto, Ont., 2; Grand Forks, N. D., 1; San Francisco, 3; Rochester, 1; Chicago, 36; Ottawa, Quebec, 1; Aurora, Ill., 1; San Antonio, 2; Syracuse, 1; Pittsburgh, 4; St. Paul, 3; Minneapolis, 2; Denver, 1; Muncie, Ind., 1; Colorado Springs, 1; Superior, Wis., 1; Dayton, O., 2; Jamestown, N. Y., 1; Racine, Wis., 1; South Bend, 1; Phoenix, Ariz., 1; Victoria, B. C., 1; Ithaca, N. Y., 1. Also I believe Sioux City, Ia., Beatrice and Omaha, Nebraska, have 1 each. Poughkeepsie, N. Y., and Des Moines, Ia., have one each, paid from private funds, but with the approval of the chief of police. There are in small cities so-called police matrons who are really policewomen. They do the regular, all-around protective work of a policewoman, taking care, in addition, of the occasional woman prisoner which a small town has. I have included them in the regular list, for such they are and should be called.

There are regular police matrons who, in addition to their own arduous duty of taking full care daily of woman prisoners, receive other requests because there are no policewomen to call on. Such an one is Mrs. J. J. Farley, of Dallas, Texas. The city has paid tribute to her long and capable service by giving her the title and salary of captain, with a handsome gold badge to

prove it. There are two New York matrons assigned to the detective bureau. One, at least, Mrs. Goodwin, draws a first-grade lieutenant's pay. A third is detailed to the Lost Bureau. There are a variety of special police officers: one in Gary, Indiana, who is also a State Humane Officer; one in Kingstown, New York, who is a member of the health commission and president of the city federation of woman's clubs. There are playground workers; and in Walla Walla, Washington, the wife of the Salvation Army adjutant, who gives most effective help by safeguarding youth in her regular round of duties.

There are the departments of safety for women in the cities of the northwest, which, as in Portland and Tacoma, especially, antedate regular police officers and which have done valuable work. But they have felt it better to work under less forbidding names and not to ally themselves frankly as an integral part of the police department on an equal basis with men. Oakland has such a department, without police authority at all. Six states have passed special laws to make possible the appointing of policewomen,—Maryland, Minnesota, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Missouri and New Hampshire, in the order named. Others tried without success.

With policewomen in the lime-light, it takes much work to sift the true from the erroneous reports, and especial effort is required to find the status of policewomen's work abroad. Berlin was widely heralded about two years ago as having appointed 30 policewomen. In a letter from the highest police authority in Berlin I am assured that it has no policewomen. So far as I know, only Norway, Sweden and Denmark have policewomen. I extended to them an invitation to attend this conference and hoped to see the face of one of them here. The English women have organized Women Patrols—a voluntary corps of policewomen, hoping that, by meritorious work during this time of national stress, they may so establish the value of the work that the government will not be willing to dispense with it later. The National Union of Women Workers of Great Britain and Ireland under which it was instituted have done such wonderful work in providing funds, gathering and training women, and the women themselves are filling a vital tragic need so well that its permanency can hardly be in doubt.

Women as Superior Officers

I have said nothing, thus far, about women in positions of authority. The movement, as it concerns regular policewomen, standing unequivocally as a recognized part of police work, to rise or fall with it, is not quite five years old. It will be five

years next September since my own appointment—the first of this kind—and civil service rules in nearly all cities require five years' service before any officer is eligible to take a sergeant's examination. Thus, it is plain, there has been little chance for women to rise through the ranks to the position of sergeant, much less to that of lieutenant or captain. I wish here to sound a note against undue haste, for in police work, as in all other broadly human issues, there should be no sex emphasis or undue advantage.

Police work, to take the place it should and will take in the broader social program, must have the best that both men and women can give it. It will not be enhanced by underestimating the long, patient, upward climb of men's police work under exceedingly adverse circumstances. I feel that we should jealously guard against a superficial conception of this new and great profession for women. In whatever city there is a woman who has had sufficient police experience or work analagous to it to know well its problems and procedure, she may with benefit be placed over inexperienced women; but I cannot refrain from making the plea that women entering police work shall receive the best grounding possible from the one best fitted to give it, whoever that may be. Only thus, in my judgment, may women effectively add to mens' highest achievement that constructive sympathy and moral enthusiasm which is their richest contribution.

State Police

The police power of the state government, though an established term, as at present interpreted is a narrow one, referring usually to enforcement of labor laws, handling of rioting areas, drug evasions, etc. It has only the most incidental and coöperative relation to local police departments. As citizens of local communities we also narrowly understand police work to mean the enforcement of local ordinances, the suppression of violence or disorder; whereas state laws are just as operative inside city limits as outside—and is not every police officer sworn to enforce the laws governing his municipality? Early in my experience, before we had a woman deputy labor inspector, I carried on with the consumers' league an inspection of all factories where women were employed. This was in answer to a complaint that conditions were not conducive to the comfort and moral welfare of the women employed. We also investigated the stores in regard to the practical results of the law providing seats for employees, as complaints had reached us. But the extension of special state machinery absorbed the work. This some time will become regular police work.

The demoralizing influence of the saloon and social evil, which until very recently dominated every city, large and small, tended to hold the work to a maximum of muscle, with indifference as to amount of brain and dearth of initiative or ethical quality. With the coming of national prohibition and the complete divorcement of the social evil from official connivance, I foresee the time when every police officer will have the larger, finer work of enforcing all those laws of the state which are intimately related to human conservation and protection.

Is not a state law just as operative within the boundary of a city as outside? Indeed, the bulk of its action lies there. And is not a police officer sworn to enforce the laws governing the municipality? Only through this wider interpretation can we call into it the best men and women, or call the best out of the men now in it.

A start has been made by a few states which have organized state police departments—Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Texas. Except in Massachusetts, no effort has been made to touch social legislation, and even then not in a way calculated to leaven the whole. As this is yet to be achieved, I can only suggest for today a practical point of departure in the interchange between cities.

One of the vital factors among the finer phases of crime prevention is the need of fresh faces. Suspicious advertisements appear in our papers for girls to work. Questionable rooming-houses cleverly avoid the more flagrant evidences of danger to young girls. Dance halls and other places of amusement put the best foot forward when the local policewoman appears,—for her face becomes known quickly. An arrangement, for instance, between Buffalo and Syracuse, Los Angeles and San Francisco, St. Louis and Kansas City, whereby one, or several, policewomen mutually exchanged arrange to drop in as any traveling women, without going near the station; sealed orders, received previously at her hotel, would enable her as an experienced worker to find out and get convictions in many baffling or unsuspected cases.

All this means that we must have many women and the best women obtainable, and training for them. It means that our schools of civics and philanthropy, which are ready to do this must have the coöperation of the local police department in furnishing the chance for field work that other agencies have long afforded; and that other means of recruiting suitable women be devised. Los Angeles hopes in another year, to take care of the demand of the Southwest. I receive letters from small cities saying, "If we secure the appropriation, can you send us an ex-

perienced woman to fill the place?" And letters from Europe asking for help, with letters all the way between. The schools of civics and the college vocational bureau receive similar calls, but we have not the women. Much educational work has been done. I have spoken in over 100 cities in the United States and Canada, and also at national and international gatherings. Others have spoken, and the work now ahead of us is to provide a supply for the rapidly increasing demand and to guide the work into channels of greatest usefulness.

Note: At this section meeting there was organized the International Association of Policewomen with the following officers: President, Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells, Los Angeles; Vice-President, Miss Mary Steele Harvey. Baltimore; Secretary, Mrs. Georgiana Sherrott, Minneapolis; Treasurer, Miss Annie R. McCully, Dayton.

ESTABLISHING POLICEWOMEN IN MARYLAND IN 1912

Edna Annette Beveridge, Baltimore, Md.

Today the police system is concerned with methods of prevention and reform. It has become tempered, as former Attorney General McReynolds says, with "the justice of mercy." The status of the whole police department is undergoing an evolution towards a higher idea of plan and purposes, and the public mind is beginning to grasp the real intent and aim of a police system.

Prevention of crime, corrective measures in considering moral delinquents, the saving of young girls and protection of children are recognized by all as most important factors in social progress; and while it is always acknowledged that "the natural attitude of women is to act in response to human need," communities have still been terribly slow in realizing that if ever human need called more insistently for the application of the natural attitude of women it was from the police department,—that point toward which is drifting, as one writer puts it, "the reckless waste of humanity that reaches the scrap heap before ever attaining its prime."

Knowing as I did that two million children, between 10 and 15 years of age were at labor in the United States, and that the number was constantly increasing; that 500,000 girls and women earned their living in the United States by the sale of their bodies; that Maryland contributed to that number; that 1,000 children under 10 years were assaulted in Maryland in one year;

that 1,000 illegitimate children were born in Baltimore alone in one year, costing the community just for hospital care $30,000; knowing from investigations of my own, made in all kinds of weather, at all hours of the day and night, under every variety of condition, from the mouths of those most affected, from the stories that were given me from mother-lips, that hundreds and hundreds of girls and young children were left to seek their own recreation and amusement under all sorts of unsafe situations, too often paying tribute in future misery and disgrace; and that men police could not cope with many of these problems,—there was opened up an apparent haven of rescue and a very helping hand seemed extended, when I learned that a woman in Los Angeles had had courage to put the matter squarely up to her chief of police—that women were needed to take hold of such situations, to look after women and furnish protection such as men police constantly found it impossible to give; that that same woman secured an ordinance for, and introduced into, the department a policewoman; that the experiment had worked out successfully and met with the approval of the department officials.

Some women in Baltimore had spoken of it, then forgotten about it. One society passed a resolution saying it was a good thing and then immediately went to sleep.

Gathering data in my own country and from countries in Europe where women in similar capacity had been established for some time; soliciting the opinion of judges, mayors, governors and city councilmen who had assisted in passing the measures in other cities and states after California's experience in the field; quoting from this material and from my own personal knowledge of things transpiring in different sections of this city, of behavior in moving picture parlors, skating rinks, concert and dance halls, hotels, restaurants, cafes, rathskellers, theaters, resorts of various kind, joy-riding and public parks, all luring the youth from both the attractive and unattractive home, all a menace to decent family life, I spoke before many clubs and organizations, made personal calls upon 800 persons in Maryland, wrote hundreds of letters, secured the signatures of club women, men of business prominence, and heads of associations, and obtained personal letters from those who rarely gave them before. My efforts were not confined to one class of society; I set squarely before all sections of the city the purpose of and necessity for such a measure.

Do not think for a moment that all this was accomplished in a day or a week, or that it was an easy task to persuade the men of a southern city that policewomen were either necessary or pos-

sible; it took two and one-half years to do it, for, remember, the proposition was a new one east of the Mississippi river. The newspapers, too, had their fling at the proposed "women-cops," "women police*men*," "lady-police-officers," "female police," and such other terms as they could conjure; cartoons, not always of the most artistic type, followed, while head-lines were wonderful in their originality. The things to be done by these policewomen were terrible to contemplate and so the editors and reporters amused themselves and the public, and did not think it would come to be a serious fact.

Then came the legislative session of 1912, an act of the legislature being necessary in Maryland to authorize a law providing policewomen for Baltimore city. The bill was given by me to a democratic representative in the House of Delegates, from my own legislative district, who, after agreeing to present it, kept it 10 days and returned it to me, saying he had no time to give it proper attention. I then placed it in the hands of another delegate, a republican, with instructions to notify me as to when the committee would take it up, that I might appear before them and explain the merits of the bill; otherwise they might not give it proper consideration. He faithfully promised to do this, then promptly forgot all about it and the bill was unfavorably reported.

The morning I learned this I at once took a train for Annapolis, verified the statement as to the fate of the bill, and was told there was no further hope for it that year—that it was dead. I replied there was hope so long as the legislature was in session. I then went to the republican governor, told him my story, the good we all wanted to see done for our young people by the passage of this measure and asked him to direct me to some one in the senate, upon whose word, if he decided to father the bill, I could depend.

This republican governor sent me to a democratic senator, and the confidence in him was not misplaced. Senators were interviewed; they were shocked and astonished at such a proposition—for they immediately saw visions of women in uniforms and brass buttons, parading the streets with an espatoon, arresting negroes and drunken men. They were given another viewpoint. It was explained to them that the women would not be uniformed, not have "beats"; but that women and children in the community would be their care. They then realized the purport and wisdom of providing supervision of this kind for the youth of their city and agreed to support the bill by their vote.

The bill passed the senate and was carried to the house. Here 104 men had to be told what it really meant, told individually for fear they would misinterpret it. Only two days remained of the session. On one of these days it was necessary to remain in the state house from nine A. M. until midnight, and on the second, and last, from nine A. M. until three A. M. the following morning. Men were talked to, reminded of their promises, and the second reading of the bill waited and watched for. Then, to pass its third reading on the same day, it was necessary to suspend the rules of the house. The required number of votes to do this were obtained and the bill moved on to its final passage without a dissenting vote in either branch of the legislature. It was 3 o'clock in the morning, when I took the train for Baltimore, reaching my home at 5 A. M., weary and tired out but happy in the thought that a new law—well worth the effort—would be placed upon the statute books of Maryland.

Maryland paved the way for the other states and helped to remove the prejudice that has for so long been held against adding women to the police force of the state.

There is a great and wonderful field of work for the policewomen. The influence of intelligent, persistent, earnest women is needed in our police departments. Helpless women and girls can go to them for advice, without publicity, and thus a means is provided for smoothing-out many a difficulty in the lives of those who know not where to turn for guidance.

DISCUSSION: In addiion to the two speakers whose papers are given, the following delegates took part in this discussion: Mary Steele Harvey Baltimore; Anna McCully, Dayton; Nellie L. McElroy, Rochester, N. Y.; Anna F. Sonedecker, Youngstown, O.; Eliza Ridgeley, Baltimore; Emma Miriam Smith, Columbia, S. C.; Mrs. M. W. Searight, Birmingham; Mrs. Georgia May Jobson, Richmond; C. C. Carstens, Boston; Maude E. Miner, New York.

THE POLICE DEPARTMENT AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM*

Hon. Alfred S. Niles, Member of the Board of Police Commissioners of Baltimore, Md.

After accepting the subject assigned to me, my first task was to determine what should be the definition of its terms. The *police department* is easily defined. It is more or less con-

*Section meeting Wednesday, May 19, 9:15 A. M., Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells, presiding.

spicuous and generally in uniform. The *social problem* is not at all easily defined. It may mean one thing or another, according to the individuality of the speaker. To one it may signify whatever affects the community; to another whatever has to do with illicit sexual commerce; to another, the problem of venereal disease; to another, prostitution generally; to a fifth, the specific form of aid to prostitution known as the bawdy-house.

As a subject for a twenty minute address, it seemed to me necessary to reject the broadest meaning of the term. It could not be expected that an attempt should be made to consider in such an address the general relations of the police department to modern social life.

As soon as this point was decided upon, it was surprising how the subject narrowed itself. I take it that we will all agree that in a general way the police department has executive functions merely, and consequently that it is its duty—and its only duty—to enforce whatever law the legislative branch of the government may choose to enact or retain in force.

Therefore, even assuming that the social problem is the problem of how to diminish and prevent sexual immorality, it is manifest that in a state having such laws on the subject as Maryland, where fornication is not a criminal offense, and where the only criminal penalty for adultery is a $10 fine, the police department has no special duties as to mere illicit sexual commerce. It ought, of course, to note conditions of prevalent immorality as it ought to watch every other incident in the life of the community, with a view of obtaining data for advocacy of, or opposition to, proposed legislation. But so ought the mayor, the judges and indeed all other officials and citizens. Such duty is certainly not within the special province of the average patrolman, and is scarcely, if at all, more relevant to the functions of the police department than to any other, say the tax or the health department. In other states, both fornication and adultery are made crimes, and in such states what action the police force should take in order that the law may not fall into contempt, while espionage, blackmail and unnecessary interference with individual freedom may be avoided, might, I should think, form the subject of many papers.

But in the brief time which I propose to consume, I will take as my text the state and city which I know best, and confine myself to the consideration of the subject in reference to those communities which, like ours, have not substantially changed in this regard the common law. I should also say that, in default of some legislation upon the subject, the police department had no special functions to perform regarding venere-

al disease and that consideration of questions arising in relation to this particular branch of the subject was manifestly outside the bailiwick of the policeman.

The phase of the social problem with which the police department has special relations is not even so broad as would be indicated by the word prostitution. There are laws making pandering a crime, and other laws forbidding fornication with negroes, abduction for purposes of fornication, and vagabondage—which covers street walking. But I can find nothing in our criminal statutes punishing as a crime the temporary sale of the body of an adult woman to one man or several men, provided that is done without such brazen shamelessness that it becomes open and notorious lewdness, and provided the woman keeps outside the definition of a person who "leads a dissolute and disorderly course of life and cannot give an account of the means by which she procures a livelihood." Practically speaking, to make prostitution illegal there must be added the element of a bawdy house, soliciting on the street, or open lewdness.

According, then, to the theory of the duties of the police department previously stated, the only direct connection which this department should have with sexual vice in states like Maryland is where one or the other of these criminal elements is present. I will not now discuss the question as to whether our criminal laws go far enough. I admit that there is much to be said in favor of making mere fornication a crime; I admit that there is more to be said in favor of forbidding by criminal law the temporary sale of a woman's body for a price generally consisting of a few dollars, and sometimes as low as a few cents. But there is much to be said on the other side. Institutions and law, to be of permanent value, must follow and not precede public sentiment, and whether public sentiment is as yet prepared to do more than enforce the common law may well be questioned.

At all events, I do not purpose to argue that our laws are worse or better than the laws of those states which aim at a higher legal standard of morals. The point upon which I do feel clear is, that where vices are not criminal, the police department as a department, should have no special relation with those guilty of such vices. This, I think, would be acknowledged by every one as to a vice like gluttony, and I see no reason why it is not equally true as to fornication.

The question given me for discussion seems, therefore, practically limited to these two divisions.

(I) The police department and street walking and open lewdness.

(II) The police department and houses of ill fame.

I. Street Walking and Open Lewdness.

The purpose of provisions on this subject must be to keep from annoyance the moral person. There is no reason why such a purpose cannot be thoroughly accomplished. The most innocent young man ought to be able to walk any street in Baltimore and never know that there existed such a being as a woman who desired him to cohabit with her in order that she might obtain money from him. The protection is not only to the young man, but to the innocent girl. If it is a well known fact that no woman upon the street is engaged in soliciting, the chances of a virtuous girl being accosted are reduced to a minimum, and it one of the functions of a good police department to see to it that there is not a street, lane or alley within its jurisdiction where a pure girl cannot pass up and down without annoyance, and without seeing anything that might cause a blush.

The Marshal of Baltimore City confirms my own limited observation when he says that this is practically true in our city, and I can find no reason why the police department should not see to it that the statement could be truly made without qualification as to every city. Perhaps it might be desirable to go further, and bring about a condition of affairs where a "young man about town" would be unable to detect the presence of a "woman of easy virtue" even though he desired to find her,—though he was on the street with the purpose of finding her, and though he were fairly familiar with the signs by which she makes known her laxness of morals. But, frankly, I feel no enthusiasm about having flirting stopped by the police, even though one or the other of the flirts may have illicit sexual connection in his or her mind, provided such flirting is so carried on that no one not looking for that sort of thing would suspect its existence. A tactful police*woman* might do some good in reference to this, but I would hesitate long before I would commit the police department to a campaign against such flirting as was recognizable only by the flirts themselves or by experts.

II. The Bawdy-house.

The bawdy-house has had for centuries an interesting history. Its position both in England and in this country during most of this time has been that of an illegal institution tolerated by the legal authorities. Keeping a bawdy-house has been a misdemeanor ever since the mass of Saxon customs overlaid by

some Norman institutions gained coherence and obtained the name of the common law.

Lord Coke devotes Chapter 98 of his *Institutes* to the subject of "Brothel-houses, Estuis, Bordellos," and says "the keeping of them is against the law of God, out of which the Common Law of England in that case is grounded." "The keeping of a house of bawdry or stewes or brothel house being as it were a common nuisance, is punishable by the Common Law and is the cause of many mischiefs, not only to the overthrow of the bodies and the wasting of their livelihoods, but to the endangering of their souls." Yet in the same chapter from which the quotation just given was taken, Coke speaks of there being "eighteen of these infamous houses before the reign of Henry VII." Then he continues: "Henry VII for a time forbade them. Afterwards twelve houses were permitted with signs painted on their walls as a boar's head, the cross-keys, the gun, the castle, the crane, the cardinal's hat, etc." These particular houses, he tells us, were suppressed by Henry VIII.

Henry VII was upon the throne before America was discovered by Columbus, and since then almost everything in the outside environment of human life has changed. But during all that time the relations of the bawdy-house and the police department have been going through the same cycle as described in these sentences of Lord Coke, viz.: always forbidden; but in existence in the time of Henry VII, then suppressed by Henry VII, then tolerated by Henry VII, then permitted by Henry VII to do business openly with signs painted on their walls; then suppressed by Henry VIII. So the cycle of suppression, toleration, open permission and another suppression has continued from the 15th to the 20th century. From the days of the Tudors down, both in England and in this country, the law has never ceased to regard these houses as a common nuisance, and the officials of the law have never for any long period of time made a *bona fide* attempt to suppress them.

I remember very well the condition in Baltimore when I was a young man. There were several hundreds of these houses perfectly well known, and tolerated by the police department and the sheriff's office, according to a discretion which was applied in such an arbitrary fashion as to give rise to great scandal, a large part of which was probably justified. Then, as a result of a reform movement, a new bench of politically independent judges was elected.

These judges thought that the most conservative and practical method of reforming the situation would be to have the police department report to the sheriff's office every bawdy house in

the city, to have the sheriff's office lay the case of each one of the houses before the grand jury, to have the grand jury bring in an indictment against the keeper, and for the court to fine the keeper. At the instance of our judges, this method was actually put into practice and was regarded as a step in advance. The alleged good effects resulting from the system were that every house and its inmates were known to the police; that the money paid by each house in order to continue in business was paid openly and under the direction of the court; that when the character of a neighborhood changed and the residents were unwilling longer to acquiesce in the presence of such a house, they could be and they were suppressed; that the knowledge that if any crimes were committed in any of these houses it would be suppressed, prevented crimes; that the keepers of the houses, being to a certain extent protected by the law, would work with the officials of the law in ferreting out criminals and in other similar ways, and that in this manner there was secured a reasonably good enforcement of such rules as were necessary to prevent the houses from being nuisances in fact to people living in the neighborhood, or to passers by, because of brawls, indecent exposures and matters of that sort.

Those were the days which correspond to the time in England when there were permitted in London "twelve houses with signs painted on their walls." With differences as to minor details, practically the same system existed in almost all, if not quite all, the large cities of this country. There was little, if any, protest made in Baltimore against this system. It was acquiesced in upon all sides as either necessary and good in itself, or, if not that, at least the only practicable way of handling the problem. Even the legislature gave the system a sort of recognition by disposing of the proceeds of bawdy-house fines in certain special ways, devoting them to the maintenance of public dispensaries, etc.

Almost imperceptibly public opinion upon this point began to change. A sentiment grew up, weak at first, and considered well-meaning, but visionary, which sentiment questioned whether the last word had been said on the subject. It began to be argued that, if to keep a bawdy house were criminal, the court should be the last institution that should practically legalize it; that the imposition of an annual fine and nothing more did practically legalize it; that the keepers regarded the payment of these fines as a license, and that the public generally were brought up to regard the continuation of such houses as a necessary part of the city's life, and no more to be interfered with by the law than any other legal business.

The agitation increased until about five years ago the supreme bench of our city took the matter up and carefully considered whether or not it would be wise, or was required by the law, to change the then existing system. After much discussion and an elaborate report a minute was adopted in which the position was practically taken that it was unwise at that time to make radical changes, and that the surveillance of these houses, the prevention of liquor-selling therein, the coöperation of their keepers with the police in ferreting out serious crimes, the prevention of inmates being kept in such houses against their will, and the abolition of the houses in any neighborhood where objection was made by the residents to their continuance, were objects which could be attained, and the attainment of which was more desirable, than an attempt, probably unsuccessful, to abolish the houses altogether.

In pursuance of these ideas conferences were held with the Police Board, after which the following circular was issued by the department:

Police Department
Office of the Marshal,
Baltimore, December 11, 1911.

The Board of Police Commissioners adopted today the following regulations with respect to bawdy and assignation houses.

The members of the force are instructed to report promptly every instance which may come to their knowledge of the failure of any keeper of such house to comply strictly with the same.

Thomas F. Farnan, Marshal.

NO BAWDY HOUSES WILL BE PERMITTED TO LOCATE ON ANY STREET THROUGH WHICH CAR LINES PASS, AND WILL BE CONFINED TO SUCH STREETS AND SITUATIONS AS MAY BE INDICATED BY THE POLICE DEPARTMENT.

Regulations.

1. No person will be allowed to keep, manage or have a pecuniary interest in more than one bawdy or other house for purposes of prostitution.

2. Keepers of bawdy houses, including assignation houses, will not be allowed to advertise their houses, whether by printed matter or otherwise.

3. The inmates of such houses must not sit or loiter on the steps or sidewalks thereof, or exhibit themselves at windows, or in any manner solicit passersby.

4. No disorderly or unruly conduct shall be allowed in the house.

5. No intoxicating liquor shall be sold on the premises, whether from any supply in the house or brought in from a saloon or elsewhere for the occasion; nor shall visitors be permitted to send out for liquor to be drunk in the house.

6. Keepers of bawdy and assignation houses must allow no larceny or other crime to be committed in the house. If, despite a reasonable vigilance and precaution on the part of the keeper, a larceny or other crime be committed on the premises, the keeper must immediately notify the police, and do whatever may lie in her power to assist the police towards the apprehension of the person committing the offense and the recovery of stolen property. And the keepers of such houses shall at all times furnish the police when called on, any information, facts or circumstances coming to their knowledge in connection with any larceny or other crime committed elsewhere.

7. Keepers of bawdy or assignation houses shall not permit any unnatural practices in their houses.

8. The keeper of a bawdy or assignation house shall furnish the Marshal of Police with a photograph taken within one year, of each woman, including herself, who may live in the house for purposes of prostitution, together with report in each case upon printed blanks furnished by the Police Department. Upon the arrival of a new inmate, before she shall have sexual intercourse with any man, her photograph with report on blank referred to, shall be furnished to the Marshal of Police, accompanied by a written statement signed by her that she enters the house willingly. Keepers of bawdy houses shall also furnish the Marshal of Police with a photograph and report as mentioned, of every "sitter" or woman who resides elsewhere but visits the house for purposes of prostitution.

9. No inmate of a bawdy house or assignation house suffering from any venereal disease shall be allowed to have sexual intercourse with a man therein until she shall have been declared cured thereof by the certificate of a reputable practicing physician.'

These rules were actually put in force, and I have reason to think were fairly well obeyed. But under them the situation was one of decidedly unstable equilibrium.

Less than five months after the promulgation of this document, a new police board was appointed, and there was an increase of agitation in regard to the matter. There were one or two neighborhoods in this city where bawdy-houses had long been established, but in regard to which the residents of these neighborhoods began to complain. The police board thereupon abolished the houses, but sentiment was greatly divided over this action. Many of the people of this city were opposed to any change at all in the old system, while many others saw no reason why the law should be enforced in certain neighborhoods and not in all other neighborhoods, no matter what might be the sentiment of the people living in the immediate vicinity. It seemed as if there was a sufficient crisis to justify an exceptional step to ascertain what really were the facts, and to consolidate public opinion upon the subject. The governor of this state accordingly named a vice commission to investigate and report. This vice commission was recognized by the legislature at the session of 1914, and money appropriated to aid its investi-

gation. In March of this year it made a preliminary report to the police department in which the recommendations were that all bawdy houses be abolished within a year, that all assignation houses be abolished immediately, and that during the year no person should be allowed to move from one bawdy house to another. In the meantime the police board had been giving serious consideration to the whole question, and although its members felt that during the time the vice commission was making its investigation it would be unwise to take radical steps, the individual members of the board became more and more firmly convinced that the bawdy house was not a necessity, and ought to be suppressed as soon as practicable. The rules adopted by the police department and given above were therefore enforced; in addition thereto, "sitters" (by which is meant girls, not inmates, who come to the houses for the purpose of there meeting and cohabiting with men) were forbidden to frequent the houses, telephones were ordered out of the houses, and finally rules were adopted which prevented any prostitute living at any of the houses who left the life from again returning to it, which prevented any new brothel from being opened, and which prevented any brothel which for any reason was closed up from being again opened as such brothel.

Under these rules, the number of bawdy houses in Baltimore city decreased from 262 in 1912 to 85 on January 1, 1915, and the number of inmates decreased from 812 to 226. This was the status of the question when the preliminary report of the vice commission was received. Since the coming in of this report all its suggestions have been adopted in principle by the police board, and the result to the present time has been a further decrease of houses from 85 to 67, and the number of inmates therein from 226 to 105.

Apparently, therefore, these are days similar, in respect to the treatment of bawdy-houses, to the days when Henry VIII suppressed the houses which flaunted their signs in the days of his father.

As in the days of its acquiescence in the toleration of bawdy-houses Baltimore was not alone, so in the days of its unrest, its investigations, its determination to suppress the house, and its attempt to carry this determination into effect, it is not alone. A great wave of interest in this general matter has rolled over the whole civilized world, and in the United States of America there is hardly any city of any size or respectability which has not had its vice commission and the ordinary concomitants thereof. These vice commissions have made practically similar reports, advising that the bawdy-house be suppressed by the po-

lice; and their recommendations have been so generally adopted that the old fashioned toleration of the bawdy-house by the police department exists today in only a very small proportion of our cities. Indeed, I have dealt so fully with the local history of this subject because I think that Baltimore is a type and the incidents which have occurred here indicate the way in which the conservative mind has been urged along the path which has led at this moment to a frank recognition of the bawdy-house as a criminal institution, which always has been criminal, and which has no reason for its existence in opposition to law.

There is no doubt in my mind that the vast majority of those who have studied the relation between the police and the bawdy-house feel today that the only duty of the police to the bawdy-house should be to suppress, as it would suppress any other thing prohibited by law. My only question is whether this attitude of mind will be lasting, and whether the suppression of bawdy-houses in the 20th century will be any more permanent than was similar suppression in the 16th century. Already in Baltimore reactionary sentiments have been expressed. Before the vice commission had given any intimation of its findings, one grand jury reported in favor of what it called "segregation"; and our last grand jury has just filed its report advocating "segregation" and the appointment of a permanent vice commission to deal with the question, while criticizing the present police commissioners for attempting to enforce the law.

So from other cities which have lately abolished bawdy-houses, and from the police departments of which I have received answers to the question as to whether they would favor a return to the old system, there has not been a unanimous response. Although the chiefs of police in most of them say that the abolition of these houses is of great benefit, there are two—Denver and Omaha—who frankly declare their opposition.

Of course, no certain prediction can be made as to the future; but I see nothing in this see-saw attitude of the public conscience that is unusual in connection with the enforcement of law in America. There is a very prominent characteristic in the Anglo-Saxon mind which its enemies call hypocrisy but which its friends insist is the maintenance of a standard in the national conscience a little beyond the power of the average citizen to continuously maintain in his own life.

Certain it is that during the centuries since Henry VII we have had the same continuous legal prohibition of corruption at elections, accompanied by the same cycle of sporadic periods of law enforcement followed by relapses when there was almost a market price for votes. Nor are election offenses the only il-

lustration. For instance, we have had much the same story in reference both to duelling and to gambling. There have been many times within the past five hundred years when both duelling and the frequenting of open gambling houses have been so prevalent that any one might have despaired of the ultimate enforcement of the laws against them or of any good resulting from attempts at such enforcement.

Yet the prohibition of duelling has finally become effective and the effectiveness of the prohibition of vote-buying and of the gambling hell is almost certainly a question of comparatively short time. Similarly, it is not only possible, but is in analogy with the history of other laws than an education of the public conscience in regard to bawdy-houses may go on while the enforcement of the law see-saws back and forth.

My own feeling is one of certainty that the bawdy-house will be suppressed by the police soon and permanently. My reason for this conviction is that if, in the past centuries, the evils attendant upon the bawdy-house were sufficiently obvious to make the keeping of it a criminal offense *in law*, and to prevent its legalization to any appreciable extent, the greater appreciation of these evils caused by the careful study now given, and the greater conscientiousness of our police officials, will cause it to be considered and treated as a criminal offense *in fact*.

Careful study by the expert has made and is making the average man on the street realize as never before the real nature of the bawdy-house. It is not primarily a place where people indulge sexual passion. It is a place kept by certain persons who desire to make money out of pandering to the lust of others. Just who it was who formulated the expression "commercialized vice" I do not know, but whoever did it did valiant service both for righteousness and for clear thinking. Neither the madam nor the inmates in a bawdy-house are themselves the subjects of illicit passion. Their connection with the whole matter is a business one, and their trade is to stimulate the desire for illicit sexual intercourse and to make money out of it.

There is and always must be a difference between the attitude of the law toward a vice which only injures the persons who indulge in it, and toward the person or institution which caters and panders to that vice. A man may injure himself through his vice of taking morphine or smoking opium, but the attitude of the law may well be very different toward him than toward the keeper of the drug store who sells morphine without a prescription and the Chinaman who keeps an opium-joint. There is always danger, and generally actual harm, that comes from indulging in the vice of gambling; but the attitude of the

law may be very different toward the clubman who engages in a sociable game of poker, and toward the keeper of the gambling hell.

The question of the bawdy-house is not the question of prostitution. The chief worker of the present Vice Commission of Maryland informs me that the number of prostitutes in Baltimore outside of bawdy-houses is to the number of inmates of bawdy-houses at least ten to one. Segregation of bawdy-houses would, therefore, only to a negligible extent mean segregation of prostitutes; while what is sometimes called "scatteration" of that ten per cent. of prostitutes who live in bawdy-houses could in the nature of things have little, if any effect. The question of the bawdy-house is simply the question of the existence of an illegal, criminal aid to prostitution; and the mere statement of the question gives the answer so far as the police department is concerned. What business has the police department with an illegal, criminal aid to vice but the business of suppressing it?

I can see no necessity for a permanent *morals squad* of policemen. Any patrolman ought to be able to recognize a bawdy-house upon his beat, and, once recognized, all he has to do is to suppress it, either by himself or with the aid which the department will furnish him. I have no objection to a permanent vice commission. But that is not the policeman's job. All that the police department has to do with the social problem is to enforce the law on the statute books in reference thereto. I sympathize with the superintendent of police in St. Louis, who writes me under date of April 6th, 1915, as follows:

> St. Louis closed its segregated district and all houses of ill-fame March 1st, 1914. The new order of things has worked very well up to this writing, there having been no increase in street solicitation or in crimes against women. Bawdy houses always have been prohibited under the Missouri law and there never was any good reason for their being tolerated. The Police Department now is merely enforcing the law and will continue to do so.
>
> Very truly yours,
>
> (signed) Wm Young.
> Chief of Police.

Summarizing

In a state governed by such laws as Maryland, the only relation of the police department as such to the social problem has to do with street solicitation, open lewdness and bawdy-houses: and as to all these there is for the police department but one duty—to secure their elimination.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE CHARITIES

PROGRAM

Outdoor Relief, general session, p. 434.
State Subsidies, section meeting, p. 458.
Administration of Outdoor Relief, section meeting, p. 474.
Chartering Voluntary Charities, section meeting, p. 485.

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE*

George S. Wilson, Secretary, Board of Charities of the District of Columbia, Washington

Your president has well said that the title given to this committee—that of Public and Private Charities—is a broad one; and you might well conclude that if this committee considered carefully and thoroughly all that is comprehended under the title there would be no occasion for any other program committee for this conference, for surely under the term Public and Private Charities may be included practically all the subjects which it is our custom to consider. You are well aware, however, that by more or less well-defined limitations the several committees have their fields marked out, so that there are many subjects so definitely assigned to other committees that they do not come properly before ours for consideration. The committee on children, for instance, has to consider the subjects with special reference to children; and so with the other committees. It might be said, therefore, that by the process of elimination we arrive at the questions this committee on Public and Private Charities is to take up.

It was indicated to us last year that it was the hope and purpose of those making up the program committees that this committee would consider subjects that were common to both branches of the service; that we might serve as a common ground where both those engaged in so-called official service and those engaged primarily in charities maintained by private benevolence might meet. Our committee has followed the directions indicated a year ago and has chosen for discussion at this session three subjects which are peculiarly common to both

*General session Thursday, May 13, 8:15 P. M.

public and private charities. The subject discussed at our first section meeting was that of the policy of granting state subsidies—appropriations of public moneys to private charities. Both public and private charity workers, of course, are keenly interested in that subject. Another subject having to do with the relation between public and private charities is that of the chartering or incorporation and supervision of private agencies.

At another meeting, we will have a paper followed by discussion on the subject of chartering and supervision. It seems to have been the almost universal custom in the states of this country to provide for the organization of charitable corporations either under a general incorporation law or by special act, without imposing upon such corporations most of the limitations which are common to corporations in general. The state has created these incorporated bodies, and the fact that the avowed purpose was philanthropic has seemed to be sufficient reason for relieving them from all usual regulations to which other corporations are subject. Our discussion of that subject will bring out some unfortunate things that have resulted from this wide-open policy on the part of the state, and we will have a report from Ohio concerning the latest law on that particular subject, which law is aimed to deal in a systematic way with the matter of the organization of corporations for charitable purposes.

I wish to announce at this point that our committee, through a subcommittee under the chairmanship of Mr. Robert W. Kelso, the secretary of the State Board of Charity of Massachusetts, has collected a small exhibit, which is on view in the ballroom at the Belvedere, where our section meetings are held. This exhibit it not a large one, but it has some instructive features for those who are interested in the subjects we are considering. It shows the method of control and supervision of our state charities in a number of leading states, and the office records and reports used by a number of private and public relief-giving agencies. It shows also some plans of almshouses, county jails, and houses of correction.

The third subject, which we present at this meeting of the conference is one that is scheduled for tonight, namely, that of public outdoor relief. Here, again, we have a topic which is of the most vital interest to workers in both public and private charities. Public outdoor relief is usually administered by public officials, reaching the homes of a multitude of those in which the workers in private charity are engaged from day to day, and year to year. There is probably no field of activity in which at so many points the workers in both fields are brought together

with the possibility of either working independently, in competition, or in coöperation.

We make no apology for presenting this time-worn subject. In the opinion of your committee this matter of public relief has not received the consideration which its importance merits. We have been too prone to look upon the evils of the administration of official outdoor relief, have condemned it as almost wholly bad, cast it aside with the conviction that it was past redemption and ought to be abolished. We do not seek to minimize the evils in administration, but we think our effort should be directed rather to the improvement of the administration than to an abolition of the system. There seems no likelihood that the system will soon be discontinued. It has not been growing less. It has been growing greater during these recent years, and in the very recent years numerous new demands are made for official relief in one form or another. Whether it be in the form of widows' pensions, or school funds, or other special funds of one kind and another, we are having constantly new demands made for relief from the public revenue. We feel, therefore, that there is no excuse for failure to face this matter fairly and squarely as one of the problems that must receive our most careful consideration in this very present time and in the immediate future.

This volume of outdoor relief, constantly increasing, touching the lives of hundreds of thousands of our fellow-citizens, by its very magnitude is inevitably working for great good or great evil. Is it not for us, then, realizing that we have this ever-present, all-pervading fact with us,—because we must bear in mind that, outside of two or three of the eastern cities, the system of official outdoor relief in this country is well nigh universal,—is it not for us, recognizing the presence of this great power for good or evil in the homes of so many of those for whom we work, to strive to redeem its administration from the weaknesses and corruption which may at times render this force a very potent one for evil, and even lead to the pauperization of those whom we would seek to help? Can we not hope, on the other hand, that by devoting ourselves to the task of improvement and development in administration this same force may become a potent constructive agency which will make for the independence and uplift of those whom we would aid? It was with this thought in mind that your committee ventured to make this topic the subject of our public evening session.

There is evidence that this subject of outdoor relief is likely to receive more careful consideration than has recently been given to it. Only within a few years past there have been issued

two important studies on the subject,—one by Professor Gillin, a study of poor law legislation in the state of Iowa, and the other on outdoor relief in Missouri, a study by Professor Warfield, made under the direction of Dr. Riley when in St. Louis, at the School of Social Economy. In both these studies deplorable conditions are set forth, and particularly in the case of Missouri. This latter is a study more particularly of the facts of administration, the other dealing more especially with legislative features. I think Dr. Riley well says in the introduction to that book that there is no reason to believe that Missouri is widely different from other states in this matter; yet he concludes that the system is so bad it cannot be endured, and must be either ended or reformed. In both of those studies reference is made to the state of Indiana as showing the possibilities of very great improvement in the administration of the system. Attention is called to the fact that in the not far distant past outdoor relief in Indiana was extremely unsatisfactory, but that the state presents an example of what great improvement can be made. We are fortunate in having with us the secretary of the state board of Indiana, who is thoroughly familiar with what has been done in that state, and we thought it would be profitable for you to learn just what has been done there. It is generally recognized as a marked step in advance. Mr. Butler was president of this Conference in 1907, when it met in Minneapolis. We are going to his city of Indianapolis next year. We are glad therefore, even though there is no person in the audience who does not know Mr. Butler, that we have the pleasure of presenting our host of next year.

OFFICIAL OUTDOOR RELIEF AND THE STATE

Amos W. Butler, Secretary Board of State Charities of Indiana, Indianapolis

The program this evening has been changed. Another of our co-workers appears to take the place of our good friend and honored colleague who was to have spoken. His voice we shall never hear again, but his helpful words and good counsel will abide with us.

I believe I am the only person living who has served as president both of this Conference and of the American Prison Association. Both Dr. Henderson and Dr. Smith had been thus

honored. I wish to testify to their faithful, helpful service to our cause, the welfare of humanity, and to offer my tribute to their noble lives as we sit here with bowed heads and sorrowful hearts.

The great blight of pauperism and the tremendous burden it imposed upon society early in the last century, both in this country and abroad, are striking facts to the student. Such data as we have on this subject, however, and of the important part which public outdoor relief plays in it, are of the most fragmentary sort. In most states of the Union there is a distressing lack of knowledge as to the extent and cost of such relief, its far-reaching effects, the close relation between it and both state and local conditions. We do not know the amount of aid given, or how helpfully or how economically it is administered. If we are to make progress in what we are attempting to do for social betterment, a thorough nation-wide study of official outdoor relief seems to me essential.

History records successive movements for and against this form of charity. The English Poor Law Commission of 1834 condemned the English system as a thing to be abolished; yet many states of our Union had adopted that system and still retain some of its features. Years before the report of this famous commission, however, the evil effects of unintelligent out-door relief had begun to be recognized in America. The increase of pauperism in Philadelphia after 1810 became "grievously burdensome." "The regular channels of relief were no longer capable of meeting the ever-increasing pressure for help." More and more insistent grew the demand for large private contributions to supplement public relief.[1] A commission appointed by authority of the legislature in 1821 "to investigate the causes and extent of the increasing pauperism of that district" made its report four years later. It condemned severely the existing system of public aid, which, it stated, "will always increase and aggravate the evil it is intended to relieve, demoralize the laboring classes, promote idleness and licentiousness among the poor, destroy frugal and industrious habits, impair social affections, and throw the burden of maintaining the idle and profligate upon the thrifty and the provident." The plan suggested by this commission was not adopted. The old system was continued with a number of changes.[2] Pennsylvania still has a mass, a perfect wilderness, of legislation on the subject of

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[1]McMaster's *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. IV. Chapter beginning p. 522.

[2]*History of Poor Relief Legislation in Pennsylvania*, 1682-1913, by William Clinton Heffner—1913, pp. 172-173.

poor relief, but nowhere unity nor uniformity in either law or administration. A uniform law with a central board of supervision is needed to bring order out of the chaos.[1]

Following the Civil War there grew up a strong sentiment, ably championed, against outdoor relief from the public funds. In some of our larger cities it was entirely cut off. The opposition reached great proportions in the early nineties. There was a notable debate on official outdoor relief at the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1891. Even in 1899, when the county and township reform laws were passed in Indiana, able men advocated the abolition of official outdoor relief in that state. They did not have their way, however.

From 1876 until recently the work of private charities has been magnified. While we are all proud of what private relief has accomplished, it as yet does not seem able to do all that is required.

Now the pendulum seems to be swinging to the other extreme and there appears a demand for more official relief, though that is not what it is called. There are "funds to parents," "mothers' aid," "widows' pensions," "old age pensions," "pensions for the blind." To my mind there is no essential difference between grants from public funds such as these and what we have always known as official outdoor relief. Certain persons are set in a class apart, yet they are all poor persons, and assistance given them in their homes, from public funds, call it what we will, is in reality official outdoor relief.

There is undoubtedly a place for official relief. What we need to do is to correlate it and administer it in the least harmful way. Is it not probable that much of the disrepute into which it has fallen is due to the fact that it has been looked upon as a local problem, while we have concerned ourselves mainly with the betterment of our state charities? Yet it is from local conditions that our state charges come. The state needs to recognize this fact and to extend its supervision to include the local charity, which, unwisely administered, is but a feeder for the larger state institution.

With one or two exceptions this form of supervision practically does not exist in the United States and there is little if any uniformity of laws or methods. Ordinarily the administration of outdoor relief is in the hands of county officials. In a few states it is more localized, township or town overseers of the poor handling the funds. Frequently in a single state it will be found that township, county, city and state officials give

[1]Ibid, p. 272. See also Report State Dependents Commission, 1915. p. 15.

ordinary outdoor relief, and there are also several special forms of public help.

In Ohio, for example, outdoor relief is given by township trustees, city directors of public safety and the county commissioners and there is public aid to mothers of dependent children through the juvenile court, to the blind by the county commissioners and to soldiers and sailors and their families through soldiers' relief committees.

In New York state outdoor relief is administered by town overseers of the poor or by the county superintendent, depending on the settlement of the applicant. Some towns have more than one overseer. The report of a recent investigation in Dutchess county, New York, condemns, among other things, the payment of the overseers by the fee system for orders written, visits made, etc. Where there is more than one overseer and the town is not geographically districted, the most popular overseer gets the greatest number of applications for relief, and therefore more money, because of the greater number of orders he can issue.[1] The legislature this year passed a mothers' pension law.

Virginia has still a different method. Outdoor relief in the counties is administered by overseers of the poor elected by the people. Some of the larger cities distribute outdoor relief through a committee of the council known as the committee on poor relief. In other cities the councils do not distribute poor relief directly but make appropriations to private relief organizations. In some of the smaller cities funds are distributed by the mayor through the police or superintendent of the poor. The state annually distributes a large sum among destitute ex-Confederate soldiers and their dependents.

In some of the western states the poor relief system is equally complex. In Wisconsin, for example, I am informed that ordinary outdoor relief is granted in some localities by township officials, in others by county officials; in still others, by both county and township officials and in addition there is provision for home relief for soldiers, aid for mothers of dependent children and pensions for the blind. The industrial commission of that state has recently made an investigation of the question of old age pensions.

In Illinois outdoor relief as a rule is dispensed by townships, though some counties employ a supervisor of the poor for that purpose. In about thirty-five counties the supervisors have voted to adopt the law providing for pensions for the blind. There is also a system of mothers' pensions.

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[1]New York State Charities Aid Assn.: *Outdoor Relief in Dutchess County, New York*, 1910-1913. MSS.

Prof. John L. Gillin says that the present system of out-relief in Iowa is "almost as bad as it is possible to make it."[1] A recent publication of the Russell Sage Foundation, *Outdoor Relief in Missouri,* by Professor George A. Warfield, gives an illuminating account of the administration of the relief funds by the county officials of that State. Dr. Thomas J. Riley, under whose direction the study was made, says the report is a terrible indictment of county outdoor relief in Missouri and that it must either be abolished or thorough-going reforms must be wrought out.[2]

A somewhat similar indictment might have been brought against conditions in Indiana some twenty years ago. Both county commissioners and township trustees gave outdoor relief, with no system of records and no central supervision. We knew that it was costing more than half a million dollars annually, and that was about all we did know concerning it, though we were aware of individual cases of serious abuse. Then we set about to collect some data and later to reform our system. A brief resume of the successive steps taken may be of interest.[3]

Our first reform law was passed in 1895. At that time we were operating under a statute which, with some minor changes, had been in force for one hundred years. On the recommendation of the Board of State Charities, the legislature of 1895 passed a law requiring township overseers of the poor to keep a full record of the relief given and to forward two copies of it to the county commissioners at least once every three months. The Board of State Charities receives one set of these reports. The statistics which the board compiled from the first set and to which it gave wide publicity, had an interesting effect. It caused something of a sensation in Indiana when it was learned that more than 30,000 persons in a total population of less than two and a quarter million, were on the overseers' lists, and that in certain localities the ratio was one in 8 or 10 or 12. In some of the richest counties in the state the number aided was equal to one in 16, 18 or 20.

This great abuse had grown up under a system in which the county paid without question, and from a general fund, whatever bills were presented by the overseers of the poor. When the information obtained was placed before the legislature, it promptly passed another law (1897) which laid upon the townships the burden of their own poor. The funds were still to be furnished by the counties from the general fund, but the counties were to

[1]Gillin: *History of Outdoor Relief in Iowa,* 1914, p. 332.
[2]Warfield: *Outdoor Relief in Missouri,* 1915, p. III.
[3]Ind. Bulletin Char. & Cor., March, 1906, p. 71.

be reimbursed by the several townships in the exact amount spent by them.

This law had good results, but it was looked upon simply as another step in the right direction. At the next session of the legislature, 1899, we secured our present law. It was pronounced by experts to be the most advanced piece of legislation for official outdoor relief then on the statute books of any state. It provides for the investigation of each case; for securing the help of friends and relatives of the poor; for giving transportation to no one unless sick, aged, injured or crippled and then only in the direction of his legal residence, if he is unable to show that he can be cared for elsewhere; for co-operation with existing relief agencies, and for full registration of the applicants. It requires the township overseer to consult with the county commissioners in cases which appear to need more than the usual temporary relief. On medical aid, burial, or books or clothing for school children no limit is placed; but for all other forms of relief the trustee is prohibited from spending more than fifteen dollars without the consent of the commissioners. With their consent he can give whatever is needed, as often as needed, and for any length of time. This section of the law thus recognizes the fact that while in theory public outdoor relief is only temporary, provision must be made for exceptional cases—for example, worthy mothers with children. We have always encouraged the overseers to keep such families together and our laws make it possible.

At its next session, 1901, the legislature codified the poor relief laws of the state[1] and it has not been found necessary to make any material change in the fourteen years which have since elapsed. Some few trustees now and then object to the supervision; some social workers occasionally protest against what they consider inefficient methods on the part of the trustees; but on the whole there is little objection to the law from those sources. The people generally are pleased with it and are satisfied with its results. The testimony of those who are interested, of those who know, is that many of the old abuses have passed away and that the poor were never so well looked after as they are now.

From a financial standpoint the saving has been remarkable. In 1895 under the old system, the total expenditure amounted to $630,168. A year later it dropped to $355,255. For the past eighteen years there has been an average annual reduction of $346,364 from the amount given in 1895. The number receiving

[1]Acts 1901, p. 323.

help was 82,235 in 1897, 50,403 in 1913; the reduction below 1897 has averaged 32,627 annually. Notwithstanding this, the prediction that the new law would fill our poor asylums and orphans' homes did not materialize. Our experience was the same as that of other localities in this regard. As a matter of fact, with a great reduction in outdoor relief, we had also a decrease in poor asylum population. More recently there has been some increase in relief and in asylum population, as well as in the number of minor wards. This last is due to the activity of boards of children's guardians and other agencies in removing children from unfit homes. But even this has not kept pace with the growth of population in the state.

It is difficult to understand how any case of real want can exist in any township without becoming known to the proper authorities. The attendance officer knows the home of every child of school age not in school. The juvenile court has a means of communication with every home through the probation officer or the board of children's guardians. In the larger townships there are many private agencies ready to coöperate. Besides, there is the township overseer himself who in the smaller and rural townships as a rule knows every one in his territory. Our townships are usually about six miles square; the largest is approximately ten miles square.

In rural communities, where local pride and neighborly helpfulness combine to look after the poor, the township overseer is called upon only as a last resort. We have rural townships of considerable population where no relief other than medical aid has been given for years. We like to feel that when relatives and friends, church and lodge, and every other agency fails, there is one place the public has provided by which even the outcast, the most friendless, can be helped and, when he dies, be buried. No one is so poor or forlorn or forsaken but he can come to the township trustee for help.

It should, perhaps, be stated that our township trustees are elected for a term of four years, they are under bond and they receive salaries ranging from $1,000 to $2,500 in the larger townships and a per diem of two dollars in the smaller ones. Each trustee has an advisory board; in some matters he is under the supervision of the board of county commissioners; his every financial transaction is subject to the scrutiny of the State Board of Accounts and his work as overseer of the poor is under the supervision of the Board of State Charities. According to a decision of our Supreme Court the trustee acts as the agent of the board of county commissioners in the distribution of the poor fund. We have, therefore, a combined county and township sys-

tem. All official outdoor aid is restricted to one channel. Under certain conditions our county commissioners can order relief given, but it must be given by the township overseer of the poor. Our school authorities can aid school children, but this aid too must pass through the overseer's hands.

The next step, perhaps, may be a provision for the employment of a trained social worker in the office of the overseer in the larger townships of the state. An interesting experiment along this line is now being tried in Grinnell, Iowa, where the entire administrative support of the Social Service League is borne by the county, and private subscriptions are used for relief.[1]

One realizes the difficulty of an outsider who is uninformed concerning local conditions offering helpful suggestions to other states. One state, because of its laws and traditions, may find it impossible to adopt what another has found highly beneficial. The recent movement to establish county boards of public welfare offers interesting possibilities of efficient care of the poor. But no system that is adopted can reach its proper efficiency without central supervision. New laws in New Jersey[2] and North Dakota[3] follow closely the Indiana statute. I am told that the new Mothers' Aid Law of Massachusetts[4] was in large measure due to the precedent of the Indiana and New Jersey laws.

The need of some form of official outdoor relief seems to me clear. To the end that it shall serve its purpose, with a minimum of harm, I should like to emphasize the need of:

1. Uniform laws, embodying what have come to be recognized as the principles of organized charity.
2. Uniform methods, including proper investigation and records and coöperation with all other agencies.
3. Uniform settlement laws.
4. A system of reports to some central office of all forms of official relief or aid to families in their homes.
5. State supervision of all official relief agencies, with adequate authority and appropriations to make it effective.

State supervision, however, must not be a perfunctory thing. To the official himself the law is a guide, a primer. Some one must visit him, learn his methods, show him his mistakes; must study the community and the people helped; must

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[1]Report Social Service League, 1913, p. 6.

[2]Laws of New Jersey, 1911, p. 390; also Ind. Bulletin Char. and Cor., Sept. 1914, p. 431.

[3]Laws of North Dakota, 1913, p. 154; also Prof. John Morris Gillette, in Quar. Journal, Univ. of N. D., January, 1913.

[4]Laws of Massachusetts, Chapter 763. 1913.

encourage coöperation, not only with private charities, but with other branches of the public charity service. Above all, state supervision must not lessen, but rather must stimulate a feeling of local responsibility for the poor of the community, all to the end that the best thing possible may be done at a minimum of expense.

Mr. Wilson, presiding: Many of you know that Dr. Charles R. Henderson was the vice chairman of this committee on Public and Private Charities. I had hardly returned from the Memphis Conference last year when I received a letter from Dr. Henderson saying that he just received official notice of his appointment, had accepted it, and expressed the very great interest he had in these matters. He worked with us with the greatest interest and helpfulness. Several of the members of this committee happened to be in St. Paul last fall on the occasion of the meeting of the Prison Association, and Dr. Henderson was with us on that occasion and discussed actively in detail the plans for the meeting at Baltimore, and particularly for the meeting tonight. He was so convinced of the importance of this subject which we are now considering that he consented to take a leading part in the program on this occasion. It was only as late as the month of March, when Dr. Henderson was obliged through failing health to seek rest, that he even intimated that he might not be able to carry out his part; and even then I had a card from him, two days before we learned of his sad death, in which he said "You must arrange the Baltimore meeting without reference to me. I cannot hope to get my strength before that time." There was no indication that he felt his labors were ended.

I feel that I ought to read one paragraph from a letter of Dr. Henderson's relative to this subject. I do not say to what extent I agree or dissent from the view expressed, but I feel that because of the great interest he took in the problem you are entitled to his views as written November 21, 1914, after we had been working together for several months on this program.

> I am glad you are going to carry out a program which will give you ample opportunity for the discussion of public outdoor relief in its relation to private relief. I have for many years been reaching the conclusion that we have been on the wrong track and that the chief function henceforth of the charity organization society movement will be to develop and discipline our hysterical system of public relief. The charity organization society people deserve the highest credit for having worked out a technique in experimental fields, but they cover at most about a hundred and fifty spots on our big map with a hundred million people, and it is perfectly obvious that private charity can furnish neither adequate means nor authority to carry out its splendid purposes. I should be glad to help in such a discussion in any way that you ask.

All of you who knew Dr. Henderson can realize in some degree the acuteness with which our committee felt his sudden taking away. We were all grieved, all of us in this conference. It was a matter of personal grief to hundreds and thousands of his fellow-workers. In our case, working with him to almost the very last day, and working for this conference, we felt not only that acute sense of personal loss, but we were left at a very late time in the year with a great gap in the program for this meeting. I do not say that by way of apology for the address of the speaker that is to follow. Dr. Brackett's address

will need no apology. But I do think it is due to Dr. Brackett to say what I have as an evidence of his loyalty to this Conference and his graciousness in accepting this important assignment at such a late day. Dr. Brackett is well known to all of you. He, too, is a former president of the Conference—was president in 1904 when we met in Portland, Maine. In his very personality he furnishes a splendid meeting place for public and private charity. He was trained in volunteer service, became a professional volunteer worker—if I may use that Irish term—in private charity in your own city of Baltimore, and in this same city served you faithfully as the head of your official local board of public charities. We have, therefore, in Dr. Brackett one who can with peculiar fitness speak on a program dealing with the subject of public and private charities because of his breadth of view and his extensive knowledge of the subject. The subject of Dr. Brackett's address is *Public Outdoor Relief in the United States.*

PUBLIC OUTDOOR RELIEF IN THE UNITED STATES

Jeffrey R. Brackett, Member State Board of Charity of Massachusetts; and Director, Boston School for Social Workers

This homely subject should be luminous with lessons, and interesting too, if put before you rightly, painted true to life! Its history forms a rather somber background, but the foreground is lit up with action, so that we wonder what will happen next.

From the beginning of this Conference this subject has been discussed, and sometimes notably. In 1879 and 1881 came the stories by Seth Low of quick abolition of public-outdoor relief in two large seaboard cities, Brooklyn and Philadelphia, with the seeming sufficiency of private charity. In 1890 Mrs. Charles Russell Lowell gave her ringing challenge against all material relief, especially public. In 1897 Ernest P. Bicknell described the beginning of reform in a great state, Indiana, by reduction of both expenditure and the number of recipients of public outdoor relief. In 1900 Frederic Almy of Buffalo described the fine fight in that city which resulted in less and better used public outdoor relief. Tonight, we have heard from Mr. Butler the continued development in Indiana.

Such are landmarks in this history. In it there stands out clearly one lesson: that the dispensing of material relief in homes of persons, by public officials, from public funds, is likely to be mechanical and to be used by placemen and partisans—whenever and wherever public interest and intelligence in the matter are lacking. An obvious truism—a condition to be expected touching any department of public service, when the public, like the Priest and the Levite of old, pass by on the other side.

In discussions and publications on this subject some very intemperate statements have been heard. One such, for example, is that public relief is necessarily impersonal and cold in its administration. I shall not take your time in refuting that. There is another statement, heard more and more to-day—that relief from the public treasury is a more natural form than is relief from private sources, especially as public aid indicates a social solidarity. Many of us still believe that the efforts of service, in giving and doing, of one man to another, for the good of the other, himself, and of all, are the most natural and desirable expressions of neighborliness, a power on which society is based. I couple with the action of the Good Samaritan of old such present day incidents as the maintenance of a home for aged persons by members of a church; as the purchase by members of a local trade union of a home for the widow and children of a deceased member; as the voluntary help of many to the Salem fire sufferers. Recalling the fire relief in Baltimore eleven years ago, I cannot see that the appropriation by the Assembly of Maryland meant one whit more of social solidarity than would have been shown by an outflowing of sympathy plus money from many citizens. The outflowing did not come because of the public grant. If public aid can give better care, a better system for any kind of need, then surely those services should be put upon public aid. There will doubtless be an increase in that aid and in leadership by public aid officials. But let us hope for an increase in true charity also; until public aid and charity, working effectively and together for removal of the causes of ills, shall help to make less necessary their own services. For both charity and public aid are expressions of a community life; and public aid is not likely to stand erect and strong, if alone, without the quickening influence of the great voluntary, unofficial forces.

Public outdoor relief, the country over, kept on much as it had been. It was increasing very little, if at all; and was administered generally in the old ways. That meant partial support; the provision of bare necessaries of living, meagerly measured, for those actually destitute. Most public-aid officers took the line of least resistance, to themselves in administration, and in protection to the public purse, by making the relief disagreeable to receive. Technical pauperization was made public. Relief rarely meant more than material things. To raise families out of need; to uncover causes of need in order to cure; such conceptions were hardly heard of. Many overseers and like local officers were kindly and sensible; but they were often changing, and could or did give little time, when in office.

The recent studies in Missouri by Warfield and Riley and in Iowa by Gillin, tell the usual story. On the other hand, from a few states came words of cheer. The call of Indiana, with its focusing of local responsibility in finance; its aim for constructive work in coöperation with neighborhood forces; and its system of reports from local Overseers to the State Board of Charity, was caught up in a few states from New Jersey to North Dakota. In New Jersey, an antiquated poor law was partly made over in 1911; largely by effort of voluntary bodies as the State Charities Aid Association and societies for organizing charity. Now there is in New Jersey more conference among overseers, and beginnings of a tie between them and the State Commissioner of Charity. "Here and there throughout the State," reports the State Charities Aid Association, "some very practical, intelligent and praiseworthy work is being done by overseers of the poor. Progressive thinking is catching and a general improved tone is noticeable."

In Massachusetts, for another example of progress, the public outdoor relief allowed from the State treasury, through the State Board of Charity, but administered by local overseers, for families without a local settlement, had long been limited by law to $2 a week in summer and $3 a week in winter, for one family. It was called temporary aid but was often long lasting. In 1912 this mechanical device was changed by allowing the State Board to make larger grant, according to the needs of particular families. This set new standards and doubtless increased somewhat the relief given settled families. Also, the technical pauperization of any public dependents was done away by law where relief was needed because of any disease declared by the State Board of Health to be dangerous to the public health. This action, raising interesting questions touching causes and social effects of need, leads logically to much lessening of technical pauperization. Another law forbade the publication of names of paupers. Such was until recently the general situation—a rather dark background, but lit up with signs of real progress. We should note also in the field of private charity an increase in the use of material aid, with more skilled administration; having some effect, however slowly, on public aid.

Then there rolls across the land a popular wave of increased public relief in the homes for a particular kind of family—mothers, usually widows, with dependent children. Standards of relief are called for which are new to most public aid officials and to many private charities. In Massachusetts, for 1914, the state appropriated $175,000 for help to mothers with dependent children, the state paying for all such aid given to unsettled

families and for one-third given by cities and towns to settled families. This year, 1915, the state appropriates $250,000; and the amount of local money needed is estimated at $400,000; a total of $650,000, for helping the mothers with dependent children, under the act of 1913. This is in addition to public outdoor relief to other families, for which under the name of temporary aid the state alone, apart from cities and towns, will need this year about $150,000—three times as much as year before last. The total of public-outdoor relief in Massachusetts last year was estimated to be a million and fifty-four thousand dollars, the total of persons aided to be about 63,000. Many of these were children. The families receiving mothers' aid were less than a ninth of the total. The recent increases in public outdoor relief in Massachusetts and elsewhere have been due largely to hard times. But are we not likely to have a lasting increase, because of the effect of increased aid to mothers?

So we reach now a notable landmark in the history of public outdoor relief in this country. Here is the foreground of our picture, live with action.

Do I hear the challenge that such public aid to mothers is not public relief in most places and should not be so in Massachusetts; that it is of the nature of a pension, or payment for services rendered by the mothers; that it is social justice and not charity? I venture to answer that any public money expended by public officials in the homes of persons who are allowed it because of lack of means, with inquiry and follow-up to see that conditions of care are kept, is public outdoor relief. It may be administered by a judge or a county commissioner or a board of children's welfare, but the essence of the thing is not changed.

As to the particular essence here in point, some persons argue that old-age pensions, mothers aid and the like are to be given as social justice without proof of previous or present effort on the part of the recipient. We all agree, surely, that the highest social justice is to see that persons can earn enough by their own efforts, under proper conditions, to make provision, under State safeguards, for time of need. The next desirable expression of social justice seems to many of us to be that persons who must be aided today must try and should be helped to use all possible means of improving their condition. A considerate interest on behalf of the public should follow this investment of public money! The Massachusetts law on mothers with dependent children particularly provides that recipients are not technically made paupers; but public officials are to see that care makes for character!

A practical question which seems to some of us to be of great importance is on the need, urged by many, of a new mechanism for the administration of mothers' aid, in order to keep these mothers aid children away from the old public relief agencies and usual public dependents, chiefly because the care of these mothers aid children is really an education problem. This argument brings us straight to the heart of the whole matter of public outdoor relief in this twentieth century. Let us accept the best meaning of the argument, and extend it by claiming that all charity and public aid worthy of the name is educational work—education of needy individuals and of the public mind. As to social justice, not charity, for mothers with dependent children, let us cry aloud for social justice for all needy persons. So complex are causes of need that we may well hesitate to divide our needy brothers into sheep and goats. Social justice, touching relief of need, means that we look for possibilities in human beings. If kind and keen insight fails to find such, then we must use rigor to protect the needy, and so society.

This present-day movement for better home care by public money and public interest, of mothers and children, is rousing all public relief and private charity to demand thoroughness, to see in all their works that care shall make for character, or, if that is not possible, that care shall make for protection of persons and of the public.

Public aid must do away with any old notion of making its work cheap by disagreeable deterrents. It must rise to recognize its duty as the effort to develop possibilities, either of progress or of protection. And, then, the officers of public relief will be good enough, on the one hand, to deal with any persons, as mothers and dependent children, or, on the other hand, will be none too good to deal with any needy, troubled persons, even with the actual paupers, the willing dependents.

This earnest plea I wish to support with facts from Massachusetts, because I know them. Conditions vary in differing parts of the country, as of a state; but the lessons we are learning in Massachusetts may be helpful elsewhere. What are the types of persons who come to our overseers of the poor? A recent conference of the ten visitors of the Massachusetts State Board of Charity, who, in as many districts covering the State, come into touch with the overseers of our three hundred and fifty-four cities and townships, brought out the following facts. This winter the number of families receiving public outdoor relief has increased beyond a year ago by large proportions, in some places being doubled and trebled. The causes are chiefly industrial hard times. The increase represents chiefly honest,

decent families. Private charities have found the same conditions. One state visitor, whose work is mostly in one of two large mill cities, says of that city, "At least 75 per cent. of the applicants are Italians and these for the most part have only lived in this country a few years, many of them only months. The number of applicants during the last three months has trebled, due to lack of employment in the woolen mills here. The class of applicants is of a higher grade than formerly and nearly all are willing to work at any kind of labor and for any price." In another well-to-do manufacturing city of another kind, of 542 families, 212, half having settlements there, were aided for the first time there. In another district, the visitor reports 65 per cent. of those aided as Italians and Russians, mostly Lithuanians; and analyses the situation of 170 particular families with the conclusion that 153 of them are respectable persons.

Of course, these times are exceptionally hard; but dull times recur often. Immigration may perhaps be regulated further; but we shall probably get many foreigners still. Neighborly help and various forms of private charity may do much—we hope it will; but many needy persons, especially those without ties here, will turn to public relief. The point I would emphasize is that all such applicants, in any times, should have at the hand of public-aid officials only high-grade, truly educational treatment. Any less good treatment may injure families which have possibilities, and surely will spread poor ideas of public relief, injurious to us all. Families applying for the first time deserve most considerate treatment. For them, as for those coming back, the public should demand such treatment for its own protection. One Massachusetts State Board visitor, looking back over this winter, says: "I feel that there has been great suffering and great losses to persons, families and communities that are more serious than any conflagration." And he adds the pertinent question, "We have dealt with larger numbers of valuable citizens, but what has been the effect of our dealings upon these persons?"

Now let us turn, on the other hand, to persons dealt with by our public aid officers, who are really paupers, who are partly inebriates, and largely feeble-minded. They are the ones who stamp the overseers' work as so much with the "downs and outs." True, there are many such, coming to our public relief officers, especially in the country regions; more than we used to think, for the public is only beginning to understand the poison of feeble-mindedness and how that and inebriety should be treated. Right there is the challenge to us to secure for those types of needy persons,—the backward, the feeble-minded, the inebriate,

—most considerate treatment by public-aid officials of high grade. In such campaigns of public service, for protection of individuals, families and communities, the services of the best are none too good! Private charity, too often, has been taking the more hopeful and helpable of the needy, and leaving the rest to public-aid, without a corresponding effort to get the highest possible service for public-aid.

In state campaigns for far-reaching treatment of special types of need, calling for particular expert service, Massachusetts is now awake, rubbing its eyes, getting up. The state hospitals for the insane, covering the state in districts, and the Psychopathic Hospital in Boston, by giving more of follow-up and social service work, are affording new helps to overseers. Our great School for the Feeble-minded at Waverley has been holding there a weekly clinic, with over two thousand persons examined since last October. Clinics are held monthly at Worcester and Fall River; another is soon to be added in a third large industrial city. School authorities are invited to use these clinics; helpful advice is given in them to the parents. Leaders in this particular field in Massachusetts look for a day when a body of specialists shall know where every feeble-minded person in the State is, and shall see, as far as possible, that the best things are being done for each one. An example of such a system is already set by the Massachusetts Commission for the Blind. It will surely be followed in time by a system for treatment of inebriety, growing out of the new state hospital for inebriates, which has had for several years a vigorous out-patient, first-care and follow-up service in Boston, and has just opened another such service in Worcester. The State School for Crippled and Deformed Children is making known to overseers of the poor its remarkable work in taking many children truly in the spoiling in homes of ignorance or indifference, and turning them into effective citizens. The trustees of the state hospitals for consumptives have great possibilities for working out a system which shall mean real economy of public expenditure because of thoroughness, in dealing with consumptives. That involves a coördination of all available forces, from hospitals and dispensaries out into homes, from first-care to follow-up.

These are illustrations of public agencies for specialized services, properly maintained by the central state, which, if used by the local public relief officers, will put new life and hope into those officers. It will be partly by relieving them of burdens, partly by illuminating with light the important work which they themselves will do. In one small Massachusetts township the secretary of the State Board of Insanity and the superintendent

of the leading school for the feeble-minded, got into touch, by some chance, with the overseers of the poor. The result soon was that the almshouse there was closed because cleared of its few inmates, several judged insane or feeble-minded going into state care, and the one or two other inmates, continuing under the overseers, being put into care outside the almshouse, believed to be more considerate for them! Why have we waited so long, while chance happenings happen, instead of seeing that system takes the place of chance!

The subject of almshouses is related closely to our topic because in them as by the other forms of *indoor*, institutional relief, our public relief officers can discriminate more than they have usually done among applicants for help, trying to keep *outdoor* aid for those who can make effort to better their own condition.

At a recent meeting of the little group of six women who supervise for the state of Massachusetts the work of overseers of the poor with dependent mothers and children, there were brought out some encouraging illustrations of overseers' work. The results were largely due to conference between the visitors and overseers. There is increasing vision to see help in forces of the community that are all about us. All the visitors stressed the increasing thought of health conditions. In Boston a few days ago, the State Department of Health and the Association of Boards of Health have held a great public rally, to promote the carrying of knowledge and means of hygiene into the homes of the people. Here is new help for the overseers. Again, what more can be done by wise use of the existing powers of justice? A year and a half ago, application was made for "mothers' aid" by a woman with seven children, the address of whose deserting husband was known to the overseers as well as to the woman. The State Board refused, after a reasonable time for action by the overseers, to grant the state money, urging prosecution of the husband. As a result, the warrant was issued, the man brought home; and he has since provided for his family.

In one large city, both overseers and private charities had accepted the situation that prosecution of deserters was expensive, that wives did not like to ask for warrants. The state visitor, aided by an inspector of the police, brought before the local judge, with full explanation, a typical mothers' aid case of that kind. The judge gladly coöperated and instructed his clerk to facilitate all such proceedings when asked. Again, mothers' aid was asked for a certain widow, with four children, one an invalid. The husband's salary had been $50 a week, they had a small equity in a good home, well furnished, in an excellent

suburban community. One thousand dollars came in life insurance and $500 from the employers of the man. The woman had been "used to high standards, kept a maid, and lived up to their income." In this case relatives were induced to pay off the second mortgage, and taxes were abated, so reducing the cost of the house by over one-half. Two rooms were rented to good tenants. The woman got a hosiery agency. Her income is supplemented only by mothers' aid. "From being a rather helpless, spoiled and sickly wife, she is developing into a resourceful woman." The atmosphere of the home has always been one of refinement. "The children are being brought up to help in the household." This case illustrates, too, the plan of reducing excessive insurance; several policies, with considerable monthly payments, being turned into paid up policies.

In order to help the overseers and the state visitors, the State Board has issued a set of suggestions, which are believed by it to lead to the purpose of the mothers' aid law, that care shall make for character. These suggestions lay stress on the correlation of public aid with all the natural forces of help in family life, with useful voluntary charities and activities of the community. The State Board has held several conferences with overseers, to talk over its policies. At the first conference, some overseers asked that maximum amounts be fixed for grants. The Board said no, that careful study of each family alone could determine the amount needed, at any given time.

The way for coöperative effort in Massachusetts has been prepared by the work in several communities of good volunteer associations, as the societies for organizing charity and the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. Instructive visiting nursing associations are spreading. The State Board wishes to stimulate the formation of voluntary civic councils, such as have already been established in a half-dozen cities, to help the proper development and the safe-guarding of mothers' aid and other expressions of relief, public and private. That the administration of mothers' aid was given to the overseers in coöperation with the State Board, was due largely to the interest and activity of leaders in voluntary associations.

For years, the State Board has been receiving and publishing reports of public relief from overseers, on forms prepared by the Board. Such reports and publications are necessary; and should be developed with greatest care, both in method of ascertainment and in use of data. But such reports do not tell us much of what we wish most to know—the results of our expenditures, as read in methods of work and in effects on human lives. The supervision which we are now beginning to have in

Massachusetts over mothers' aid work is the real thing! Overseers are often invited to go over with the committee of the State Board, as well as with its officials, any perplexing cases. Thus all three members of the Overseers of the large town of X have come to the State House by appointment to go over with the district visitor and the supervisor all of their mothers' aid causes, thirteen in number. Eleven were approved with only minor changes, one was laid on the State Board table pending compliance by the overseers with certain state policies, and the other was disapproved on the ground that the mother was unfit. Recently the supervisor and the visitor for Boston attended a meeting of the overseers of Boston, by their invitation, where many family situations were gone over and the disposition agreed upon. "Everywhere, with but few exceptions," the supervisor writes, "the overseers express themselves as willing and anxious to carry out the directions of the board wherever possible for them to do so. The supervisory board has used every effort to establish and maintain friendly relations, realizing that only through coöperation will the interests of the dependent families be best served. The outlook is very hopeful." The supervisor so writing was thinking primarily of the help and protection of the poor. We would add that any public outdoor aid, without the safeguard of careful case work, will not serve but will injure the dependents and the community, will waste both public money and human beings.

Thus we are led lastly to the large question: Can we look to local public-aid officers, as overseers in townships or counties, to be qualified to do the necessary work which alone can make our increasing public outdoor relief helpful, not harmful? The alternatives would be, I judge, either state care with state money, or care and pay in districts of considerable size. State care is desirable for highly specialized types, especially when it is largely institutional. In Massachusetts, with thousands of dependent children placed out in family homes, the many cities and towns could not well and economically maintain separate staffs of expert visitors: so the tendency is to state care. But shall we not expect cities and towns or counties to provide each a small body of citizens to deal chiefly with questions of family rehabilitation or education! This question is one of efficient government. We are slowly getting good fire departments and better schools. Democracy is learning that the employment by the people of experts, to serve them with knowledge and skill, is more democratic than the old notions of anybody for anything. Unless democracy learns well that lesson, it will likely fail. In Massachusetts, several towns, no

one of which alone could have a really active expert public health official, have been maintaining one such to serve them all: the trolley and automobile eliminating waste of time. Another young man, just graduating from the Harvard-Technology school for public health officers, is appointed agent of the board of health in another Massachusetts town. Why may not boards of overseers of the poor in several small communities combine in employing able, experienced agents, holding office during good service!

A consolidated state system in place of local officers runs the danger of a bureaucracy. Boards of overseers, of the more intelligent citizens, will bring to the specialists, the experts, the wholesome elements of every-day experience and interpretation of the public mind. The Massachusetts plan of a central body aiding the localities in carrying out good policies, promises well. A like plan has proved helpful in public school systems. It is akin to the work of the United States Department of Agriculture, and of state agricultural colleges, in carrying knowledge and stimulus onto the farms.

As to forms of administration, the important consideration is, which form will do the work best—the whole work, and in the long run? I would lay stress on the form which seems most likely to interest many citizens in knowing and insisting upon good work. We shall watch with interest the New York plan for mothers' aid just adopted. It gives the administration of that public outdoor relief to county or large city boards of child welfare, of seven members, under supervision of the State Board of Charities, which has power to revoke or modify allowances by the local boards. The county superintendent of the poor shall be a member of the board of child welfare; so the new work will doubtless help to tone up all the rest of the public outdoor relief. A feature of the New York act is that it is made a part of the general municipal laws instead of the state charities or general poor law. When earlier we referred to the argument that mothers' aid was educational work, we ventured to ask if all public relief in homes should not be regarded as educational. So here we would ask why only one segment of public relief should be classed as municipal service!

In several states, aid to mothers with dependent children is granted by courts, and administered by officials attached thereto. In New Jersey, it is granted by courts but is administered by the State Board of Children's Guardians, established to have charge of all children who are public charges, as dependent, neglected, delinquent. Having the courts administer such relief

seems like mixing up matters in a way least likely to educate public aid officers.

We have heard that outdoor relief as a task for public aid officials is hopeless. There is the argument that public outdoor relief is something which many persons like to get. As to this, as already stated, public-aid officials can offer institutional care or breaking up of families unless applicants will reasonably respond in effort. Or, there is the argument that we are getting better schools and fire departments because those governmental activities touch everybody. The rich man's or the poor man's house may burn tonight. We must confess that our public charities have been but too neglected by busy or indifferent citizenship. But the answer to this is that the public mind must be educated to see that poorly administered public aid hurts everybody! The spread of the poison of degeneracy and the waste in possible usefulness left unfulfilled are serious menaces to society. I am not willing to call any public service a hopeless task. Years ago Massachusetts gave to the country the systematic use of probation for treatment of offenders. Yet, today, Massachusetts has reached the beginnings only in quantity and quality of the desirable force of probation officers! Only slowly, step by step, is improvement being made in that high public service. Again, many judges still measure punishments by yard-stick rules, but we do not therefore declare our judiciary hopeless!

Summing up these observations on public outdoor relief in the United States today, I would lay emphasis on the following points:

We have reached a turning point in the history of this form of aid. Its use is increasing, largely under a wave of popular sympathy, partly because of increasing hope of ability to administer. Let us recall, from many lessons, that a wave of popular feeling does not prove by its mere being that it is wholesome. Still, stands the truth that there must be safeguards in the use of any material relief so long as human nature, in the giving or the receiving, will tend to take the lines of least resistance. The old safeguards around public outdoor relief which were rooted in meagreness and disagreeableness, will no longer stand. The safeguard for the future is to be merged into that considerate and careful inquiry and treatment which looks to possibilities in persons as the first requisite for their improvement, or which, by rigor, when necessary, sees kindness as well as protection to all concerned. This means the large work of developing and co-ordinating all the community forces of help and protection around the needy.

Let us accept one truth on which all real social work is based—the importance of the attitude of society to persons in its effect on their mental attitude to life. This applies to the improvement of our public-aid officials as it does to the help of needy, troubled, even degraded human souls—and means that the surest way of winning efforts for better things is to approach persons by the way of looking for possibilities.

The call of public relief in homes today is to a work worthy of the best service of a community. It really touches us all. The time has come for a campaign everywhere, vigorous, persevering, for better administration of public relief in homes—as an expression of the place which a community has reached in good government, knowledge and neighborliness.

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THE POLICY OF STATE AID TO PRIVATE CHARITIES*

Robert D. Dripps, Executive Secretary, Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

Students of this subject, including those actually engaged in social work, seem to be fairly unanimous in their belief that in theory, at least, the whole idea of state aid to private charities is wrong. Even those who defend it as granted in their own particular communities seem willing to concede the undesirability of having such a policy adopted by any state which has so far succeeded in carrying on its charitable work without it. And yet, despite the apparent unanimity of expert opinion against it, many of those who are convinced as to its theoretical undesirability question whether in states where it has become firmly established, as, for example, in Pennsylvania, it would be possible completely to do away with it, and are of the opinion therefore that the best which can be done in such states is to work toward such a regulation of the conditions under which state aid may be granted as to minimize the evils apt to result from this system.

The whole subject is a delicate one, closely inter-related with all sorts of prejudices, and for this reason extremely difficult to handle; and yet it goes to the root of many of the most serious problems in the charity field. A considerable part of the confusion on the subject is, perhaps, the result of the varying angles from which it is approached. It presents quite a

*Section meeting Thursday, May 13, 9:15 A. M.

different appearance, for example, to those whose chief concern is institutional work for the care and training of children, from that seen, for example, by those whose primary interest in the public charity field is the treatment and care of the dependent insane. A strong prejudice for or against governmental paternalism distinctly affects one's view of the subject.

In every community there are those personally interested in maintaining existing conditions as to the financing of individual charities, to whom any change means a certain amount of trouble and is, therefore, deemed unwise. The sectarian, whose primary interest in charitable work is the building up of his particular religious organization, is almost certain to allow his bent of mind to color, if not to determine, his view of the subject under discussion. The practical politician, however interested he may be in charitable matters, is apt to view the policy of state aid to private charities as a political question, pure and simple, and to act accordingly. If the problem is approached from the standpoint of an individual institution, the result is somewhat different than when one studies the charity field of an entire state.

There are those who oppose state aid for buildings or equipment and yet believe heartily in state appropriations for maintenance alone. With others it is largely a question as to how efficiently the money granted by the state is expended. Many object to lump-sum appropriations, but would, if these were eliminated, believe in state aid to private charities. Others differentiate between private charities doing essential state work and such as do not, favoring state aid to the first class only. Still others find no objection to the granting of state aid to institutions of state-wide scope, but feel that it should be withheld from such institutions as operate in local areas. Occasionally those are found who seem entirely clear that state aid to private charities is undesirable and who, nevertheless, are strongly in favor of the subsidizing of private institutions by cities and counties.

When one attempts to study the various arguments for or against state aid to private charities, it becomes apparent:

First, that there is frequently a failure to mark out sharply the field of inquiry and confine the discussion within proper boundaries, so that elaborate defense is sometimes given to the policy of state aid to private charities on the basis of accomplishments for which it is in no way responsible and for which it should, therefore, receive neither praise nor blame; while, on the other hand, violent attacks are made on this policy based on undesirable conditions for which it is held responsible,

but which, as a matter of fact, are clearly due to forces and influences with which state aid has little or nothing to do.

Second, that there is still a deplorable lack of reliable data upon which to base conclusions with reference to the good or ill effects of state aid to private charities. This was forcibly pointed out by Professor Fetter in a paper read before this Conference in 1901. But the writer does not find that there are many more data available today than at the beginning of the century. This is the more remarkable, in view of the immense amount of material open to study and the entire feasibility of demonstrating the truth or falsehood of nearly all of the more important facts alleged to result from the adoption of this policy and advanced for or against it.

Third, that the program recommended by those opposed to state aid as to the proper steps which should be taken for its elimination in those states where it already exists or, at all events, for so regulating the matter as to minimize the evils alleged to flow from its unrestricted use, is often unfortunately vague and indefinite.

In an article contributed to *The Survey* of October 31, 1914, by Alexander Fleisher, former Secretary of the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, it has been pointed out that the following twenty-two states* make no appropriations whatever to privately managed charities:

Arkansas	Louisiana	Ohio
Colorado	Michigan	South Carolina
Florida	Minnesota	South Dakota
Georgia	Mississippi	Tennessee
Illinois	Missouri	Texas
Indiana	Montana	Wisconsin
Iowa	Nebraska	Wyoming
	North Dakota	

That fifteen states make such appropriations sparingly:

Arizona	Nevada	Oklahoma
California	New Hampshire	Oregon
Delaware	New Jersey	Vermont
Idaho	New York	Virginia
Masachusetts	North Carolina	Washington

And that nine states place no apparent restriction on their grants:

Connecticut	Maine	Pennsylvania
Kansas	Maryland	Rhode Island
Kentucky	New Mexico	West Virginia

Mr. Fleisher points out that the group of fifteen states above mentioned

> Restrict their appropriations either deliberately or accidentally, to the care of a few special classes of dependents.
>
> A study of the facts surrounding the making of appropria-

*Alabama and Utah are not included in these statistics.

tions by these states shows that each of them in giving money to privately managed charities is simply seeking to care for classes of dependents for which it has as yet made no provision in publicly managed institutions.

The nine states in the third group

Do not restrict their their subsidies to the care of special classes, but bestow their money quite miscellaneously. The number of institutions receiving help from these states and the amounts of their annual appropriations are as follows:

	Institutions	Amount
Connecticut	28	$ 156,993
Kansas	61	15,000
Kentucky	3	70,000
Maine	41	139,400
Maryland	82	453,450
New Mexico	11	22,000
Pennsylvania	277	3,714,713
Rhode Island	4	13,000
West Virginia	3	14,700

Mr. Fleisher further points out that there are several differences of practice between this group of states and the former. First: Among the nine making miscellaneous appropriations there is slight differentiation between state and private responsibility. The opposite is the case as to the group of fifteen states above mentioned.

Second: Another difference is that whereas the group of fifteen states shows a tendency to make its appropriations on a per capita basis and is often represented on the board of managers of the subsidized institutions, the group of nine is more apt to make its grants in lump sums without retaining any control over their expenditure. These lump sums are generally "for maintenance," though not infrequently provision is made for buildings also.

Third: Many of the group of fifteen states show a disinclination to subsidize charities operating in a local area, while few of the group of nine make any distinction between charities doing state-wide and those doing purely local work. Frequently hospitals, day nurseries and other institutions whose very nature confines their service to narrow geographical limits are given help.

The nine states making unrestricted and miscellaneous appropriations also fall into two classes, the first includes those that give to but few institutions, or that give comparatively small amounts. These are: Kansas, Kentucky, New Mexico, Rhode Island and West Viriginia. The second includes those that give to many institutions or that give large amounts. These are: Connecticut, Maine, Maryland and Pennsylvania.

In considering the facts just quoted from the admirable article of Mr. Fleisher it must be borne in mind, however, that correct inferences as to the extent of the subsidizing of private charities in the various states mentioned can not be made without ascertaining to what extent in each of these states the various cities and counties grant aid to private charities. For example, the state of New York is prevented by constitutional provision from being an offender to any extent in the matter of subsidizing private charities. The city of New York, however, appropriates annually to private charities more than

does the state of Pennsylvania, by all odds the worst offender among the states.

There does not seem to be any statement available as to the extent and character of city and county aid to private charities in the various states. The preparation of such data is, however, of the utmost importance, as it may show a tendency in those states where state aid is not granted to greatly increase the amount and number of county and municipal appropriations to privately managed institutions. That this appears to be the case in some states has already been suggested by other students of this subject.

Every state has its large army of dependents for whose care and treatment provision must in some way be made. The insane, the feeble-minded, those in penal institutions and reformatories, the tuberculous, the sick, epileptics, paupers, and so forth—all present problems of their own; but these problems have in common the fact that money must be somewhere obtained with which to provide whatever may be necessary for those without resources of their own.

There are practically only three possible sources from which this money can be obtained:

First: The state itself;

Second: Its various cities and counties, which, for all practical purposes, may be considered together; and

Third: Private benevolence.

The question as to how the expense of caring for the whole field of dependents above mentioned shall be divided among these three possible sources of income is largely one of expediency. It is commonly said that the insane, the feeble-minded, prisoners, and, to a certain extent, the blind, the deaf and dumb and epileptics are, in a peculiar sense, wards of the state. The principal arguments adduced in favor of this proposition are:

(1) That in most communities the state has seen fit to assume the care of these particular classes, so that the people at large have come to expect the state to care for them, with the result that if the state, for any reason, failed to provide for these unfortunates there might be serious difficulty in arousing the private citizenship to make any substantial contribution toward their maintenance and support.

(2) That the insane, the feeble-minded and prisoners require, for their proper handling, the exercise of what is, to all intents and purposes, the police power of the state, and that for this reason they are properly the objects of state care.

(3) That these groups of dependents are properly the objects of state care because they are a menace and burden upon the entire community rather than upon any one particular section.

(4) That the insane, inebriates and vagrants can be best handled in large units, and that the feeble-minded require institutional care extending over an indefinitely long period of time, for which reasons these classes can be best cared for by the state.

None of these arguments is conclusive, and although one instinctively feels that the state should care for the insane, the feeble-minded and, to a large extent at least, for the prison population, etc., is it not, after all, a question of expediency in the last analysis? There are numerous ways in which the state, its various political sub-divisions and private philanthropists may combine to meet the general need. Probably the least desirable way is that whereby each group maintains separate institutions for every class of dependents; there is little improvement where all three are contributing to the care of every class of dependents, even though not more than two of the three groups actually maintain institutions for any given class.

Generally a state begins early in its history to assume the burden of one or more classes of dependents, and thereupon establishes and erects institutions, which it thereafter maintains. Sooner or later these institutions become inadequate and there is demand for additional institutions. Not infrequently other demands upon the state have so increased that it is not convenient, perhaps not even possible, to erect the additional institutions needed, and so private philanthropy comes to the aid of the state and establishes and erects institutions to help out, feeling all the time, however, that the work done is really the state's and not the province of private philanthropy. Under these conditions it is almost inevitable that in due course of time an effort should be made to unload the cost of such institutions upon the state, and unfortunately, this generally takes the form, not of asking the state to take over the institutions as a whole, but rather to grant annual appropriations toward the expense of their maintenance.

As has already been pointed out, the line of cleavage between institutions performing state functions and those which are not is by no means an easy one to determine, and, therefore, when the state has once started appropriating money for the aid of privately managed institutions, few, indeed, are the classes of institutions which can not present a fairly plausible argument in favor of similar favors from the state on their be-

half. It is not surprising, therefore, that the increase in the number of privately managed institutions receiving state aid in those states where state aid has once been granted to private charities is vary marked from year to year, the same thing being true as to the amount of the appropriation to each institution.

In Pennsylvania, for example, in 1871 seventeen privately managed charitable institutions received from the state $239,295. For the two-year period of 1872 and 1873 the total amount appropriated to private charities was $604,981.24. For the two-year period ending 1913 the Legislature of 1911 appropriated to 275 privately managed institutions the sum of $6,249,400. "The number of institutions had increased over two thousand per cent. in forty years; ten times as much money was appropriated. One-tenth of the entire revenue of the state is today being given to privately managed institutions not under the control of the state."*

Originally the individual poor district was held accountable for all dependents within its borders. This included not only such paupers as might be fortunate enough to enjoy fairly good health, but also the sick, mentally as well as physically. Gradually it came to be felt that there were certain classes of these unfortunates that could be more efficiently and economically cared for if grouped together in fairly large numbers and, as a result, city and county institutions were gradually established and we developed our system of county almshouses with special wings or separate buildings, as the case might be, for the care of the insane, the tuberculous and the sick in the ordinary sense of the word. These institutions, however, never were really satisfactory, and even in those communities where the state at first took no direct hand in the establishment of institutions for any of the dependent classes there developed a feeling that the state should not only exercise a strict supervision over all public charitable matters in and out of public institutions, but also that it was far better fitted than the smaller governmental units to work out a unified, state-wide system of institutional care for some, at least, of those entirely dependent upon the public for care and treatment.

It must not be forgotten that as any state faces its army of dependents the fundamental question is not so much, How can these people be cared for at the least possible expense to the state; but rather, How can they be cared for so as to accomplish

*See article by Alexander Fleisher in *Political Science Quarterly* for March, 1915, entitled *Pennsylvania's Appropriations to Privately Managed Charitable Institutions.*

the best possible good for themselves, and at the same time be no greater cost to the state than is necessary, consistent with this aim? The least expensive way of caring for these unfortunate people is by no means necessarily the best way, and it is shameful for a state to attempt to save money at the cost of its unfortunates. When, therefore, we come to the question as to whether or not the policy of state aid to private charities is or is not desirable, the fundamental thing for us to ascertain is, what effect has this policy on the dependents themselves? Does it result in ways beneficial to them or otherwise, and if it is beneficial to them, is there any other way of accomplishing equal benefit at less expense?

The reasons generally advanced in favor of state aid to private charities are as follows:

First: That it saves the state money. Suppose, for example, that a state has insufficient institutional facilities with which to care for its feeble-minded. Private individuals, realizing this situation, erect one or more institutions for this class of dependents. The site and the buildings cost the state nothing. Private benevolence also, in part, takes care of the expense of maintenance. A private charity receiving aid under these conditions is in a position to say to the state: "We are entirely satisfied with any plan whereby we are relieved of doing your work. If you prefer to buy a site, erect an institution thereon, and care for all or part of those for whom we are caring at present, so far so good; but remember that to carry out any such plan will cost you far more than to give us the relatively small appropriations for which we ask." There are instances where this argument is practically unanswerable and where it must be admitted that a change in policy would mean additional expense to the state. In many other instances, however, if the state withdrew its aid it would soon be discovered that many of those receiving institutional care in the institutions affected were not properly the objects of such care, but on the contrary could and should be provided for in private families, not infrequently at the expense of relatives or those otherwise legally responsible for their maintenance.

Second: It prevents charities receiving aid from becoming state-owned and controlled, and in this way keeps them out of partisan politics. A few years ago this argument would have been far more cogent. Our state-owned and controlled institutions are improving daily in their effciency. It is doubtful whether the influence of politicians is much, if any, more harmful in the employment and retention of the employees of state institutions than is that of some of the contributors to privately

managed charities. As a matter of fact the minute a private institution begins to receive state appropriations, it is drawn into the most offensive kind of politics—that which, too often, destroys the freedom of speech and action of our highest type of citizen, those public-spirited men and women who serve without compensation as boards of managers and directors of charitable institutions and who, too often, find it almost necessary to act in ways inconsistent with their convictions and desires on matters of interest to the political leaders of the state or small community in which they reside, in order the more effectively to plead for the appropriation needed for the institution in which they are interested.

Third: It makes it possible to keep within private institutions dependents who, because of this fact, may be subjected to constant and pervasive influences of a moral and religious character, whereas in state institutions, at the very best, occasional instruction in moral and religious matters is all that is legally permissible. This argument is advanced with peculiar force in the case of institutions caring for children. However, opportunity is freely given by state institutions today for religious ministrations to Jews and Gentiles, Protestants , and Catholics, at the hands of those specially selected for this purpose by the local representatives of these various faiths. In view of this fact, it is questionable whether this argument has as much weight as it once had. Moreover, there will always be a constitutional difference of opinion among thinking people as to whether the state should contribute at all to institutions of a clearly sectarian character, and institutions as to which this argument has the most weight are apt to belong to this class.

Fourth: It saves the dependents cared for in the institutions receiving state aid from the stigma of being paupers. This argument, too, appears to be receiving less and less respect. In the first place, a marked change of attitude has been developed within recent years as to our state institutions. Many of them are so well conducted and provide such splendid facilities for carrying out the purposes of their existence that there is even occasionally discernible a tendency on the part of those amply able and willing to pay, to enter such institutions themselves or place in them relatives or others for whom they are responsible.

Fifth: It has become so thoroughly established that a change is almost impossible. From a practical point of view, this is the most telling argument of all.

As has already been intimated, practically every state in the Union has definitely assumed the responsibility for some of its numerous classes of dependents. When it has once so done,

the institutions established and maintained by it become peculiarly entitled to its care, and the first objection usually raised to the policy of state aid to private charities is the fact that this tends to build up private charities at the expense of those established by the state, and, therefore, rightly looking to it for proper development and maintenance.

Dr. C. Floyd Haviland, of the Kings Park State Hospital for the Insane in New York State, has recently completed a six months' survey of all the institutions in the state of Pennsylvania caring for the dependent insane. Although he found the state institutions for the insane incomparably better than the average institution maintained by a city or county, nevertheless it was also developed, in the course of his investigations, that at almost every session of the state legislature a hard, up-hill fight was necessary in order to secure even the most essential improvements and additions for these state institutions; the difference being, as one of the members of the State Board of Charities expressed it only a few days ago, that every private institution in the state had its agents or representatives hard at work backing up the senator and representatives of the district in which it was situated, in persuading the house and senate to make adequate appropriation for its needs; while these state institutions had practically no one to say a good word for them except the State Board of Charities, whose influence, naturally, was by no means as cogent as that of the members of the legislature, themselves, interested in the private institutions within their districts.

Many interesting tables have been prepared, showing the relative increase year by year of the total amount of money appropriated to private charities by states adopting the policy under discussion as compared with the total amount appropriated by such states to purely public charities owned and maintained by the states themselves. In almost every case the grants to private charities tend to greatly outdistance those to the public institutions. The number of individual grants to private charities is greater, the increase in each grant from year to year is relatively larger, and the sum total granted to all private charities as compared with the amount granted to public charities is greater. No matter how earnestly a state board of charities urges the appropriation committees to take care of the state institutions first, and then give away whatever may remain for the benefit of private institutions, their advice is rarely or never heeded. Gradually even those actually engaged in charitable work become confused as to what is a public charity as contra-distinguished from a private one, and the declaration is frequently made that any institution or organization doing a worthy work for those in

need, and offering a helpful hand, so far as its resources permit, to all citizens alike, is a public charity, irrespective of how it may be owned, supported or controlled. The more general this confusion is the more difficult does it become for the state institutions.

It is further alleged, by way of criticism of this policy of state aid to private charities, that it discourages private benevolence. Said Dr. Amos G. Warner in what has come to be regarded as almost a classic on this subject:

> Individual contributors dislike to have their mites lost in the abundance of a public appropriation. Almost without exception those institutions that have received public aid the longest and the most constantly receive least from private contributors. In looking up the history of a considerable number of institutions, it was found that after the public became a contributor, private contribution fell off from year to year, not only relatively, but absolutely, and in some cases ceased altogether.

Mr. Bird S. Coler, after quoting the above in the report made by him in 1899 while Controller of the City of New York to the Board of Estimates and Apportionment of that city adds:

"This view is abundantly sustained by the statistics appended to this report."

In view of the denials strenuously made from time to time as to the existence of any such result from state aid to private charities, it is unfortunate that so little effort has been made in recent years to continue research similar to that made by Dr. Warner. The information is within comparatively easy reach, and it is entirely possible to marshal an array of facts which would definitely prove one way or the other the truth or falsity of this allegation. If such facts could be gathered on a fairly large scale with reference to a reasonably large number of institutions in such states as California, Maryland and Pennsylvania, as well as in the District of Columbia and in the City of New York, a valuable service would be rendered and a distinct advance made in clearing up our understanding of the subject under discussion.

Suppose, however, that it is clearly established that state aid to private charities does discourage private benevolence so far as those particular charities are concerned: is this necessarily an evil? Must we not be in a position to know the uses to which the money withdrawn from such institutions by private donors is put before we can be entirely certain as to our answer to this question? In other words, if, because the state has seen fit to appropriate money to a given institution, I find it unnecessary to give the amount which I have been accustomed to giving annually to that institution and thereupon transfer my benevolence to a

place of equal or, perhaps, even greater need,—how can this be an evil? Perhaps it will never be possible to gather reliable data on this matter; but, at all events, candor should prevent our claiming what we are not in a position to prove and, therefore, it should be recognized that, even if this particular allegation against the policy under discussion is true, it is conceivable at least that this may not be properly a subject of serious criticism.

I am well aware that this objection takes another form. It is often said that the most serious injury resulting from such a discouragement of private benevolence to an institution previously receiving it, is the withdrawal by private benefactors and their friends of their interest in the institution. I think it must be admitted that this is a stronger argument than the one just considered. And yet this, too, is by no means conclusive; for, if the state took over the entire institution and assumed full responsibility for its maintenance, this objection would be greatly intensified,—and yet the policy of state aid to private charities would not, in the slightest degree, be responsible for the result. It has also been asserted in this connection that in institutions privately owned and financed exclusively by private benevolence more care is taken in ascertaining whether or not those seeking free treatment or care are properly entitled to the same. "It is human nature to spend blithely, almost heedlessly, money for which we have not toiled, and money derived through the tax levy comes without any visible personal effort," as Mr. Robert Biggs expressed it at the 1914 session of the National Conference of Catholic Charities. If this money appropriated by the state is expended by those directly employed by the state, the situation is very different from where it is expended by those over whom the state has practically no control whatever.

The policy of state aid to private charities has resulted in the creation of many an institution not at all needed and at the time of its creation without sufficient means of support, either actual or probable. Perhaps this has been more true in the case of hospitals than otherwise, though it has not been, by any means, confined to this class of institutions. Some of the illustrations of this particular evil are peculiarly gross. Every state has its tales of hospitals owing their inception to squabbles and personal rivalry between physicians, but where there is absolutely no apparent need for any increase in the number of institutions of the kind. If, in cases of this character, it had been found necessary to go to private citizens in the neighborhood or elsewhere and secure the funds necessary not only for the erection of such hospitals but also for their maintenance and upkeep from year to year, many of these places would never have seen

the light of day. But anyone familiar with the way in which such matters are handled in some of our state legislatures at the present time, can readily understand the possibility of securing from the state all the aid desired. Today this particular abuse is probably not so common as it once was, but even today it is still existent.

This evil leads to another. The money appropriated to such institutions not only does little or no good, but it is withdrawn from all possibility of use in places where it may be greatly needed. This sort of thing prevents the possibility of a state's building up a unified system of institutional care for its dependents. Instead of a wide and proper distribution of institutions, they are too often grouped together, where some, at least, are unnecessary, while other portions of the state are practically without needed facilities. As has been well said, this policy results in the obtaining of state aid for dependents "on the lines of influence and patronage rather than principle." In due course of time the group of private charities receiving state aid tend to unite all the various influences which each can bring to bear in maintaining the status quo. This too often results in the establishment of a sort of vested interest opposed to all change, however desirable. As a consequence of this, if any individual or association criticises a private institution or charity which belongs to this group, instant resentment is shown, not only by those connected with the charity, itself, but also by kindred institutions and their friends; and quite as much by the official body, as, for example, the State Board of Charities, which recommended the appropriation, and by the appropriation committee of the legislature, if not by the legislature as a whole. This is due, not merely to a feeling that the whole system stands or falls together, but also to a natural feeling that the existence of anything seriously wrong in an institution receiving state aid is more or less of a personal reflection, not only on those connected with it but also on all having to do with securing for it, or granting to it, appropriations of the public money. In many respects this situation is the most serious thing resulting from the policy under discussion. It adds just this much dead weight to all efforts for the improvement of the charitable work in a state. It blocks all attempts, for example, to introduce unified systems of accounting, on the theory that this is of no value save as a means for checking up on the relative merits of different institutions, which, in turn, can serve no useful purpose except possibly as a basis for efforts to prevent the grants of state aid to some institution or institutions now receiving it.

Finally, apart altogether from the effects of this policy on the charitable situation, it has a deplorable influence upon the individual legislator. The fact that a given member of the legislature knows full well that, unless he secures an adequate appropriation for the institution or institutions within his district accustomed to receive state aid, he has practically no chance whatever of re-election, is a most convenient club with which to compel him to silence or inaction in the presence of measures against which his voice ought to be raised, and would be raised in the absence of such pressure; and, on the other hand, too often it is an effective means of persuading him to espouse causes in which he does not believe and from which his own judgment revolts. Many of the most serious failures in popular government may be traced to this cause. There is not a state in the Union in which the policy under discussion is in force where this sort of thing has not occurred again and again. Some of the strongest opponents of state aid to private institutions base their objection wholly upon the political debauchery which trails after this system wherever it is in force; and, after all is said and done, are they not justified in believing that any system which produces such results must have something wrong with it? In other words, can it be true that there is no efficient way for properly meeting the charitable needs of a great community other than by a system which inevitably stultifies the representatives of the people and in innumerable ways interferes with the orderly progress of representative government?

What, then, can be said by way of practical suggestion?

In the first place, of course, those states which have been so fortunate as to avoid entering upon this sea of troubles should keep out of it.

Second: Wherever there is any indication of the possibility of doing away with it, even when it has been started, this should by all means be done.

Third: Where it has become so firmly established that the practical difficulties in the way of its complete elimination seem insurmountable, every effort should be made to so regulate its use as to minimize the evils which flow from it.

Fourth: Any change from the present system must be gradual and carefully considered. To quote from the letter written to Mr. Coler in 1899 by the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York:

> The present method of caring for certain classes of dependents has been developed under existing laws and customs; and the societies, homes and institutions have grown to their present proportions in the reasonable expectation that the established system should not be suddenly altered. A still more

important reason for conservative action is that hasty and ill-considered changes would certainly lead to great confusion and consequent injury to various classes of dependents.

Fifth: "Public moneys," so far as possible, "should be disbursed only upon the basis of pro rata payment measured by specific services performed and this basis should be made uniform for all institutions performing similar work." For example, it has frequently been urged that, "The aggregate amount contributed to hospitals should be proportioned on a per capita and per diem basis for free patients and should be divided proportionately to such service among all incorporated and well-managed institutions." It has also been recommended, "That any per capita rates should diminish as the number of inmates increases."

Sixth: No appropriations should be made to private institutions for buildings or equipment, but only for maintenance.

Seventh: Wherever feasible, public institutions should be placed in the charge of unsalaried boards of managers, in this way gaining for these institutions many of the advantages usually claimed for private institutions receiving state aid.

Eighth: Practically every state in the Union has assumed a special responsibility for certain classes of its dependents; the dependent insane and feeble-minded, and, to a certain extent, at least, prisoners, are almost always among these classes of state wards. Generally there are also certain hospitals and other institutions supported solely by the state. The first duty of any legislative body, so far as the dependent classes are concerned, is to see to it that adequate appropriation is made for all institutions and charities coming within the general classifications just mentioned. As a practical program for dealing with privately-managed institutions accustomed to receive state aid for some time past the following might be suggested:

1. Under no circumstances should any such institution receive more than recommended by the body specially charged by law with the supervision of the charities of the state.

2. No private institution not heretofore the recipient of state aid should hereafter receive any assistance from the state.

3. Even as to institutions which have heretofore received state aid, aid should be absolutely refused upon the presentation of satisfactory evidence that any such institution is either unnecessary or distinctly inefficient in the performance of its functions.

4. After consideration has been given to all institutions, and tentative amounts agreed upon for each recommended for state aid, if the sum total to be appropriated for such purposes is

found to be too large for the revenues available, there should not be a general horizontal cutting down of all appropriations, but any such deduction should be apportioned in whatever way seems proper among the privately-managed institutions recommended for state aid.

5. Finally, a definite effort should be made gradually to reduce the number of private institutions receiving state aid, and, second, the amount appropriated annually to each such institution.

Ninth: The charitable need of each state should be studied from a state-wide standpoint.

Tenth: The body charged with the supervision of the charitable work of the state should be granted adequate powers and a staff of experts sufficient for satisfactory inspection and visitorial work among the various institutions throughout the state.

Eleventh: This supervisory body should be authorized and instructed to formulate for each class of institutions under its charge minimum requirements to which all institutions of the same class should be made to conform as a prerequisite to receiving the annual license which should be required for every such institution. In the formulation of these requirements care should be taken to leave ample room for initiative on the part of the various institutions.

Twelfth: No charter should be granted for any new charitable undertaking without the approval of this supervisory body being first obtained.

Thirteenth: No state aid should be granted to any private institution not duly licensed by the supervisory body, as above suggested.

Fourteenth: A uniform system of accounting should be required of all charitable institutions of the same class, whether public or private.

Fifteenth: A studied effort should be made to enlist the interest of private citizens in all public charities. Only as the result of a well-developed sense of community responsibility will this and the many other difficult problems connected with the care of the vast multitude of dependents in every one of our states be satisfactorily solved.

DISCUSSION: The following named delegates took part in the discussion of Mr. Dripps' paper: Burdette B. Brown, New York; Patrick Mallon, Brooklyn; W. D. Matthews, Oklahoma; Benjamin C. Marsh. New York; George L. Sehon, Louisville; Charles H. Patterson, New Orleans; Robert W. Hill, Albany, N. Y.; Byron Long, Columbus, O.; Prof. Carl Kelsey. Philadelphia; Mrs. T. R. Ayars, St. Louis; Rev. George Floyd Rodgers, Lynchburg, Va.; Charles Strull, Louisville.

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A DISCUSSION OF PUBLIC OUTDOOR RELIEF*

Thomas J. Riley, Ph. D., General Secretary, Brooklyn (N. Y.) Bureau of Charities

For the purposes of this discussion we may assume that public outdoor relief will continue and be extended in some modified or improved form. A large number of states have already adopted widows' pension laws, a form of public outdoor relief. There is a growing political philosophy which ascribes larger and larger functions to the state, including public aid to the dependent.

What I shall say is based mostly upon a study of outdoor relief as administered, not in cities, but in rural communities.

There is one thought uppermost in my mind since hearing the splendid papers on this subject presented at the general session last evening. The thought is this: that we must classify the miscellaneous lot of people now receiving public outdoor relief; that we must provide the special care that each class needs, and that we shall not make fundamental progress with public outdoor relief until this has been done. Those who are familiar with almshouse history in this country will readily appreciate what I mean. Formerly, as you well know, the almshouses received children, the feeble-minded, the epileptic, the insane, the inebriate, the worn-out prostitute, as well as the aged and infirm poor. With the miscellaneous population it was impossible to take the proper care of any one class and the almshouse was a reproach to almost every community. Then came the policy of not committing children to the almshouses, of sending them to children's homes or placing them in private homes. Then the insane were no longer committed to the almshouses but were sent to hospitals for the insane. Likewise the feeble-minded and epileptic are being more generally cared for in special institutions and not in almshouses. The drunkard and the prostitute are likewise beginning to receive hospital care or colony life. So there now remain in the best almshouses of the country only the aged and infirm poor. This process has not worked itself out fully as yet, but its momentum will probably carry it through.

If we are to make substantial progress in dealing with the outdoor poor we must profit by our experience with almshouses. You cannot deal successfully with the feeble-minded, the epileptic, the inebriate, and the immoral through outdoor relief. And yet recent studies have shown that considerable numbers of

*Section meeting Friday, May 14, 11:00 A. M.

these classes of people are receiving public outdoor relief. In a recent study of outdoor relief in Missouri* which I had the opportunity to direct a special study was made of this question. In 74 of these there was evidence of mental defectiveness either in the beneficiaries or in their dependents.

At-home care for the feeble-minded only encourages them to bring forth children after their own kind. Without the best institutional care feeble-minded young people will become parents of children even in the shelter of their own homes. Public outdoor relief is steadily breeding all varieties of mental defectives and epileptics who are dependents themselves and who are destined to produce future generations of their kind. A short list of 25 families who were county charges in a middle-western state included 26 mentally deficient children of different ages. The illegitimate children of these women were known to number 22; more would be found if the whole truth were known. In at least 8 of the 25 families mental weakness appeared through two or more generations. This could probably be traced much further if records were available. Under the present system of public outdoor relief these unfortunates are not only permitted but encouraged to marry and produce their kind.

A recent brief study of outdoor relief in Dutchess county, New York, showed, among other things, that degenerate conditions due to mental or to moral defects are perpetuated and encouraged by such relief.

No elaborate argument is needed in this presence to convince you that the epileptic cannot properly be cared for or their burden upon society cut off through the administration of public outdoor relief. Except for the extent and magnitude of the burden we might say almost the same things about epilepsy that we have just said about feeble-mindedness. So long, therefore, as the feeble-minded and the epileptic are found in the outdoor relief list we are not only wasting the money we spend but we are heaping up wrath against the day of wrath.

The studies to which I have referred show that as at present administered in some parts of the country at least public outdoor relief encourages drunkenness and immorality. Among the 199 cases specially reported on in Missouri, 12 were intemperate, 3 had criminal records, 19 were mothers of illegitimate children and 19 others were immoral. Among the persons who benefited by the county money indirectly as through a mother, a sister or other relative, there were cases of murder, robbery, burglary, theft, arson, rape, adultery, incest, prostitu-

*Outdoor Relief in Missouri. A Study of Its Administration by County Officers, by George A. Warfield, Russell Sage Foundation Publications.

tion, embezzlement, forgery, gambling and illegal sale of intoxicating liquors. The son of one county beneficiary, and the son-in-law of another were known as the most dangerous men in their communities. They were organizers of crime and leaders of vice of every kind. Such men obtain county aid for their relatives and often shift the whole care and responsibility for them on the public while they, themselves, are known to commit desperate and revolting crimes.

In some instances whole families were recorded where every one of from five to seven sisters were dissolute characters. These were poor rural families and they formed centers of vice for their communities. The men were generally guilty of crime and drunkenness and the women were unchaste.

County aid as at present administered, in at least some sections of the country, is wholly unsuited in its purposes and wholly incompetent in its administration to relieve and to prevent the evils of intemperance, crime and vice. Again I come back to the proposition with which I started—that in its very nature and in its administration official outdoor relief can never cope with the problems presented by the feeble-minded, the epileptic, the inebriate, the criminal and the immoral, and that our first task in redeeming public outdoor relief from such evils is to refuse aid to these classes in their own homes and to provide and enforce proper institutional, hospital and colony life for them. When that has been done the aged and infirm who should be kept at home by the aid of public money will not present so large a problem and their care will be relatively a small task.

Thus far I have called attention to some of the inherent difficulties in public outdoor relief and have suggested the fundamentals of reform, namely, the proper classification of the outdoor pauper population and specialized care for each class. I wish now to invite your attention to the present status of the administration of this relief. The most striking thing we found in the Missouri study was the generally prevailing and profound ignorance on the part of the county supervisors of the poor, both with respect to the individual beneficiaries and their families and with respect to the effects of the relief, itself. We found that the county judges, who are the poor law officers, rarely made any investigation of the applications for charitable help. They approved them upon information and belief which in many cases was very meagre.

Moreover, a re-investigation was a thing practically unknown in the seventeen counties whose records for a period of ten years were carefully studied. So striking was this lack of knowl-

edge on the part of the judges that a test was made in one county which for years had paid out a large sum each year for poor relief. One judge admitted that he was completely in ignorance of the merits of 76 out of 100 names then upon the list, although many of these people were in his own town. A colleague who had been longer on the bench and had a wide political acquaintance admitted that he knew no larger proportion of the county's beneficiaries, while a third judge who had just come upon the bench did not claim to know much about the list except the surprisingly long one of those in his own little village. One county judge, in explaining his lack of knowledge, remarked: "When I came upon the bench five years ago there were many names upon the list. In adding new names we have tried to know whether the persons were worthy, but that old list, we have never concerned ourselves with. They were passed upon by former courts and must have been all right. We have just taken them for granted. It is hard enough to learn something about the new cases."

Many illustrations of the results of this ignorance could be cited. For years a sum had been sent to some one whose only description was the word "Monk." No one of the judges knew anything about him and when we looked up his case we found that he had been dead for some time and that it was his widow who lately had been receiving the money. She owned a little property, was socially ambitious, dressed better than her neighbors, and was at that time in Texas on a visit to an only daughter whose husband was well-to-do, renting a farm of 500 acres and owning a half-interest in an oil-well. Later inquiry showed, however, that she returned in time to collect her "county money" as usual.

In another case a man who was supposed to be an invalid had received regular help for years. Investigation showed that he was a good farm hand, young and strong, and always in demand. A neighbor remarked, "If you are looking for a hand I can tell you that man, B———, is all right. If you want to know about him I might tell you. I am pretty strong myself as you see. I have hired him lots of times and he can cut as much brush in one day as I can in two, the best I can do." Truth to tell, young B——— some years before had suffered from a painful disease but a successful surgical operation had entirely relieved his difficulty, and for six years he had been in perfect health and a giant in strength. Another case showed that for a long period of years money had been paid for the relief of a certain woman and "sister," so-called. When visited the "sister" proved to be an illegitimate daughter, and the woman, herself, un-

married. The man whom she named as her husband and the father of her two children was her brother who had fled because of a murder he had committed. They owned a home and forty acres of land and enjoyed a United States pension.

So I might go on. The investigation in Dutchess County, New York, showed that with few exceptions the overseers of the poor lacked discrimination and experience necessary to the efficient administration of public outdoor relief and that no attempt was made to learn of or to eliminate the causes responsible for the distress; and that the relief was generally insufficient or unsuitable as administered, and that it encouraged pauperism. I do not presume to draw wholesale conclusions from the instances I have cited, nor even from the studies that have recently been made; but the evils are so great and the ignorant administration so evident that such heroic action must be taken as will redeem official outdoor relief from its present disgrace.

For guidance in this reform we can look with most encouragement to the state of Indiana, where wonderful strides have been made in controlling and enlightening the administration of public outdoor relief. As the secretary of the Board of State Charities of Indiana indicated last evening in his address, a series of reform laws were passed in Indiana, the result of which has been a great reduction in the amount of official outdoor relief and very careful investigation of applications, both as to the fact of their need and as to what is most necessary to be done for them. In that state has been worked out a system of records and reports that may well be the envy of us all. If I remember correctly there are about 1,020 townships in the state of Indiana. The township trustee is the poor law officer. From the township trustees in each of these the Board of State Charities receives a quarterly report with respect to every family assisted. These records are carefully made and the file is complete for the last ten or more years. If there is any shortcoming in the work it is probably on the side of the adequacy of the relief, but this is not due to ignorance or lack of investigation.

In conclusion, let me read to you from the introduction to *Outdoor Relief in Missouri*. The main counts in the indictment against public outdoor relief in that state are:

> That the judges of the county courts, who are the poor relief officers, are usually without knowledge of the conditions and needs of those who are relieved and, hence,
>
> That the money and other relief are often direct encouragements to indolence, drunkenness, and immorality, and go directly or indirectly to the support of able-bodied beggars, prostitutes and criminals.

That a surprisingly large proportion of the persons relieved are feeble-minded or in distress because of some feeble-minded relatives, and that county money encourages such persons to live at large and propagate their kind, or at least makes it possible for them to do so.

That such unconsidered and misdirected charity, besides adding to the burden of pauperism, defectiveness, vice and crime, fails to give relief adequately or wisely to the needy who apply, and gives no relief whatever to many who are most in need but are least willing to ask for help.

There is no defense for county outdoor relief as it is practiced in Missouri at the present time. Either it must be abolished or thorough-going reforms must be wrought out.

I venture the belief that investigation in other states would confirm in some measure these conditions in Missouri. I do not expect to see public outdoor relief abolished. It must be reformed. Indiana and perhaps Massachusetts have blazed the way, while Denver and other small cities are making very promising experiments.

PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF OUTDOOR RELIEF

Gertrude Vaile, Secretary, Division of Charities and Corrections, Department of Social Welfare, City and County of Denver, Colo.

In looking over the volumes of Conference Proceedings it appears that public outdoor relief has been regarded by most social workers as an evil which they wished might be abolished. Yet public relief we still have, and great and far-reaching demands are now being made for its extension. Note the demand for public relief to widowed mothers that has been sweeping the country.

I believe that the principle of poor relief by public authority is absolutely right. Not only should a government, in the mere exercise of its police power, be prepared to see that no one shall be driven to desperation for lack of the necessities of life; and not only is the whole burden of relief unduly heavy to be borne by a generous few,—but in the search-light of the modern social spirit another fact stands out with glaring distinctness. The poor and suffering are so, not only by their own fault or peculiar misfortune, but also by the fault of us all. Government permits working and living conditions which create poverty and sickness—yea, even licenses some of them; and it is only just that organized society as a whole should struggle with the responsibility and pay the cost.

If, then, the principle of public relief is right it must be possible to find a way to administer it. It is indeed true, as charged, that public outdoor relief has often defeated its own ends and increased the evils it aimed to remove. When England granted relief in supplement of wages it only depressed wages the more. When relief is the easiest way out of trouble there is small incentive to thrift and the troubles of the applicant grow apace, as do also the taxes of the thrifty. The dole of coal or groceries, given without seeking to understand and remove the cause of distress, can only further demoralize the recipient, whether given by public or by private charity—though it is, indeed, even more disastrous as a known public policy than from irresponsible individuals. The only possible way that I can see to safeguard either the public fund or the people who must turn to it for help is just thoughtful, sympathetic case work, which studies each individual's need and tries to lift him out of it by personal service and by bringing to him all the most natural and beneficent help. This is the principle laid down by the charity organization society for the work of private charities.

Denver has been making an interesting experiment these last two years trying to do the same sort of work from a public relief office. Two years and a half ago the only records kept were a huge volume for each year, wherein were inscribed, according to the law, the names and addresses of persons receiving relief, with the number in the family, their ages, nationality, where they came from and when, a word or a phrase about the "cause of poverty," or who "recommended" them, and how much they got. Nothing more. And the cause of poverty might be about as illuminating as the record, simply,—"family troubles," or "sickness," with nothing to indicate who was sick or from what disease.

As a first step in trying to do any consistent work we adopted Sage Foundation case record forms and began to keep full, careful case histories. We still used the big books as the law required, adapting them for summaries from which to take the statistical reports. The city attorney gave us a written opinion that the individual case histories which we kept in addition to the legal requirements could be held absolutely confidential. Indeed, he went further and gave it as his opinion that in view of their personal nature we would have no right to show them and might even be sued for libel if we did so to anyone's disadvantage.

Then we began to try to do something for the people who came to us, to settle those "family troubles" (and we did), to connect people up with old friends or relatives, to find them

jobs and get them to the doctor, and all the hundred-and-one things that may be necessary to help people to get out of their troubles and be again their own best.

We established a weekly "case conference" of interested public-spirited citizens, representatives of churches, etc. Through that conference a good deal of volunteer service has been given and some special funds have been raised for individual families.

An advisory board was also created, made up of some twenty prominent men and women appointed by the Commissioner of Social Welfare. (Denver has commission form of government). They have rendered some very valuable services, especially at the time of the last budget-making, when the Taxpayers Association wanted to cut our appropriation and did not see the use of our salaries.

We also have a "clothing committee" from certain churches, who have taken charge of a store room for us, coming with unfailing regularity on certain days to receive things sent, and to disburse on our request. They have also made or otherwise secured suitable clothing to meet special needs.

In addition to these committees there has been a good deal of volunteer service. Several people have given regular time faithfully, right along, others have given much helpful incidental service.

I have heard it claimed that good volunteers cannot so readily be drawn to public as to private charity work. I believe that they are even more responsive to the public service. There is every appeal to humanity that the private organization has, plus a more direct expression of patriotism. I shall not forget the reply of one lady when I asked if she would do a certain piece of work for us. She promptly agreed to do it, adding: "It is such a pleasure to find some way in which the ordinary citizen who is not in politics can give some direct service to her city." Of course, the successful direction of volunteers has its own difficulties, but I know that we could have all the volunteer help we could manage. I am convinced, moreover, that if volunteers are needed by private charitable societies they are even more needed by any public office undertaking like work—needed, not only to supplement the work of the office, but to give stability and public confidence, and to hold the work always humble and free from possible officialism by keeping the layman's point of view fresh in the foreground.

We were working upon the theory—and earnestly preaching it, and seeking public understanding and support for it—that when a case of need was brought to our attention we were responsible, not only for an order of coal and groceries, but

to see that the need was somehow met. Immediately then we found ourselves squarely upon the ground of the private charities. The intricacies of right relationship began to appear. One of the trustees of the Federated Charities told me that the biggest obstacle he met in trying to raise money for the private charities was just the work of the public office. People did not see the use of two offices to do the same thing, and if one of them was being supported by taxation why contribute to maintain the other? If the appropriation was not big enough, go see the city fathers!

About the same time two splendid private societies giving specialized services presented to the City Relief Department bills for all the work they had done for cases referred by the department stating that they could not afford to take up "city cases" unless the city would pay for it. Of course, every case of need in the city was potentially a "city case." The moment we admitted any real responsibility suddenly there was a widespread disposition to throw the whole task upon us and say, "your job." Of course, a thoughtful conference settled the immediate difficulties—and it should, perhaps, be explained that the situation arose partly on account of certain other local conditions. A general subsidy which the city had for many years given to the Federated Charities for distribution to a large number of private charities had been withdrawn the year before, and they had not yet recovered from the financial distress which that had caused. I quote the experience, however, because it seems to me of far more than local or temporary significance.

The truth is that, whenever the public fund comes in or can be expected to come in, the private funds tend to withdraw, only lingering to supplement admittedly inadequate appropriations. Witness the history of free kindergartens, free baths, and any number of other things. In Chicago the year after the mother's pension law went into effect I know from experience that it was practically impossible to raise special funds for the relief of a widow's family without first showing why the family could not receive a pension. The problems that arise, therefore, in the relations between a public and a private organization doing like work are not comparable with those that arise between two private societies. If the private work is to remain strong and well supported it must be shown to be doing a needed service that is *different* from anything done by public funds and authority. Private societies for general family relief and rehabilitation will certainly long be needed, for reasons which I have not time here to discuss. Public out-

door relief will, I hold, remain with us and its scope be increased.

It would seem necessary, then, to find some division of the field that is clear and convincing. In the past, this division has come upon the quality of the work done and the element of personal service which was given by the private and not ordinarily by the public administration. But if that difference is to be removed, as I think it must be, and soon will be, what useful divisions remain?

A division of cases on the basis of the confidential exchange is sufficient between two private societies, but unconvincing as between a public and a private office. Even if the two work together as absolutely cordially and scrupulously as they do in Denver, so that there is no duplication, but only loyal coöperation, the general community still asks, Why should the public office take care of some and not of the others?

The work might be divided on the basis of legal settlement, the private charities dealing with those families who have not established a legal residence. It sounds reasonable that such families have no claim upon the county funds. But if this is the main distinction it seems to me to give too small a part of the field to the private charity and not a part that has a sufficient power of appeal. It may also be true that the county might miss some legal opportunities of self-protection.

It has been suggested that the division fall upon the *things* to be given; that the public office may wisely limit the amount and kind of relief it will give, and beyond that point the private charities should take up the matter. That indeed is at present the usual way of county relief. It is my own conviction, however, that until that way is abolished there is no hope of good work in the public office. By what logic give coal and refuse rent, give beans and refuse milk and eggs, limit the groceries to $5.00 when $8.00 worth are obviously needed, send the county doctor and refuse to provide the brace? There is no reasonable stopping-place short of anything that may be necessary for health, decency and independence. And in the interest of consistent constructive case work, whichever office takes up the problem of a family should be bound to see it through without transfer of responsibility at some artificial point to some other agency.

Perhaps the division might come best on the *kind* of *case*, the public administration taking all those where relief must be of a pension nature—that is, long-continued allowance—and the private charities taking those where timely help and readjustment can prevent the family from becoming in any large

measure dependent. That would give to the public responsibility the cases of lonely old age, of widows with young children, of tuberculosis and other chronic sickness. It would leave to the private charities cases of acute sickness, of unemployment, possibility of desertion and non-support, although this last raises a different question. If public authority is dealing with part of a family problem perhaps it ought to deal with the whole of it, and do what may be necessary for the care of the family while disciplining the man. With some such divisions of work the private charities could make their appeal on the basis of *prevention*. Both agencies could stand strong in the affection and confidence of the community for personal service and constructive helpfulness. I can see difficulties in this division, too, especially due to the fact that you never can tell what kind of a case it is until you try; but it might be workable.

Of course, for every community these questions of relationship must depend upon local conditions and personalities. But as the modern spirit of social service enters more and more into public administration and larger responsibilities are thrust upon it, the issues will have to be fairly faced by all concerned, and in a very frank and generous spirit. I confess I do not yet at all see the way out. But two things it seems to me I do see clearly. First, if we are to have public outdoor relief at all (and we cannot escape it), then it is the moral duty of the public office dealing with any case of need to try to find out what the trouble really is and see that it is somehow met, if possible, in a way to save the person. Any less a program has in it neither economy, common sense, nor humanity. Second, when a public department enters upon such a program it immediately raises all sorts of very complicated questions of relationship with every private organization that is attempting to deal with needy people. To surmount those difficulties will require much sensitiveness to local conditions, very great patience, a determined faith and trust in one another, with all possible help from thoughtful, benevolent people, and a democratic joy in playing a team-game.

DISCUSSION: This discussion on outdoor relief was continued informally by L. A. Halbert, Kansas City; Frederic Almy, Buffalo; Bailey B. Burritt, New York; James F. Jackson, Cleveland; Garfield Berlinsky, Denver; John A. Kingsbury, New York; C. L. Stonaker, Newark; H. Ida Curry, New York; Mrs. Robert F. Park, Boston; J. M. Hanson, Youngstown, O.; J. O. White, Cincinnati; Charles Strull, Louisville; A. W. MacDougall, Newark; Amy Woods, Newburgh, N. Y.

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THE POLICY OF ISSUING STATE CHARTERS TO CHARITIES*

Robert W. Kelso, Secretary, State Board of Charity of Massachusetts, Boston

I.

The number of charity charters issued in the United States to date is unknown. The number of such charters issued and now in active operation is also unknown. And no records exist from which these two figures can be found out. An answer to these two questions was sought of the authorities of 48 states. Thirty-two made no reply; fourteen replied that they could not answer the questions and that they had no means of finding the information sought. A careful study of the laws of those states from which no replies were received yielded no indication that a record of charitable corporations is kept. We must, therefore, guess. Nine hundred and eighty-six charitable corporations were in active operation on the first of this month in Massachusetts. That state contains one three hundred and fiftieth the area of the United State and one twenty seventh the total population. But it is one of the older jurisdictions and its people have something of a penchant for organization. We might, therefore, expect to find the Massachusetts proportion of one charitable corporation for every 3,500 of the population much higher than the corresponding figure for newer states. One-sixteenth of all the benevolent institutions reported in the 13th federal census are found in Massachusetts. If the Massachusetts total of 986 charitable corporations be multiplied by 16, we should have 15,000 charters for the whole country. I believe, therefore, that 10,000 is a conservative guess at the number of charitable corporations now operating throughout the United States.

Their funds and their receipts and expenditures are of course unknown, also; and here, again, we must guess. Eight hundred and six Massachusetts corporations reported over the oaths of their respective officers that they possessed in 1914, $98,905,-586.35 in property, real and personal. Incumbrances on the realty totaled $2,699,383.04. Their receipts from all sources, including income from investments, was $16,746,006.64. Their expenditures for all purposes, including salary and overhead outlays, were $15,354,842.23.

*Section meeting Tuesday, May 18, 11:00 A. M.

If we are to assume anything like this ratio for corporations elsewhere, we should have a grand total of $1,225,000,000 in assets; $207,766,000 in receipts, and $190,506,000 in expenditures for 1914. I assume without argument that this constitutes an infinite force for good—or for evil, if it be not administered in the public interest.

II.

What, then, is the policy of our several jurisdictions in the creation and regulation of these enterprises? The index of such policy, if it exists, must be the statutes.

Seven out of the 48, notably Indiana, Massachusetts and Ohio, require some investigation of the worthiness and advisability of the venture before incorporation. Indiana and Ohio require the approval of the state board as a prerequisite to incorporation where the purpose embraces the care of dependent, neglected or delinquent children. Massachusetts requires investigation of all petitions for incorporation of charities without restriction but does not make the state board's approval requisite. Ten states—California, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oklahoma, Rhode Island and Wisconsin regulate home-finding or child-caring agencies, or boarding houses for infants, by license after incorporation.

If I might present a composite photograph of all these enabling statues, it would be this. All corporations are either public or private. Private corporations are either for pecuniary profit or not for profit. Corporations not for profit may be created for any purpose not repugnant to the constitution and the laws. Any three or more persons may so incorporate by making, acknowledging and recording articles setting forth the corporate name, the place of business, the purpose, the number of trustees or managers, and the names of the first set. Upon the recording of this instrument, they are entitled to a certificate of incorporation or charter conferring upon them full corporate rights forever subject to no governmental oversight, regulation or notice.

Like the young of the reptile, they are hatched to fare forth forever, to see their parent no more. They are subject to no accounting; they cannot destroy themselves by *ultra vires* acts; they are free from taxation; their funds are not subject to attachment. They may thrive under good hands, die and be laid to rest in some lawyer's safe, then spring to life again in bad hands—it may be—and still the law knows them not.

Let me digress for one or two examples of this practice. Seven persons of large heart and small understanding applied

for a charter for the education of children through the medium of musical symbols. The state asked them no questions, gave them their charter, and thereby recommended them on their way to business offices and door steps to beg money for their harmonics. By and by they bought a house and lot with the money they had begged. They then dissipated the title among themselves personally. The neighbors saved the good name of the state which should have been supervising, by driving a bad influence from among their children. Vague and nonsensical as was the purpose of that crack-brained enterprise, the public sanctioned and enfranchised it without question; and there were those in the community of high education and true public spirit who gave to it for years upon the sole explanation that the contribution was *for the poor children.*

Another case: A soldier of fortune who lived by his wit, and had wit enough to see that the unsupervised field of charity is fallow ground and a fine place in which to transact a back-alley business with a charity exhibit in the front window, gathered enough dummies to make up the required seven incorporators and secured a charter for health-giving vacations for children. He conducted this concern actively, so far as collections were concerned, and did organize holiday trips for groups of children paid for by a more simple-minded society which he had stung in the back of the neck and made stupid. Finally, a benevolent testator left a large legacy to the concern and the government, so sensitive to dollars, exposed the long-standing fraud and took away the charter. You can fool all of the people some of the time.

Again, a group of medical men desiring quarters in which to provide nursing care for their patients, organized a hospital as a charity. No one unable to pay for care in that hospital was turned away; what patients could not pay was contributed to the corporation by the public. The doctors were the only persons who gave no service. Their fees took precedence over the hospital bill. Net results: the doctor had a place where he could secure good nursing care and maintenance of his patient at public expense, while he charged a fee for his services up to the full limit of the patient's ability to pay. The true name of that corporation should have been the "Doctors' Subsidy Fund Association."

So might these examples be multiplied indefinitely, either from my state or your own, it matters not; the condition is universal. The first stage of its remedy is the placing of our system of enfranchisement upon a correct governmental policy.

From analysis of American incorporation laws as they now exist, I reach these four conclusions:

a. There is nothing that can be called a policy now existing with anything like nation-wide scope.

b. The incorporation of charities is conceived in the law of 46 out of 48 states as a method of organization merely. In but 2 states—and in them by no express wording of the law—is it viewed as assumption on the one hand and the enfranchisement on the other, of a sacred trust in favor of the public welfare.

c. In a few states, an awakened conscience against the exploitation of children has inspired a policy of regulation to a very limited extent of those agencies which receive or place children in foster homes. Still fewer of those states go further and license all lying-in hospitals, including corporations. But these latter provisions exist apart from the fact of incorporation.

d. A few states require an accounting and some sort of oversight of agencies receiving state funds. But here, again, the requirement exists apart from the fact of incorporation.

III.

And now, if you will, let us come one step closer to our problem. What is the significance for the community in the incorporation of a charity?

The courts very early rose to the necessity of protecting the public weal in the enjoyment of charitable gifts by clothing such gifts with a peculiar virtue. Thus a gift to charity has been held not to fall within the rule against perpetuities; so that such a gift may accumulate forever, while a private gift may not. Again, such a gift, once made, has been held to be forever so dedicated. So insistent is this principle that a complete legal fiction has grown up by which, when the original purpose fails, the courts will still hold the gift for the public benefit, applying it *cy pres*, i. e., as nearly as possible to that original purpose.

Latterly in this growth of the law of charity came the founding of the American commonwealth and the extension thereto of the great body of English law. With due regard to new conditions and somewhat different needs, our courts have clung to that same basic element in the concept of charity, shaping their decisions for the public well-being as against the interests of the individual. The meaning of the term as understood by our own judiciary today is perhaps best set forth in the decision of Justice Grey, in the case of Jackson v. Phillips,*

*14 Allen 539 at p. 556.

decided in 1865. "A charity, in the legal sense" said he, "may be more fully defined as a gift, to be applied consistently with existing laws, for the benefit of an indefinite number of persons, either by bringing their minds or hearts under the influence of education or religion, by relieving their bodies from disease, suffering or constraint, by assisting them to establish themselves in life, or by erecting or maintaining public buildings or works, or otherwise lessening the burdens of government."

So far, then, as the term *charity* has emerged from the crucible of the Anglo-Saxon court, the term signifies broadly a conscious effort to effect the greatest good for the greatest number of persons who make up the community. Its exercise is essentially the administration of a public trust. To this end it is more than goodness. It outstrips sympathy. It goes beyond compassion. Its application is no longer personal and individual, since the public weal is its compelling force. It is collective and co-extensive with the scope and interests of the state, in that the perpetuating of civilizing influence through the continuance of right government is its inspiration. Whatever else it may be, the exercise of charity in the modern state is essentially a function of government.

If, then, a gift to charity is a public trust—and be it remembered that the fiduciary relation attaches, whether such gift be by will or deed or in change out of a business man's pocket—what, then, shall we say of the relationship to the state of the person or association which assumes the burden of applying that gift to public uses? If our analysis be correct, I think we may answer our original question by saying that the incorporation of a charity is an act of sovereignty, creating and enfranchising a public trusteeship for the application of trust funds and personal service to public betterment.

IV.

Reviewing the whole field of our inquiry, I submit, finally, that these three conditions prevail: *First,* that we are in America, today, facing the most acute necessity for a system of charitable endeavor that is less wasteful and worth more for a dollar than now; that has a broader horizon than now; that sees farther into the future than now; that is based upon a more thorough understanding by both the worker and the general public.

Second, the courts of the United Kingdom and of these United States have long since declared that a gift to charitable uses is a trust fund for the benefit of the indefinite public, that is,

the whole community; that as such it can never be given back, but is forever consecrated to those uses or such like purposes as the courts shall declare; from which facts it must follow that every charitable enterprise in my state or yours, in my county or yours, in my town or yours, is a public trust; and if it be incorporated under your laws or mine, its directors are therefore enfranchised trustees of a public trust—a trust all the more sacred in that it stands to the benefit of the community and not for mere individual use.

Third, that our statute law of charity incorporation and regulation is still confessedly founded upon the laws of property; that its progress is decades behind our courts in its understanding of the governmental aspects of charity; that it has been so busy conserving the property rights of the individual, regulating business corporations to prevent dishonest takings, as to forget the vastly greater importance of organized effort at social regeneration and advancement; so forgetful of the vital function which such effort plays in the body politic as to dismiss the entire question in an impatient clause which labels all charitable incorporations as enterprises *not for profit,* and permits endless latitude in name, purpose and activity, which finally says in effect: "Go ahead with your enterprise. You need never report to this government what you do or how you do it, how much you beg, how much you spend or the result. It is nobody's business but your own."

V.

Having in mind these three sets of conditions, and believing that the members of this conference should apply their minds to a better governmental procedure in fathering charitable trusts, I make bold to offer you a skeleton form of what I think should be the minimum statutory requirement in the incorporation of charities:

Section 1. Seven or more persons, all of whom are citizens of the United States and a majority of whom are residents of this state, may form a corporation for any of the purposes named in the following section:

Sec. 2. Such corporation may be formed for any charitable, benevolent, philanthropic, or eleemosynary purpose; or for any educational, religious, civic, social, medical or other purpose, where the primary object is the doing of charity.

Sec. 3. Articles of incorporation, duly adopted by the organization and signed and acknowledged by the incorporators, must be filed with the state authorities, setting forth the corporate name, place of business, purpose, and the number and names

and addresses of the trustees or managers who are to manage the corporation for the first year.

Sec. 4. The said incorporators shall adopt by-laws, a certified copy of which shall be filed with the state board of charity (or corresponding authority), and no change in said by-laws shall be valid unless within a reasonable time a certified copy of such change shall have been filed with said board.

Sec. 5. The purpose for which the corporation is formed shall be so stated in the articles of incorporation that the specific character and scope of its work may be readily determined therefrom.

Sec. 6. No corporation created hereunder shall engage in any kind of work or activity which is not within the clearly defined limits of its charter until a certificate of change of purpose has been approved and registered as herein provided. Any corporation violating the provisions of this section shall be subject to dissolution.

Sec. 7. No corporation created under this chapter shall have or issue shares of capital stock.

Sec. 8. No charter shall issue under this chapter until the incorporators and their purposes have been inquired into* by the state board of charity, or corresponding authority, full public hearing given, and a certificate issued by such board† or authority, stating that they find the incorporators to be persons fit and of ability to conduct the charter properly, that the purpose is charitable, that there is a need for it in the community and that in its opinion the welfare of the community would be advanced by enfranchisement.

*The following experience of the Massachusetts Board of Charity illustrates the need of compulsory investigation: A man who professed to be a minister but who was unable to show a license to preach, or any evidence of ordination, applied for a charter to conduct a charitable home for adults. He had an unsavory moral reputation in police circles and the house where the so-called charitable and religious work was carried on had harbored a number of loose characters of both sexes who had been in court for drunkenness and offences against good morals. The inmates of the place were able-bodied and subsisted by begging money, food, and clothing from the public. They charged ten cents for the free lodgings which they claimed to offer the poor of both sexes, and the lodgings were dear at any price.

The Board, after investigation, disapproved the application and the charter was refused by the Secretary of State.

These persons immediately applied for a charter as a religious body and, as no investigation is required in such case, the charter immediately issued.

†The desirability of final approval resting with the supervisory charitable authority is exemplified in the following instance: A group applied for a charter to make charitable loans to the poor. The investigation showed that loans were made chiefly to those who joined

Sec. 9. No certificate of change of name or of purpose of a corporation created under this chapter shall issue except by the process described in section 8.‡

Sec. 10. Every corporation created hereunder shall make an annual report of all its operations, over the oaths of its President, Secretary and Treasurer, and be subject to annual visitation and inspection by the State Board or authority mentioned in Section 8.

and paid dues. These members were mostly small merchants who borrowed about $50.00 at a time from the fund in order to take advantage of cash discounts in meeting their bills. Some of them borrowed on behalf of persons who owed them money for goods sold. In this way they got immediate payment for the sale, while the fund became the creditor. As they were men of some influence in their community, they created a large part of the fund by soliciting merchants and politicians for contributions. When these merchants gave coal, groceries, etc., the members would sell them off to their own membership at wholesale prices.

The Board disapproved the application but the charter was granted by the Secretary of State.

‡The need of this section is shown by the following case: A group of persons filed an application for a charter for a dispensary. When the application was referred to this Board for investigation, they immediately withdrew their application, as they were planning a commercial activity which would not have stood investigation as a charity. They thereupon bought a charitable charter from a dispensary which had just closed its doors, changed the name to the one which their application bore and are now doing business under this re-named, second-hand charter.

DISCUSSION: The speakers on informal discussion were: H. H. Shirer, Columbus, O.; Frank J. Bruno, Minneapolis; Henry Stewart, Chicago; Charles Whiting Williams, Cleveland; A. W. Abbott, Orange, N. J.; Benjamin C. Marsh, New York; Amos W. Butler, Indianapolis; L. A. Halbert, Kansas City.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

PROGRAM

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Child Labor, roundtable, p. 514.
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Taxation, section meeting, p. 556.
Illness Insurance, section meeting, p. 539.

Unemployment: Problem and Remedies*

Henry R. Seager, Ph. D., Professor of Political Economy, Columbia University, New York City

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Unemployment, the problem we are to discuss this evening, has become a word of ominous, even sinister, meaning. Through it, this winter, we have seen hundreds of thousands of families reduced to destitution, desperation and final dependency on public or private charity. "Hundreds of thousands" is no exaggeration. In New York city alone it was found, through investigations made in January and February—one through agents of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and the second through enumerators of the Federal Department of Labor—that there were not far from 400,000 unemployed (442,000 according to estimates based on the first inquiry, and 398,000 according to the second). Since New York city contains less than one-twentieth of the population of the United States, and since few parts of the country escaped some share in the industrial depression, "hundreds of thousands" is seen to be a moderate statement.

I do not wish to reflect on other communities, but in New York the response of public and private charity, though great, was confessedly inadequate. It was my good, or ill, fortune to serve as a member of Mayor Mitchel's Unemployment Committee, In that position I must confess to having been more impressed by what was not undertaken and accomplished, than by what was initiated and carried out. And this was not because the committee was not a representative one. On the contrary, it represented all too accurately the attitude of comfortable public opinion with reference to this question—its tendency to minimize

*General session Saturday, May 15, 8:15 P. M. Joint meeting with the National Federation of Settlements.

the evil, its easy acceptance of superficial rather than fundamental remedies, its preference for private charity and distrust of public action, and finally its willingness to relax its efforts as soon as the crisis is past and leave the community as little ready to meet the next crisis as it was to meet the last one.

It is this attitude of comfortable public opinion with reference to unemployment, not the work of any particular committee, which I wish to combat this evening. For I believe that the problem of unemployment can be solved, and that the body of social workers which has been drawn together by this Conference should regard this as one of its most urgent and important tasks.

Unemployment in its larger aspects is an industrial, not a personal, problem. It was widespread this last winter chiefly because of the dislocation of our industries due to the European War. This should not cause us to forget that it was also widespread the winter before, when there was no war or rumor of war, and that, not only in this country but in every country, it is recognized by economists as a problem of growing seriousness. Underlying and magnifying unusual causes of employment· like the present war, or the change in the tariff two years ago, are persistent and regularly recurring causes. Of these the principal are changes and improvements in methods of production and the increasing tendency toward seasonalty in industries. Business in the United States is in a highly dynamic condition. Old firms are failing and new firms are starting up almost every week in almost every branch of industry. Methods of production are changing, labor-saving machinery being introduced to displace labor and new combinations of labor and machinery being devised to afford employment to new types of workers at the expense of old types who find themselves no longer required. This constant shifting gives rise to a large amount of at least temporary unemployment while adjustments are being made to the new conditions.

Added to this shifting of employments is the irregularity due to the seasonalty of so many important industries. Farming is still our most important single interest. Hundreds of thousands of persons are employed on American farms in the summer who are not needed in the winter. Other hundreds of thousands find summer employment in excavation work, road building, in connection with transportation on the Great Lakes, in the canning industries, etc., who cannot be employed in the winter. To these industries which are seasonal because the nature of the work requires its suspension in the winter, are added others,

quite as important in the aggregate, which are seasonal because the demand for their products varies with the seasons. Pre-eminent in this class are the different branches of the clothing industry. Nearly all of them have two busy and two dull seasons, related to the demands for winter and summer garments respectively. It is the universal testimony of those in these trades that the busy seasons are becoming more concentrated and the dull seasons more prolonged in consequence of the growing insistence on the part of all consumers that their garments be in style. To be up-to-the-minute in the garments that they turn out manufacturers are constrained to hold back their making orders until the mysterious influences that control styles have registered their verdict. Then there is a feverish rush to turn out the garments likely to be required in the shortest possible time. Contractors and sub-contractors are called in, home-work is resorted to on a great scale, all the devices of ruthless competition are used to speed-up industry to the greatest possible extent. The more active and concentrated the busy season, the greater the reaction when the dull season sets in. This is necessarily a period of widespread unemployment. The impairment in the savings of the garment workers that results from it makes them the eager victims of the second rush season. Glad to get work at all, they are easily persuaded to over-work and the same vicious circle is repeated.

When I have been asked to propose remedies for unemployment this winter, I have felt like a man called in to help put out a fire in a town without a water supply or any apparatus for fire fighting! What the situation demanded was immediate action, but we had failed to provide the machinery for making immediate action effective. For the same remedies which would lessen the evil of unemployment, which we have always with us, would be invaluable in a crisis such as we have had with us this winter, and we had not provided those remedies.

Since unemployment is primarily an industrial problem, the remedies must be sought in such a reorganization of our industries as will confine it to the narrowest possible limits, and such provision for those who must still be unemployed for part of the year as will protect them from the suffering and demoralization to which they are now exposed. The measures that must be utilized to reduce unemployment to the narrowest possible limits are the regularization of industry, the dove-tailing together of industries whose busy seasons alternate, the creation of an efficient system of free public employment bureaus and the far-sighted planning of public work so that it may be prosecuted most actively when private industry is dullest. Provision for

those who will still experience unemployment even after these measures have been taken, must be sought in unemployment insurance. These are the five remedies that I wish to urge on your attention. Fortunately we have an expert, Mr. Barnes, who is to follow me, to describe the function of public employment bureaus, so I may confine myself to the other four.

The regularization of industry is called for by the best interests of employers, employees and consumers. Each class may contribute something toward bringing it about. Employers direct our industries and are chiefly responsible for the way in which they are carried on. Many of them are fully alive to their responsibilities and give much thought to the interests of their employees. Many, however, seem to feel no responsibility beyond paying the wages from day to day that they have agreed to pay. When business slackens they discharge employees wholesale, knowing from experience that these employees will be only too glad to come back when the busy season comes again. Methods of "hiring and firing" are sometimes so inconsiderate of the interests of employees that ten persons are taken on and discharged in the course of a year to keep one continuously employed. In contrast with this there are other cases where a business whose trade is largely confined to one short season—the manufacture of Christmas and New Year's cards, for example—has by careful planning spread the work out continuously through the year. It is sometimes said that the individual employer can do nothing to regularize employment, that he must follow the policies of his least scrupulous competitors; but this is an exaggeration. By giving thought to the matter, by booking orders earlier, by combining standard lines with those influenced by changing fashions, by making up stock in the dull season, some employers have shown that even seasonal industries may be made less irregular to the advantage of the employer and the still greater advantage of employees. Moreover, employers might and ought to work together through their associations to lessen seasonal fluctuations. It is sometimes charged that employers deliberately change the styles from season to season, so as to be able to sell more goods. I do not know much about it, but my impression is that they are as much the victims of changing fashions as are consumers. At any rate, I know that in one branch of the boot and shoe industry New England manufacturers have combined in creating a Styles Committee, whose task it is to try to standardize products and lessen the losses due to the depreciation of stock that is not of the very latest design.

Employees are even more concerned than employers to regularize employment. I think their efforts to reduce the amount of

home work and over-time in seasonal industries should be in every way encouraged.

Much also might be accomplished by consumers. The "Shop Early" campaign of the Consumers' League has already had an appreciable influence in lessening the rush and strain of the holiday trade. A "Shop Regularly" campaign is equally needed. Women are much more responsible for—or much more the victims of—the vagaries of fashion than men. The greater amount a woman must spend to be well-dressed than her husband is a matter of heated discussion in every family I know. Nothing would go further to convince a doubting public that women are ready to assume the same political responsibilities as men, than a successful effort on the part of the leaders of the women's movement to standardize women's dress. This would not only relieve women of the harrassing and time-consuming care they now give to their clothes, but help along the regularization of employment in the garment trades, and to that extent lessen unemployment.

The most familiar illustration of dove-tailing of industries whose busy seasons alternate is the familiar combination of the coal and ice business. A combination of much greater significance is that of farm work in the summer and home-work in city tenement houses in the winter, on which so many Italian families depend for their year's livelihood. But for such combinations, effected in a haphazard way by the workers themselves with little aid in the form of vocational guidance or wisely directed employment bureaus, unemployment would be even a more serious problem in the United States than we ordinarily experience.

The regularization of industry has obvious limits beyond which it cannot be carried. Farming must remain predominantly a summer occupation; removing snow from city streets exclusively a winter's task. At best, in a country like the United States there must be a large amount of shifting of workers from industry to industry and from section to section. This makes the remedy which Mr. Barnes will discuss, an efficient system of free public employment bureaus able to connect the manless job and the jobless man promptly and with a minimum of trouble both to employer and employee, the most important measure in any program for relieving unemployment.

The fourth remedy for unemployment, which in a winter such as that we have just passed through must be called in to the largest possible extent, is the prosecuting of public works

like subway construction, road building, manufacturing uniforms for the military and civil government employees, etc., which will give employment to those not needed in private industry. All possible pressure should be brought to bear on the city, state and national governments to work out plans for public improvements extending over the next ten years or so, with a view to being ready to push such work with vigor when the next serious period of unemployment overtakes us. The principal cause of the unemployment we have just passed through was the war. The principal cause of the industrial revival we are now experiencing is war orders that have come to some of our manufacturers in huge volume. Business prophets are now looking forward to a year of great industrial activity, but before next winter comes the war may be over, war orders that have not been executed may be cancelled and our industries may be again dislocated in the process of adjustment to peace conditions. Is it too much to ask that those who direct public policies, instead of congratulating themselves on the fact that the worst is over, make plans and set aside money now to be used when the next emergency arises? Any prudent business man would so apply the lesson of last winter. Cannot we expect our public officials to show an equal degree of forethought?

Even if all the measures that I have described were taken and every effort were made to regularize industry, to train workers and to connect those out of work with available opportunities for work, there would still remain a considerable number of unemployed in the dull seasons. A large number of manual workers are sure to be out of work in the winter in a country like the United States, when farming industry is largely suspended, when northern lakes and rivers are frozen over and when construction work must be largely discontinued. In the same way the clothing industry, so long as people dress differently in summer than in winter, and try to dress stylishly at all seasons, will have its busy and its dull seasons. The last measure in a complete program for dealing with unemployment is unemployment insurance.

For wage-earners a moderate amount of unemployment each year is not, or should not be, a disadvantage. The only way the wage-earner can get a continuous vacation, ordinarily, is by being unemployed. Everyone ought to have a vacation. Two weeks off every year is a modest enough standard. If by some plan wage-earners could be divided up into twenty-six equal groups, and each group given two weeks' holiday in rotation the proportion unemployed would be four per cent. This proportion

would be doubled to eight per cent. if four weeks' holiday, two weeks in every six months, were provided for.

Unemployment insurance aims, on the one hand, to provide wage-earners with assured, though modest, incomes during the periods when they are unemployed; and, on the other, to encourage the passing around of unemployment, so that, instead of falling with crushing weight on a minority of wage-earning families, it will be shared in by a larger number and become for them the means to periodic vacations.

That the curse of unemployment can thus be transformed into the blessing of a needed holiday may seem to many of you too good to be true. But this claim is not based on mere speculation. In well organized trades, where seasonal unemployment recurs regularly year after year, as in the building trades, something like this is actually achieved by the out-of-work benefits of trade unions long common in the United Kingdom and beginning to be introduced into the United States. It was, in fact, in the form of the out-of-work benefits of trade-unions that unemployment insurance first made its appearance. These benefits were so popular that in the United Kingdom, before the national insurance act of 1911 was passed, eighty-one of the one hundred principal unions had them and expended on them about one-third of their total incomes.

In these well-organized trades, the trade union secretary acts as an employment agent. In the interest of fairness he tries to prevent any member from drawing his out-of-work pay for an unreasonable length of time. Consequently, in supplying to employers the names of men who desire work, he picks out those who have received unemployment benefits longest. By this means, if the proportion of unemployed is not too great or too long-continued, the normal period of unemployment for any individual wage-earner is prevented from exceeding a reasonable holiday. The average number unemployed from 1894 to 1908 never exceeded eight per cent in the organized trades in the United Kingdom from which returns were regularly obtained. Eight per cent. of unemployment passed around among all the wage-earners in an industry means, as already explained, four weeks lost time in a year—a month's vacation.

With its national system of free public employment exchanges, established in 1909, in successful operation, the United Kingdom introduced in 1911 its system of compulsory unemployment insurance for employees in building and construction work. By this step it became the first country in the world to attack un-

employment as a national problem. Employers in these trades are required to see to it that their employees secure from the government insurance offices, of which 1,000 odd were opened in addition to those equipped in the 430 employment bureaus, unemployment insurance cards. On these they are required to paste each week five pennies' worth of insurance stamps, which they buy like ordinary postage stamps from the post offices. They are required to pay one-half the price of these stamps, or five cents a week, for each employee, themselves, and permitted to deduct the other half from wages.

To the sums secured by the sale of the stamps the government adds out of the public treasury one-third more, or three and a third cents a week for each insured employee. Though so small in amount these payments aggregated in 1913 about £2,300,000 or $11,500,000, out of which benefits could be provided. The benefit paid is not large, only seven shillings a week, but enough under English conditions to preserve a family from outright destitution. This may be increased by trade unions in organized trades on condition that the union pays at least one-fourth of the total, so the usual benefit in such trades is twelve shillings a week. Moreover, to encourage trade unions to provide out-of-work benefits for their members, the government grants a subsidy of two shillings per unemployed member to every union which pays a benefit of twelve shillings a week, provided that in administering the system the union conforms to regulations applying to the compulsorily insured. In 1913, in addition to the 2,400,000 compulsorily insured, 600,000 were voluntarily insured through their unions. The chief limitations on the benefits are that they begin only with the second week of unemployment and continue for not more than fifteen weeks in any one year.

There is every evidence that this plan was working quite successfully up to the time of the war. Also it seems to have met the severe test of war conditions without drawing very heavily on the reserve fund that had been accumulated and now seems to be operating as well as in the preceding period of peace. In the first year the income exceeded the expenditure by about £1,600,000, or $8,000,000, and, though a considerable reserve is needed, it looks as though the government had been unduly cautious in its estimates and could afford to pay a higher benefit than the seven shillings a week it now provides. This success has been due to the care with which its operation was safeguarded so as to prevent fraud, on the one hand, and to induce employers to exert themselves to lessen the amount of unemployment, on the other.

There is no kind of insurance that presents the same temptation to fraud as unemployment insurance. Anyone can imitate a man out of work and anxious to get work. It is the most familiar kind of imposture in modern communities. Moreover, there are always wage-earners who find work so distasteful that they will eagerly seize any opportunity to get out of it. They are the small minority, but numerous enough to wreck any plan of unemployment insurance if not held in check. The only sure way of testing the good faith of a man who says he wants work is to offer it to him. It is right here that the British public employment bureaus render an indispensable service. Of the 400,000 insured persons who were unemployed during the first six months that the British law was in full operation, 30 per cent. were found jobs before the end of the first week. Sixty-two per cent. were found jobs before the expiration of the fifteen weeks during which unemployment benefits were paid to them, 7 per cent. were for some reason disqualified from receiving benefits, and only 1 per cent. remained unemployed after the period when their benefits ceased.

In practise the system thus served in large measure its purpose of passing unemployment around—one-third of the total number insured being unemployed at some time in the year—and of giving some income to the unemployed during their involuntary holiday. As confidence is established in the ability of the employment bureaus to find jobs for their clients, the anxiety which has been associated with unemployment will disappear, and men who are temporarily out of work will be able to extract some pleasure from the experience.

Employers are given a strong motive for trying to regularize employment by two circumstances: First, they have to pay one-half of the premium. If they can reduce unemployment so that the income of the fund will prove more than is needed they have a good case for demanding that the premiums be made smaller. Second, if they pay premiums for the same employee for fifty weeks in the year they are entitled under the plan to a refund of one-third of their contribution. This gives them a motive for trying to employ continuously as many of their employees as possible.

Another ingenious feature of the system has made it acceptable to steady-going workers who are so valuable to their employers that they run little risk of being discharged. Any wage-earner who has been insured against unemployment for ten years and has made 500 contributions to the fund, may, on reaching the age of sixty, claim a refund of all that he has put in

less all that he has received in benefits compounded at 2½ per cent. interest. For him the system combines the advantages of government-guaranteed savings for old age with those of unemployment insurance.

It would be rash to claim that the British system is already an assured success. It was only just getting under way when the war came, and who will say what may befall this and other European plans of social insurance before that titanic struggle is over? These plans are not suited to a world of men gone mad with the lusts and hates of war. Even unemployment, such as we have known this winter, seems easily endurable in comparison with the horrors of life in the trenches! The war has temporarily eclipsed the forward movement of social reform in Europe. It is difficult for us in this country not to have our eager desire for better social and industrial conditions also stifled by our daily contact with the ghastly details of this world calamity.

In coming together in this conference we have testified our resolution to rise above this paralysing influence. Up to the outbreak of the war the British plan of unemployment insurance was proving successful. There is nothing in our American conditions that should prevent us from introducing a similar plan here. Several of our trade unions, like the Cigar Makers and the Printers, have out-of-work benefits in successful operation. These and our municipal and state public employment bureaus can be made the starting points for systems of obligatory, state-directed unemployment insurance. The American Association for Labor Legislation, through its Social Insurance Committee, is working out the details of such a plan, and, when bills embodying its proposals are introduced in the state legislatures, I hope they may command your unqualified support.

In the five measures that have been urged, the regularization of industry, the dove-tailing together of employments whose busy and dull seasons alternate, the organization and efficient operation of connected public employment bureaus, the planning of public work so as to make provision for the unemployed when private industry is depressed, and unemployment insurance, I believe we have the essentials of a solution of this problem.

I have dwelt at greatest length on unemployment insurance because it seems to me the most important of these measures. Its introduction depends vitally, however, upon the coöperation of efficient public employment bureaus. It is a gratification to introduce as the next speaker one specially qualified to treat this phase of the subject, Mr. Charles B. Barnes, Director of the New York Public Employment Bureaus.

THE FUNCTION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

Charles B. Barnes, Director, Bureau of Employment, State of New York, Albany

The subject of unemployment has been much under discussion in the past few years, and the conditions in the large cities, especially during the winter time, have been serious. This country has now reached a point where there is a chronic condition of unemployment, brought about through many causes, which we do not have time in this paper to discuss. During the past winter unemployment has been in a very acute stage, due to financial depression, the European war, etc.

All sorts of agencies, such as mayor's committees and other hastily appointed bodies, have attempted to solve, or else offer a solution for, this condition. Naturally, public employment offices suggest themselves as a remedy. The agitation for such offices at the present time has its good and its bad sides. The subject of public employment offices should be brought to the attention of the public but too many people who are urging their establishment regard them in some vague way as a remedy for an acute trouble, without realizing that public employment bureaus are not temporary expedients for an acute situation, but a permanent institution which, in time, will be able to help relieve the chronic condition. The benefit of these offices will only come through the realization by employers and employes that they are a necessary and integral part of our industrial life. It would seem that this realization has to be a matter of growth, and it will necessarily be slow.

If public employment offices had been generally established in all the states, or had been established as a federal institution, 25 years ago, and had been carried forward with a true understanding of their work, they would today be in a position to point out some remedies, both for the chronic and acute condition.

A few of the states have had public employment offices for several years, and at the present time there are 23 states having public employment bureau laws, while in seven other states there are cities which have established municipal offices. There has, however, been no coöperation between these different bureaus. In some of the states having several branches there has been no coöperation between the different offices in the state. All these offices have been handicapped by the lack of appropriations, lack of realization of the true function of a public employment office, and further. because they have to

a large extent been regarded as a political asset. In only four states are they under civil service, and it is in these states that the best work is being done.

The public generally has rather a low regard for employment offices of all kinds, and too often public employment offices are regarded merely as places for handling common labor or else to cater to the unemployable or near-unemployable. In consequence of this wrong impression as to their true use and value appropriations are very low. The same attitude toward them has led to the belief that anybody, regardless of character or ability, can run an employment office. For this reason, the superintendents, who secured their positions in payment for political services, were too often men of limited capacity and with no very high conception of the work to which they were appointed. All this has caused public employment offices, which are such a vital and necessary part of our industrial system, to languish and receive little or no attention.

There has been a revival of interest in the subject now that the matter is being considered from a federal standpoint. Two bills have been introduced in Congress for the establishment of a federal employment bureau. In addition, the United States Industrial Relations Commission has issued a tentative plan for a federal bureau, and in connection with this plan a study was made of the different state employment offices now existing. This has led the Commission in their first report to emphasize the need of a national bureau of employment in connection with the Labor Department, which would coöperate with state and municipal employment offices, which would regulate private employment agencies, and which would establish clearing houses for industrial information, thus uniting all public employment offices into one national system.

An attempt has been made to utilize the post offices throughout the country as public employment offices. Only those who know the highly technical character of the work carried on in an employment office will understand how little can be accomplished through the post office as an employment agency.

Before public employment offices can accomplish the best results, the public generally will have to be educated to their true use and value. The experience of Germany and England has shown how real is the need for a coöperative system of public employment offices covering the entire nation.

Soon this country will have to face the discussion of the establishment of unemployment insurance as has been so clearly shown by Professor Seager. Such insurance does not now seem farther off than did workmen's compensation ten years ago.

No system of unemployment insurance is possible without a fully established system of public employment offices.

We have at present no organization of the labor market, and very little is known about it. In times of industrial depression all sorts of wild guesses are made as to the number of unemployed in the large cities, and there is generally a demand for a census of the unemployed. This it has always been found impossible to take accurately, and in the end each community falls back upon an estimate and hesitates about what shall be done to relieve the unemployment, because of the lack of accurate information as to the extent and character of it. We are now conceiving the possibility, through an extensive and accurate system of registration, of knowing the approximate number out of work, according to their industry and trade.

One of the means suggested by those interested in public affairs to relieve unemployment is the regularization of industry. In too many industries there are a few feverish months of rush, followed by a corresponding period of slackness or entire cessation. Through the study of industry which the public employment offices will have to make while carrying on their daily work information will be gathered of great value to those who seek to regularize industry and to minimize the amount of seasonal and cyclical work.

When one comes to know the importance of the work of public employment offices there follows a realization of how much is required of the workers in these offices, and of the ability and training necessary. The man who acts as superintendent of any public employment office should have demanded of him just as high qualifications as to character, ability and intelligence as are required of those who teach in our high schools and colleges, and his assistants should measure up to the same standard.

In this connection we wish to call attention to the fact that the word *free* should be eliminated from all reference to public employment offices. It is true their services are free, and so also are the services of the public school. We have, however, long since outgrown the use of the term, *free,* in connection with the public schools. Why should we still retain it in referring to the public employment offices, and thus in an indirect way give them the odium of charity? The popular misconception of public employment offices is nowhere better shown than here. No parent at this day thinks of charity when he sends his child to the public school, but he would not patronize a free public employment bureau, except as a last resort.

Too much must not be expected from newly established employment offices. They are as yet in the "little red school house" period of their existence. It must be remembered, too, that the work in an employment office is of a hightly technical character, and that there are at present very few trained workers in this field. One of the benefits of the present offices will be the training of a set of workers who eventually will be capable of dealing adequately with the question of unemployment—workers who come in contact with the needs of industry on the one hand, and the needs of applicants for positions on the other. It is not every man, even though he may be well trained in other lines, who can get from an employer the full description of the kind of worker wanted, and who can take that order in hand and select from the individuals in the line in front of him the one who is best fitted to fill all the demands of that position. It takes, too, a very tactful person to question the sometimes reluctant applicant for work and get from him all the information about himself necessary to know before be can be fitted into the position. Then, further, the present public employment offices have quite a task before them in establishing themselves in the confidence of large employers of labor, and especially employers of skilled workers. So general is the belief that public employment offices only handle the poorer grades of labor, that most employers refuse to seek their aid. This feeling, of course, brings about a disinclination on the part of efficient workers to patronize these offices.

The public bureaus of employment should cater to the needs of every industry and every class of workers, from the professional man to the man who uses a pick and shovel. There is probably only one class of workers which the public employment bureaus are not at present fitted to cope with, and that is the class of unemployable or near unemployable. In every large community there is a class of men—and I take it the delegates to this conference know them only too well—who cannot be induced to hold a job at any one time for more than a few days. After a period, anywhere from three days to three weeks, something causes the man of this class to quit—either drink, dissatisfaction, or inability to do his work. This is the class that charitable organizations are endeavoring constantly to "reclaim." The different agencies go the weary round of attempting to keep them at work. It is a never-ending labor of finding them new jobs. It is the state's duty tenderly, yet firmly, to take charge of these people and, through farm colonies, or by other agencies through which the state's authority can be wielded, gradually to reclaim and cure them, by a long course

of scientific and intelligent treatment. At present this work is left to private charity, which is without authority, and it attempts to do the work of reclaiming the men of this class through the regular channels of industry. It cannot be done. But as the state will not do it, the reclaiming of these people will have to be left to the only agency which now attempts to deal with it—private charity. It is not the function of the public employment bureau to handle these men, and if it attempted to cope with them, it would be dragged down. The public employment bureau has to overcome too many misconceptions and adverse opinions to take this work on its shoulders at the present time. What this class of people can do for the public employment offices is only too well shown in many of the branch offices in western states. These have become veritable hang-outs for the near-unemployable. Decent workmen will not come to the bureaus, because they do not wish to be classed with the people seen and handled there. Employers, on the other hand, may give the public office an order, but it has to be filled from such inferior workmen that they never repeat the order; and, finally, the office degenerates into handling men who beat carpets, do odd jobs, or who are willing to work for starvation wages. It can be conceived that at some time when public employment offices have come into their true estate, then they may have a separate department for handling this class, doing what they can to keep them at work, or otherwise intelligently disposing of them.

But even at the present time public employment offices can do better for private charity than attempt to handle the unemployable. They can commence right now to check the ever increasing flood of this class in two or three very definite ways.

In the first place, they can give practical suggestion and direction to young people who are ready to enter industry. Many thousands of dollars are spent in educating the children of the different communities. After receiving this education, they are turned out of the schools at any time from the fourteenth to the twentieth year, and allowed to hunt their vocation in life with very little well defined or intelligent direction. The child may turn to its parent, who has very limited knowledge as to the industries of his community or the country at large. If the child turns to its teacher, it finds but little more help here, and so in a haphazard fashion it secures a "job." There should be in every community a central point to which the child could turn to learn all about industries, all about opportunities in staple trades and new lines of business, to know which were decaying trades, which were "blind-alley" trades,

and what vocation was best fitted to its education and temperament. To thus save the child from misdirection would cut off one source of supply to the great stream of casual workers and unemployables.

Public employment offices should also be able, in connection with trade unions, to give accurate information to vocational and trade schools as to what should be taught in them to meet the coming needs of the various industries.

Another way in which the public employment offices could help to lessen the number of casuals and unemployables would be to help to shift workers in seasonal industries from one work to another. Many trades and industries can be, or are, carried on for part of the year only, and when the workers leave one trade they have no central point where information can be had concerning some other trade in which they could be employed for the rest of the year. Lacking this, they drift about and soon become members of the great body of under-employed.

The casual workers, as well as the unemployable, are also recruited from the ranks of those who have vainly striven to find work in their own particular trade. Barring the drug habit, there is probably no other thing so depressing to a man as the weary hunt for a job, the being turned away day after day from factory gates and offices. After a few weeks of this sort of thing, men who, under ordinary circumstances, would be good and steady workmen, get into such a depressed state that at last, when work is found, they have become unfitted to do it. Our bread lines contain many men who have gone down under this sort of depressing search.

A man seeking work today finds that he has to go through many avenues to obtain it. The most common way is to apply at the actual place of the work. This means tramping the streets of the city or riding to many parts of the community where work is going on. Or the man may answer an *ad* in the newspaper and find himself in line with many hundreds of other applicants. Or he may insert an *ad* in some newspaper and go the weary round in answer to the replies. If he is a union man, he can apply to the headquarters or to the business agent of his union. If he is a non-union man, or is not opposed to working in an open shop, he can apply to the employment bureau of an employers' association. If he has a family to support, and has reached the point of asking charity, he may be referred to the employment office of some charitable association. If he has a little money, he can go to a private employment agency. Here he may be charged a registration fee,

and if, after some delay, he is finally placed in a position, he will be made to pay anywhere from five to twenty per cent of his first month's earnings.

So many varied ways cause a scattering of energies and a loss of time and money, not only to the employe and employer, but to society as a whole. The method is as primitive as the ox-team, and the inefficiency and waste are very great.

To sum up, then, while public employment offices do not and cannot create jobs, they will minimize the number fruitlessly searching for work, and more quickly bring employer and employe together. They will take the place of the private employment agencies, which so often exploit the workers. They will give intelligent direction to young people who are just starting into their life work. They will point out ways for the regularization of industry and help to shift seasonal workers from one trade to another. In the daily carrying on of all this kind of work, the office will be compelled to collect, through its records and otherwise, a vast amount of information which will be available at all times for public use, information which, at the present time, is brought out only through the work of temporary commissions which attempt hastily to bring together facts which should be collected solely by trained workers who are daily dealing with all phases of industry.

UNEMPLOYMENT: DISCUSSION

Graham Taylor, Warden, Chicago Commons

Unemployment, to those of us who have lived many years in the center of great industrial communities, is more than a problem. It is a personal experience. Those who have suffered from it are more than cases, they are more than figures; we cannot tabulate them. They are our neighbors. They are the breadwinners of little children that come to the day nursery because they have no mother or milk at home. They are the fathers of the boys that are not going to have half a chance in life because of unemployment. They are the daughters of widowed mothers who cannot give their girls a fair chance to keep right. It is a vital human problem, terrible, intensive, very real, grim. Now, people by and large do not realize that. They have no such consciousness of it. You meet some reputable gentleman over the club luncheon table, and he still persists in saying that the time never was in America when an honest, sober and industrious man could not find work. You feel like

putting that sleek gentleman down where your neighbors are. He has never worked as they have. One of those men once said to me, "We feed those people." "No," I said, "they feed you. It is very doubtful if you could raise your own fodder." It was a Russian Jew who taught me this lesson. He was a man of large mental capacity, a man of ability, capable of independent thinking, whom I have heard debate with a professor of economics on the utilitarian theory of value and the professor had all he wanted to do. This man said to me, when he heard I was lending a hand in his neighborhood, "So you are coming down to lend a hand." "Yes," said I. "Well, I hope you know you owe it to us." I falteringly said, "Yes"; but I did not know what he knew, for he turned on me and said, "We make it possible for you to have leisure to learn, and if you come down to teach us who are as capable as you of acquiring knowledge, but have never had any leisure to learn, you are only paying back what you owe us. I said to myself, "Can it be that leisure to learn is a social obligation? Culture is a debt. If we who have not been conscious of that obligation are going to pay that debt we will have to make this subject of unemployment a great deal more of a personal experience. We have got to be more human about it. I do not mean we should be hysterical about it but that we should sense it, and oblige others to sense it.

At the Federation of Settlements we are realizing that we have failed in this. We have had a hard winter, and we have made up our minds that we might as well begin to enter into a movement that hitherto has been sporadic here and there, to study causes and what can be done, not only to mitigate unemployment, not merely to ameliorate it, but to prevent it, to stop it. In order to enter intelligently into any such movement we have got to realize how necessary it is, we must be so sure of it that we can incontrovertibly convince others that it is worth their attention. We must admit unemployment to be periodic, at least. I have lived in Chicago Commons twenty-one years. In that great industrial district surrounding us, there have been terrible periods of intensified unemployment. The first one was right after the World's Fair. With the exception of three or four years perhaps, unemployment has been so chronic that if a man or woman faltered the least bit, if his or her efficiency was impaired just a little by failing health, by nearsightedness, by sickness to which any of us might be subject, by some accident, it has been almost impossible to get him or her back again into the work where he or she had never lost a day for years.

I affirm, without much danger of contradiction that this consciousness of the country-wide nature of unemployment is at last, thank God, beginning to dawn through what one of the speakers has called our "concrete heads." Therefore we must admit that unemployment is both periodic and chronic. Of course the settlement worker looks first at the immediate vicinity. But when we look at the further causes, and the moment you begin to think of the remedies and try to relocate and reconstitute the normal conditions, then you realize that it is a national problem, and it has got to have a national solution. Its solution involves far more than providing mere local relief. It far transcends a mere local area. Our first thought is that we must resort to relief, and yet you have not gone very far in that direction without feeling, if you have any capacity to put yourself in the other man's place, that charitable relief offered in lieu of the opportunity to earn wages is adding an insult to an already intolerable injury.

I know you will say that a great many are out of work because they are incompetent, because they are unsuitable, because of some of the reasons cited here on this platform. I want to ask, how did they become so? There are some who are born lazy, but comparatively few in the long run. Men do not like to take to the road. Men do not become tramps in one downfall. One of the most intelligent tramps I ever knew said to me "For eighteen carat misery, give me the life of a tramp." Charity is necessary, I do not say it is not. God knows what we should do without it. But its higher meaning is justice. "The charity of today," as has been well said, "is the justice of tomorrow."

It is high time we recognize the duty of substituting that justice for charity by giving the man the right to work. If a man has the right to live he certainly has a right to the means of earning his own livelihood. This is nothing but horse sense. It is high time we admit what Mayor Jones of Toledo called "the new right, the right to work." Those who have been out of work in Chicago are just as worthy of a job as anybody here. They are just as free from responsibility for being out of work as anybody could be. By conditions over which they have no control they have been thrown out, as by some great upheaval of nature. Is it fair for the rest of us to fold our arms and let that one family, that one class, that one craft, bear the brunt of our defective civilization? I cannot look myself in the glass, or think of myself as a man, much less a Christian, and be content. I must stir up my own soul with that divine discontent which is the dynamic of all progress. Every step

that we have taken in our own educational career, or in our improvement of methods in this conference has been taken because of discontent with previous attainment. And yet the moment a man is discontented with an economic situation, or with his work, or the conditions of labor, we look askance and think it is a thing we must defy, it is a conspiracy to undo society! I never can understand how that virtue becomes so quickly transferred into a vice.

We must do more than plead for justice. There is a work of discovery to be done if there is to be a larger social consciousness on this subject. I am glad that the Settlement Federation decided yesterday to make unemployment the subject of their year's work, to make an intensive study of their unemployed neighbors in order to answer the questions, why they are out of work? What is being done for them? How may work be created for them?

We also say that people are unfortunate and lack training. But their inefficiency is a result as well as a cause. Those seasonal jobs, that casual work, that terrible fluctuation of labor which before this war came actually drove men like flotsam, and jetsam across the seas. I remember a club of about sixty Hungarians, and how they almost broke me up trying to sing America in their broken English. All at once they disappeared, and I learned they had got out of work, could not find jobs, had just enough money to take them back to Hungary, and they had gone! We have had eloquent talks about the family and the community. Tell me, how would your family fare, if you had to be here today and somewhere else tomorrow in order to earn their bread? What is the family going to be under the conditions of modern industry? I say that a system of industry that takes no account of the family, or parenthood, or childhood, or of any permanent normal order of human relationship has no place in civilization. We must raise people's consciousness up to something better. Therefore, the investigation of facts will lead certainly to a better distribution of labor. Of course, the means of communication and of publicity must be laid under tribute. There is no such means of publicity as the post offices. They might coöperate with state employment agencies in seeking employment, and supplying labor. Then, too, we must be human, with all. I have a neighbor who keeps a saloon, and always has a fine free lunch for men out of work. I asked him how he could afford to do it. "Well," he said, "I will tell you. You know men are not mean. They will be back again when they get a job. I'm glad to tide them over." I wish we were all just that much more human in our way as he was in

his. It is a hard way to do, but sometimes it is better than no way at all.

Our unpreparedness to meet the emergency of unemployment is scandalous. You would think that no such experience had ever been registered in human memory as unemployment. It takes us unawares each time. And yet we know that there were periods of unemployment before, and always have been. Still we let it come on again and again. Did they do that way when this war broke out? I was there during the mobilization and heard the British Parliament, after making an appropriation of $500,000,000 for military purposes, appropriate $20,000,000 more, without a murmur, to keep the building trades at the industrial centers busy. Housing all at once became a national problem. That could not yet have been done in times of peace. It was a war measure. Notwithstanding its tremendous levy for military purposes, Germany is reclaiming waste lands and building docks, roads and public buildings. It seems as though mobilization for peace ought to be quite as possible as for war. As someone said, "the only thing men really plan for is war."

The nations are always preparing for the contingency of war, and when the moment of declaration comes, forth rush the resources for the destruction of life and property. Haven't we wit and wisdom enough to do that in the interest of peace, for the unbuilding of civilization? If not, we should be raised to a new consciousness. Professor Henderson, whose death is lamented by this conference, and by all Chicago, died in the effort against great odds to do something to stem this swift current of our modern industrial system toward chronic unemployment. I want to read you the last sentences written from what proved to be his death bed:

> One of the most interesting and instructive lessons of this bitter winter has been that the so-called "hard-headed" business men, the trades unions, the Socialists, and the academic theorists in the field of social legislation in this great industrial state and city have by various routes met in agreement under the pressure of necessity.
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> The trades-union members of the commission were treated with perfect courtesy by the captains of finance in the same body, and the relations were friendly and frank throughout. Why should not this temporary experiment, in time of a crisis, lead to the organization of a permanent public body in which the situation will always be discussed in the same spirit of patriotism, business wisdom ,and moral earnestness?
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> The lesson has cost more than can be set down in figures but it may after all offer compensation in a more thorough and complete social organization for dealing with that national pest, which corresponds in our day to the famine and black plagues of mediaeval times.

That is a message from the voice that is stilled.

The Settlement Federation has adopted these four planks of a platform for the movement to which Professor Seager referred: first, the organization of a connected system of public employment exchanges; second, the careful arrangement of public work, to be increased in slack seasons and lean years of private industry; third, the regularization of industry in order to furnish work throughout the year; and, fourth, the establishment of adequate vocational training and guidance. The Settlement Federation makes the further proposition that in times of unemployment some industrial training shall be given to the unemployed, for which some payment may possibly be made.

Now, fellow Americans, it would seem as though even this tremendously complicated national problem were not beyond the resources of the wit and wisdom of the most enterprising and resourceful people on the face of the earth. Let us grapple with it in a national way. Let us mobilize for peace.

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CHILD LABOR AND CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION IN THE SOUTH*

A. J. McKelway, Secretary for the Southern States, National Child Labor Committee

For the past fifteen years the South has been considerably hammered for tolerating the child labor system. It has become second nature for the South to take a defensive position when criticised by other sections of the country. And this proclivity, natural enough for historic reasons, has been used to their advantage by the comparatively few industries which have been found guilty of the exploitation of children. Yet, with the limit which has become generally accepted for the period of childhood below which there should be either the prohibition or the strict regulation of employment, 16 years, the actual number of children employed in the South during this whole period has been much smaller than in the more populous sections, especially the states of the East, the Middle States, and the industrial states of the Middle West. Any just accusation directed against the South must relate more to the absence of protective legislation and the non-enforcement of law, whereby children of such tender years have been employed and for such unearthly hours as have shocked the conscience of the country.

*Section meeting Friday, May 14, 11:00 A. M. Mr. A. J. McKelway, presiding.

The National Child Labor Committee was, perhaps, the first organization to recognize that the child labor evil was a national one. It has insisted that both North and South, like Noah's sons, should walk backward and throw the mantle of charity over the shame of a common sin. When the southern people began to move in the direction of abating this evil, the exploiters of little children were quick to assume that they, themselves, represented the South, and were patriotically resenting hostile and alien criticism. As a matter of simple justice it is only fair to say that if the people could have had their way the evil would have been abolished long ago. The people of the South are perhaps responsible for too prolonged indifference on the subject, arising largely out of ignorance of the facts, for 85 per cent. of the South is still rural. Theories of individual parental responsibility, well enough in their way—the doctrine that the best government is the least government, that the liberty of the individual is a greater desideratum than the welfare of the mass—were obstacles in the way of state legislation; while the poverty of the South, which does not even yet admit of complete educational opportunities for the children, was one reason for small appropriations or no appropriations for the enforcement of law. Southern legislatures, while perhaps less influenced by the evils of bossism or of corruption than those of other sections, are no exceptions to the rule when it comes to the matter of the control of a majority, especially in the smaller chamber, the senate, by those who feel that their financial interests are in jeopardy. When we look at the history of such legislation we find that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred there is one industry, the cotton mill industry, that has stood in the way of progressive laws for the protection of children.

Since our meeting a year ago in Memphis we are able to report some progress. A factory inspector was appointed in Mississippi. Georgia and Alabama have both adopted the 14-year age limit for the employment of children in factories, though the law does not go into full effect in Alabama until 1916, and in Georgia the poverty exemption clause still permits children of 12 to be employed. South Carolina, while postponing the child labor law until next year, passed a compulsory education bill, the beginning of its legislation in this particular. In Arkansas, where, under the initiative and referendum, we could go directly to the people, the uniform child labor law, with slight modifications, was adopted by a vote of 73,000 to 25,000—a law which the subsequent legislature sought in vain to repeal. So that, viewing the legislative situation at the present moment and taking as the minimum the 14-year age limit for the employ-

ment of children in industrial establishments, we find that the South has reached that standard, except in North Carolina where the age limit is nominally 13, and South Carolina where it is still 12, and Georgia where with a 14-year age limit 12-year-old children of dependent parents may still be employed, and Mississippi where the age limit is 12 for boys and 14 for girls. Texas has a 15-year age limit for the employment of children in factories where machinery is used; and Kentucky has blazed the way for all the other states in making a 14-year age limit for the employment of children in the street trades. All of these states have put a system of factory inspection into operation except North Carolina, though the value of this inspection varies from the excellent systems in force in Maryland and Virginia to the meager system begun in Georgia. But the example of Arkansas, where an excellent child labor law was adopted by an overwhelming popular vote, confirms me in the contention I have frequently made that the people of the South are in favor of protecting their children against exploitation.

And the South has now an unequalled opportunity for wiping out the reproach which has so long rested upon her by joining with the rest of the country through her representatives in Congress in enacting a federal child labor law. The federal child labor bill introduced in the last session of Congress was favorably reported by the committees of both houses. It passed the house by the rather astonishing vote of 233 to 43. Nearly the whole opposition came from the southern states—from the cotton manufacturing states of the South; and, while there were votes for the bill from Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, West Virginia, Arkansas and Oklahoma, among those who voted against the bill were from North Carolina 7, South Carolina 4, Georgia 9, Alabama 3, Mississippi 6, Texas 5. To say that this opposition from the South reflects the sentiment of the people is as far from the mark as to say that the Arkansas legislature which strove to repeal the Arkansas law represented the sentiment of the people of Arkansas who had adopted the law by a three to one vote.

There is doubtless some feeling in the South that this matter of regulating the labor of the children is the duty of the state and not of the nation. Of course this contention comes with ill grace from those selfish interests which have consistently opposed state legislation about whose constitutionality there could be no doubt, and are opposing national legislation out of their deep reverence for the Constitution of the United

States. But the opportunity of which I speak comes to the people of these few states where a majority of their Representatives in Congress voted against the child labor bill. These representatives have heard but one side of the case from their constituents. The cotton manufacturing associations have duly convened and opposed the measure. The manufacturers themselves are generally persons of prominence, influence and wealth, who do a little more than their share in deciding who shall be nominated and elected representatives from their districts or senators from their states. My appeal is to the people of the South to correct this one-sided impression. If those who are in favor of blotting out this evil and of removing this reproach of inefficient legislation from the South will let their representatives know what they think of the matter and with what kindly sympathy they would regard the intervention of Uncle Sam for the protection of their children, the federal child labor bill will pass the next session of Congress by practically a unanimous vote. The lone representative of New Jersey may still be unconvinced and one or two from New York or Illinois may express their disapproval; but when the people of the South make up their minds to a proposition they have a very persuasive way with their representatives. Nor would we hold it against these representatives if they should change their minds and their votes upon further reflection. The average congressman from the South rather sincerely tries to represent the sentiments of his constituents in legislation wherever he can conscientiously do so. In this particular respect they are all from Missouri and they need to be shown. So, if the friends of child labor reform in the South, actuated by the double motive of humanity to the children and of love for the South, will let their representatives in house and senate know their real mind on this question, we shall have a different sort of a roll call when next the question comes to a vote.

And I desire to say with a considerable degree of assurance that the federal child labor bill is going to pass the next session of Congress. The people of the United States as a whole have made up their minds that the child labor system is a good thing to be banished forever from American soil. That the house will pass the bill promptly is a foregone conclusion; that a few reactionaries in the senate will be able to prevent its passage during the session is almost impossible. In the last presidential campaign both the Republican party and the Progressive party declared for a national child labor law in their respective party platforms. The Democratic platform of 1912 was silent on the question; but the Democratic house and a majority

of the Democratic members of the house have already voted in its favor. I should like to remind the Democratic party, which happens to be my own party, that the last platform preceding that of 1912 on which it made a successful appeal to the American people, namely, that of 1892, contained a declaration that the labor of children under 15 years of age should be prohibited by law, though that platform contemplated state legislation. I may say further that a year from now the political parties will again be appealing to the American people for a vote of confidence, and I do not exaggerate when I say that no better plea can be made either for the retention of one party in power or for the election of another to responsibility than its record upon the child labor question in the coming session of Congress.

STREET TRADES AND THEIR REGULATION

Lettie L. Johnston, Maryland Bureau of Statistics and Information, Baltimore

This is the tenth year of regulation of child labor in Maryland; the first law, with the minimum age limit of twelve years, was passed in 1906. That year over 10,000 permits were issued. The next year almost another 10,000 children were licensed to work. From then on the number licensed to work each year varied from about 6,000 to 9,000. During the last nine years living in Maryland has meant to over 70,000 children between 12 and 16 years of age, an unlimited working day in factory, cannery, mill and store. One-fifth of these lived in the counties. In Baltimore city alone, therefore, there are over 10,000 children from 10 to 16 years of age licensed to engage in industrial and commercial occupations.

The present law, which does not allow children to leave school permanently for a job under the age of 14, has been in effect two years. Although it is a great improvement in many respects over the statute it replaced, its restrictive features have not been such as to reduce perceptibly the number of children entering industry. The percentage of children to adults among the wage earners in the state has not changed from that given in the United States Census of 1910—6.1%. This is inordinately high when compared to the average of the entire country, 2.3%. Moreover it places Maryland in the middle of the five states having the highest percentage of children among

their wage earners—Georgia and Alabama having a percentage not very much lower, and South and North Carolina having a higher one.

Of the children working throughout the state last year, 30% were in the canneries, 18% were engaged in street trades in Baltimore city, 10% in clothing factories, nearly 10% in department and other large retail stores, about 8% in textile mills and 6% in factories producing tin, enamel and sheet iron goods —or 82% in these six industries—the remaining 18% being found in 15 varying industries.

With the exception of canneries, therefore, the newspaper business, which makes up 99% of the street trades of Baltimore, engages a higher percentage of children than any other one industry, and employs them at an earlier age. A child of 12 may, in summer months, work in the canneries; a boy of 10 may sell papers on the city streets the year around. The toleration for this large percentage proportionately of children in the newspaper business may be attributed to four main reasons:

1. The life of the newsboy is generally supposed to be a harmless and healthful one, which reason exists for want of facts in regard to the trade.

2. The sympathy of the public for the youthful hustler stands in the way of a clear vision of the trade, which a reasonable amount of propaganda work would overcome.

3. The busy American wants his newspaper served to him quickly and frequently, which is altogether a matter of habit.

4. The newspaper business needs the profits that the small boy makes possible. This is really the fundamental reason and demands that the searchlight of fact and intelligence be turned upon the newspaper business as an industry and upon the newsboy as the child in industry.

The Maryland Child Labor Committee at the legislature of 1912 succeeded in establishing for Baltimore a 12-year-old standard for newsboys, at the same time that the 14-year-old limit was fixed for working children in general. Two years of experience in enforcing this law brought the Bureau of Statistics and Information face to face with the kind of public opinion that was in existence on the newsboy question, that public opinion built up by the newspapers in the city, namely, that the street seller of 10 is essential to the community and that his protection but not his elimination must be the concern of society.

A year ago there was passed a bill reducing the age limit to ten, because the legislature was persuaded to believe what one of the leading newspapers advocates as true—"Every boy should strive to be a man and from the experience of other big men, the starting time is at the age of ten years." And because there was no public opinion to the contrary, the governor signed the bill, thereby making Maryland the second state in the history of child labor legislation to take a backward step. To the general public, I doubt if this seemed like a backward step. In fact, I doubt if the public, as a whole, is conscious of any law pertaining to newsboys. Newsboys have always been a part of the city street life and seem just as essential to the busy passer-by as is the department store or any other agency furnishing the comforts of life with a minimum of energy. There has been a vast absence of thought on what the maintenance of the newsboys as a public convenience means to the city and state. The newspapers drain the boy's energy and encroach upon his school and recreation hours for the increase of their profits, and then divert public attention to the side of sympathy and commendation for the youthful hustler to whom they are giving an opportunity to support a poverty stricken family. Theatre parties are given to the newsboy or he is treated to a swim at the Y. M. C. A.; baseball teams are organized for him or he is taken to the circus, all of which bring from the public a nod of approval and more paternal favors instead of a public opinion against the toleration of the trade.

The use of the street newsboy is purely American. No other country employs him to the extent that the United States does, and it is the boy of American parentage that supplies the demand. 40% are American Whites; 28% are Hebrews, and 12% are colored—18 different nationalities make up the remaining 30%.

Administration

The task of administering the state child labor law to more than 10,000 working children throughout the state for whom their employers are responsible is an arduous one, in itself. Add to this the licensing and regulating of 2,000 and more street traders—18 per cent. of the total number of working children—who are not employed directly by the industry, but who are scattered over 31 square miles of city streets, it becomes a still more difficult problem. The licensing, alone, is tedious and time-consuming, especially as the Bureau has strained every effort to do it thoroughly. A conscientious effort to administer the letter of the law to the last degree is not only the duty of a

state-appointed bureau, but is the first step towards constructing a substantial public opinion upon which the enforcement of any law must ultimately depend.

The law, as it exists today, provides for the licensing of boys between the ages of 10 and 16 for all street trades—newspaper selling, 10-16 years of age; other street trades, 14-16 years of age. The street seller of any kind is required to wear a badge in plain sight while selling—school boys to wear an oval one and those over 14, who have completed the 5th grade and who wish to sell all day, a square one. The all-day sellers must measure up to the same requirements as the regular working boys. The law allows these boys to leave school at the age of 14 and with a 5th grade education to go on the street from 6 in the morning until 8 at night. The spurts of trade demand his attention only at intervals and leave him time to idle and pick up bad habits. Nine hours out of fourteen between 6 A. M. and 8 P. M. is the average working day for a square-badge boy, but are consumed in two or three hour-periods, with an hour or two between each. He likes this sort of day, for it has the advantage over factory work of variety and freedom, even though it is quite as over-stimulating and disastrous in its effect upon the boy.

Almost the entire number—96%—of all street traders are school boys selling papers, who fall into two general classifications, the street seller and the route server. The boy who only serves a route is not required by law to have a license and to wear a badge. This exception in the law has proven one of its weak spots. Boys of 8 and 9, when found with papers, are conveniently "just serving." No satisfactory definition of the term *serve* has yet been made to determine when a boy is serving and when he is not. As a protection to the boy and a convenience to the agent or distributor of papers, the Bureau has planned to furnish to every boy, bringing a list of his customers, a card authorizing him to deliver at home, store or office address. During 1913 and 1914, 373 route cards were issued upon the voluntary application of the boys. About half of the total number licensed thus far in 1915 are engaged in serving and selling, the other half trusting entirely to the chance of street sales. In the former class is to be found the boy with the business ability, initiative and purpose. A boy who can work up 100 to 150 customers in an office building or a residential section will make 50c or more a day for one or two hours work. School boys earn in this way $3.00 or $3.50 a week and boys regularly employed are known to add to their weekly wage $2.00 or $3.00, by putting in an extra half-hour

or more a day. One boy and his mother together sell and serve 75 papers between 6 and 7:30 in the morning. From 9 to 5 the boy works in an office; he doubles his weekly wage by this extra hour and a half daily. However, this is an exceptional case and by no means possible for the 2,000 boys or any large part of them, however industrious and energetic they may be. The facts as told by the boys, themselves, when securing their licenses for the second or third year, show that it is not the newsboy in general who is a hustler and a business man, but that the boys who earn enough to warrant that title are in the minority. Less than 25% earn more than $2.00 a week. Competition is keen, the number of boys engaged in the trade is large, and the majority or them are too young to be expected to earn more at a trade that is irregular and undirected. About half are under 12 years of age.

Of the 1,566 licensed to sell papers since January 1st, 1915, 196 were securing licenses for the first time and hence could not report on the amount of money earned while selling, and 153 were unable to state their income from papers. The remaining 1,217 reported their weekly earnings as follows:

Less than $2.00	942,	or 77.43%
From $2.00 to $3.00	174,	or 14.29%
From $3.00 to $4.00	65,	or 5.34%
From $4.00 to $5.00	24,	or 1.97%
Over $5.00	12,	or .98%

More than three-fourth of those reporting earn less than $2.00 some of whom earn as low as 10c a week. About 2% earn between $4.00 and $5.00 a week, less than 1% over $5.00. To the boy entering the trade is held out the inducement by the newspaper industry that the hustler can easily earn $4.00 or $5.00 a week. According to the boy's testimony, only 36 out of 1,217 claim to be making that much.

The highest average weekly wage for any one age is $2.40 for the 15-year-old boy. The average is then reduced for each age to $1.05 for the 10-year-old boy. The average weekly wage for the total number reporting earnings is $1.38.

What other industry could secure 2,000 working children for that wage without a public protest?

Inspection

Since November, 1914, the Bureau has made a systematic effort to enforce the law and to regulate the trade on the street. The whole time of one person has been given to the following up of more than 2,000 licensed boys over the entire city and to the lessening of the number of unlicensed boys—a task that

would be impossible if regarded as one of inspecting and regulating every individual boy. Even though the area of the city were smaller, and the number of boys less, one person soon becomes known to all the boys and inspection loses its value. In undertaking the work, the inspector, rather than act as a detective, planned to stimulate into activity the social conscience and to look for coöperation to four sources—the boy's parents, the school, the newspaper offices and the police department. When a boy is found violating, his parents are written to; if selling during school hours, his teacher is notified; and, if it is possible to learn the source of his supplies, the agent is warned. The juvenile court for the boy and the police court for the parent or agent are called upon after all efforts of the Bureau have failed.

Only through the closest coöperation of the schools and the newspaper offices can the Bureau hope for an effective administration of the clause, prohibiting boys from "selling during school hours." Stated as it is, with no specification as to hours, the boys feel at liberty to take advantage of any and every excuse from school to sell papers. The newspapers have objected to a literal enforcement of the law from the point of view that it would work a hardship upon the boy and his family to be denied every opportunity of earning money and that, if excused by his teacher, he should be permitted to buy papers before 3:30. Believing that the fullest education of the boy is to mean more to him than any financial gain, the Bureau takes the stand that no enforcement of the law except as it reads would insure for the boy that opportunity. The attendance officers have unanimously urged a literal enforcement, that the tendency to truancy may be lessened and that the compulsory school attendance law may have its strongest significance.

Selling at night and falling prey to the attractions of the streets at that time are made easy for the boy by the provision of the law allowing a boy to sell until 8 o'clock. The last edition of any paper regularly appears at 5:30, so that by 8 o'clock every boy could be on his way home. During the baseball season, when the extras come out as late as 7 o'clock, or on Saturday night, when the Philadelphia Sunday morning papers reach the city at 10 o'clock and the Baltimore papers are issued at 1:30 A. M., both of which bring large profits, the commercial temptation is too strong for the boy to resist. But, generally speaking, it is the allurement of the streets rather than an incentive to earn money that keeps the boy out until 9 and 10 o'clock. He is to be found around moving picture places, in and out of cafes and saloons, or with the gang on some side

street, engaged in perverted play of one sort or another. 12½% of the licensed newsboys of Baltimore appear on the juvenile court records for violations other than those of the newsboy law. Play that goes wrong results in violation of city ordinances and makes of the boy an offender against society. In a study made by the Federal Bureau on *Juvenile Delinquency and Its Relation to Employment,* the industry showing the largest percentage of delinquency is that of newsboys—21.8%, or almost ¼ of the total delinquency. The four occupations with the largest percentage of delinquency are those with little supervision, namely:

1. Newsboys.
2. Errand boys.
3. Drivers and wagon helpers.
4. Markets.

Two reasons for selling, frequently given by the boy and the parent, are that "there is nothing else to do," and that "selling papers keeps him out of mischief." He sells papers for recreation. The street not only entertains him but pays him for coming out. The pent-up energy of the boy finds natural. expression and freedom from restraint in the street life; hustling in a crowd, the excitement of hopping cars, the diversion of moving-pictures and theatres satisfy his boy nature as school, home and neighborhood life have failed to do. The weeks spent in night inspection have verified these reasons. It was with a realization of the truth of this and the fact that a commercial interest was furnishing recreation and profiting thereby, that permission was asked of the city to turn the City Hall Plaza to a play space for boys at night. This was granted and the Public Athletic League asked to take charge. Now every night from 7 until 9, the ten and twelve-year-old boy is having his play energy directed instead of dissipated and is learning the value of clean, wholesome sport in addition to commercialized activity.

Accidents

Although no records are available showing the number of newsboys injured while selling, the records on file at the police department do show the physical dangers to which boys in general are subjected in engaging in a street trade.

4,474 accidents were reported to the police department during the year of 1914.

17% of these accidents happened to boys under 16.

54% of all the accidents to boys under 16 occurred on the street.

The percentage for one month runs as high as 77% during September.

Last August a newsboy was killed by an automobile while jumping from an electric car. In view of the fact that this was the third fatality to newsboys within ten days as a result of jumping from moving cars, the Public Service Commission took under consideration the advisability of issuing an order prohibiting the railway company from allowing the newsboys to ply their trade on cars not equipped with safety doors. It was learned, upon inquiry, that this was not within their power, but was a matter for the legislature or for the mayor and city council to decide. Moreover, it was discovered that there already was in existence an ordinance of Baltimore city making it unlawful for any unauthorized person to ride on the street cars, but containing at the same time an express proviso to the effect that its provisions shall not apply to newsboys pursuing their vocation.

The Economic Aspect of the Trade

The popular argument that the newsboy is an economic necessity to the family can best be answered by a study of the facts that have come to light in examining closely the budgets of 968 families of newsboys, who gave as the reason for selling that of needing the money.

Fifty-three per cent. or little more than half of this group show a per capita income of less than $2.00. Exactly the same per cent. of newsboys in that group of families are earning between $1.00 and $2.00 weekly and only 15 per cent. more than $2.00. This means that about one-third of the boys bring in a weekly sum under $1.00, hardly enough to justify a week's work in an environment physically and morally destructive to the boy.

Assuming, even, that the earnings of newsboys would comfortably supplement the income, can a city or state afford to be robbed of the economic value of its future citizens? If 968 families do need a larger per capita, how much is it costing the state to allow small boys to earn this for them?

In addition to the cost of administering the law and regulating the trade annually—approximately $2,500.00—the city is maintaining an institution for truant school children, 95 per cent. of whom have engaged in street trades; the state is partially supporting a reform school for delinquent boys, a study of which shows that 43 per cent. have been street traders. If these figures are indicative of anything, they are of the fact that the great state of Maryland is not only refusing to legislate against, but is positively legislating in favor of, an industry for children that

perverts normal productive energy into unnatural and non-productive channels. This waste of youth will mean for the state in another generation a want of manhood.

THE SUPERVISION OF WORKING CHILDREN UNDER THE OHIO LAW*

Helen Thompson Woolley, Ph. D., Director, Bureau of Vocational Guidance, Public Schools of Cincinnati, Ohio

I wish to discuss two points, (a) The kind of law necessary to secure an adequate supervision of working children, illustrating the point by the Ohio Statutes, and (b) The advantages to society to be derived from a supervision of working children.

(a) Leaving out of account other features of a good child labor law, there are three provisions which are necessary to secure adequate supervision of working children. First, the compulsory education law and the child labor law must dovetail in such a way that a child must be either at work or in school up to the maximum age for a working permit. Either the school or the child labor office must be responsible for the child. Second, working permits must be issued to an individual employer only. The re-issuing of working papers is the only method of keeping in touch with working children during a specific period, and of enforcing the law with regard to kinds of work and hours of employment. Third, working permits should be issued under the school board, rather than by the board of health, the department of factory inspection, or a bureau of statistics. There are two reasons for this. The school has far more knowledge of the individual child than any of the other agencies, and is therefore better qualified to advise and supervise him; and, second, the school is the only one of these agencies which possesses the machinery for following up individual cases. In its truancy department, the school has, ready-made, a machinery which can easily be extended to cover the following of children in industry. The truancy department can give to the child labor office of the school the same sort of coöperation it does to the school principals.

(b) The first and most obvious advantage to be derived from a supervision of working children is that it constitutes the only method for a detailed enforcement of the law. If child labor laws are good, it certainly enhances their value to have them well enforced.

*Author's abstract.

The second advantage is almost as obvious. In the process of supervising working children the school amasses information which is of great importance to itself in its educational programme. It is now an assured fact that a progressive school is interested in the future careers of all its children, even those who drop out at the child labor age. The school is anxious to make any legitimate modification of its programme which would really tend toward sending children out better equipped. For a start in this direction there could be nothing more fundamental than a knowledge of the careers of the children who go out, the kinds of work they do, the wages paid them in various industries, the chances of advancement offered them in various industries, their degree of stability as workers, and their own accounts of their industrial experiences. All this information comes incidentally to the office which issues working permits.

Third, such a method of supervision offers possibilities for social research which may or may not be developed by any community. In Cincinnati we have developed such a bureau of research on a private foundation. I would like to put most of the stress of this talk on an account of the Bureau of Research. We have established standards of mental and physical measurements for children of child labor age which are far more adequate than any previous ones. The accompanying charts will illustrate the reliability of the measures. The possession of these standards of measurements makes it possible to institute comparisons between large groups of children. We are comparing in this way working children who have done well in school with those who have done poorly, to see how much difference in the industrial careers of the two groups we can discover. We find that during the first two years the successful school child gets no higher wage than the unsuccessful one, though he is a steadier worker. We are also comparing children who leave school to go to work with those of the same age who remain in school. We have discovered that, even at the start, those intending to remain in school are measureably superior mentally to those who are dropping out. A certain proportion of the working group, even with a fifth-grade schooling requirement, are undoubtedly feeble-minded. The statistics which will give us the comparison of the same group of working children and school children from year to year for a period of years are not yet complete, but a mere inspection of the records makes us sure that the difference in favor of the school series is a progressive one.

Another interesting comparison of groups which we have made is that between public school children and parochial school children. We find that the public school children are

somewhat superior to the parochial school group in physical development, in manual ability, and in mental ability; but, while the difference is very small in the case of the girls, it is quite large in the case of the boys. The industrial records of the two groups show that while the two groups of girls get about the same wages during their first two years in industry, with a slight difference in favor of the parochial group, the public school boys earn considerably more than the parochial school boys. This difference in earning capacity cannot be due to the superior mental and physical endowment of the public school boys, because earning capacity shows no correlation with school grade, while mental and physical endowment do show such a correlation very decidedly. The difference must be due to something different in the type of training offered in the two systems, and to something which affects the boys more than the girls. The series of facts points very decidedly to the manual training and gymnastic work of the public schools as the responsible factor. Since obtaining this series of facts, I have had the industrial superiority of the public school boys confirmed by supervisors of shop work who have dealt with both.

It seems to me that such facts as these are important elements in fixing educational and industrial policies.

DISCUSSION: The discussion on Child Labor was continued informally by Charles H. Patterson, New Orleans; Alfred R. Hussey, Baltimore; Rev. Floyd S. Leach, New York; Miss Anna Herkimer, Baltimore, and Dr. Woolley.

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SHIFTING OF TAXATION TO LAND VALUES AS A MEANS OF RELIEVING CONGESTION AND POVERTY*

Frederic C. Leubuscher, President, Society to Lower Rents and Reduce Taxes on Homes, New York

To-day a larger proportion of the population of the United States is out of work than at any time since the establishment of this republic—yes, since the first colonies fringed the eastern seaboard. Of course, the European war is somewhat responsible for the increase, though according to protectionist logic we should be abounding in prosperity; for the war has eliminated competition with a great part of the "pauper labor of Europe." Even before the war began, however, unemployment had reached its then high-water mark. A year ago last winter it was estimated that in New York State, alone, there were a half-million wage-workers out of jobs; and, with an average of

*Section meeting Saturday, May 15, 9:15 A. M.

three dependents to each worker, at least one and a half million men, women and children were starving or on the verge of want —over 15 per cent. of New York State's population. Note that that was about a half-year before the war began.

This problem of unemployment demands immediate solution. Ex-President Taft, when asked for the remedy, answered in ignorance and despair, "God knows." There are many men and women who think they know the remedy and are teaching it. They say that this country, instead of failing to support its hundred millions of population could support in luxury the sixteen hundred millions of the earth, with abundance of room and production to spare. They argue that all of man's material wants—food, clothing and shelter—are produced in only one fundamental way—by the application of labor to land. As population increases, so does the demand for food, labor and shelter. Naturally, there should follow an increased demand for labor; instead of which we have a lessened demand. Why? Here are millions of empty willing *hands;* there are millions of unused fertile *lands.* Why do not the hands get at the land? Because something has come between the hands and the lands. If that "something" can be got out of the way, charitable institutions will find increasingly less for them to do.

Rural Conditions

Despite the fact that over half of the immigrants of the past two decades were peasants, 46.3 per cent. of our population in 1910 lived in cities and towns containing over 2,500 people, while in 1880 this proportion was only 29.5 per cent. During the decade 1900-1910 our urban population increased 38.4 per cent., the rural only 9.4 per cent. Hence the "back-to-the-land" cry; but this is futile unless farming can be made profitable. Land banks and systems of rural credits are indications that this is appreciated.

Another measure of relief is the parcel post which has ended the express companies' extortions. The farmers, themselves, are beginning to eliminate the middleman. All these give some measure of relief, but in doing so really increase the burden; for they tend to make the land more valuable. Our tax system compels the average family to pay $180 a year in local, state and federal taxes and in the consequent higher prices. (See Note 1.) Small farmers are particularly hard hit. They run heavy risks on their crops and cannot strike for high wages. No legislature has yet suggested a minimum wage for small farmers, though in 1910 there were about 840,000 farms of less than 20 acres and 317,000 under 10 acres.

In 1900, about 35 per cent. of the occupiers of farms were tenants, in 1910 nearly 37 per cent.; and while the number of farm owners and managers increased during this decade by 7.9 per cent., the number of farm tenants increased 16.3 per cent.—more than twice as rapidly. The value of farm lands increased, during this decade, 118.1 per cent.—over fifteen billions of dollars. In 1910 nearly one-fifth of the farm acreage of the country was in holdings of one thousand acres or more (there were several holdings of half a million acres or over), while only one per cent. of the acreage was in farms of less than twenty acres. Out of 6,361,000 farms, however, over one-third, or 2,254,000, were of less than fifty acres. Obviously, the value of improvements—buildings, ditching, machinery, cattle, stock, crops, tools, etc.—is, compared with the value of the land, much larger on small farms than on large ones. The Senate Commission on Agricultural Credit reported, last year: "Under these conditions —rising land values and cumulative taxation—the land is slowly but surely passing from resident ownership to landlord ownership. Farm tenancy is undeniably on the increase." A relatively few thousand people own a large proportion of the farm acreage of the country.

From 1900 to 1910, farm land values increased almost exactly twice as much as the value of live stock, two-thirds more than the value of implements and machinery and fifty per cent. more than the value of farm buildings.

Out of the original domain of the United States, amounting to 1,441,436,160 acres, by June 30, 1909, 725,136,982 acres, including most of the best land of the country, had been disposed of to individuals or corporations or for specified purposes, while 324,478,060 acres had been included in reservations.

At least ninety per cent. of the value of the average farm consists of improvements and only ten per cent. is site value. The bare site value of a farm selling for $5,000 is usually $1,000. In cities, conditions are almost reversed. Of the $8,000,000,000 total assessed value of New York City's real estate about $5,000,000,000 is land or site value, leaving only about $3,000,000,000 for the value of the buildings. So that a system that taxes improvements and land values at the same rate, bears more heavily on the rural than on the urban dweller. Strange to say, the farmer is the most violent opponent of the movement to remove the tax from improvements.

Urban Conditions

In almost every American city of 25,000 or more there is a land monopoly similar to the rural land monopoly, while in

most large cities the concentration of land ownership is even more marked.

Eight families, estates and corporations own about one-twenty-third of the value of land in New York City. The sites of nine buildings in the "loop" district of Chicago represent about one-thirty-fifth of the land value of the city. Seven families, estates and companies own about one-fifteenth of the acreage in the District of Columbia, exclusive of parks, governmental reservations, streets and exempt land.

The atrocious housing conditions existing in most American cities are well known. While New York City's population is packed tier upon tier in three to seven story tenements, crowded three to five in a room, similar room overcrowding, due to high rents, is prevalent in many if not most other cities, and in not a few sanitary conditions are worse than in New York.

What connection, if any, is there between monopoly in urban and agricultural land, and that involuntary poverty which it is the avowed purpose of the National Conference of Charities and Correction to exterminate?

This can best be ascertained by studying the results of land monopoly and our tax system under which land is taxed at so low a rate that the owners are enabled, and even encouraged, to hold it out of use. It must be borne in mind that most of the mineral and agricultural lands have been given away, practically, to individuals and corporations, while most of the big land holders in cities secured their holdings for a small part of the present selling value—or got it free.

The most important results are the following:

(1) Land is held out of use—and the amount of employment is reduced.

(2) Manufacturing, commerce, trade, production and industry in general are heavily taxed, and hence, curtailed; for it is a truism that the power to tax is the power to destroy everything—except the use of land.

(3) The consuming power of the workers is reduced, which also curtails employment.

(4) Money is sunk in high prices for land, upon which unearned and inflated prices the current rate of interest in the form of rent is demanded.

(5) Governments, local, state and federal, borrow money for improvements and expenditures, which should be met by current taxation on land values, that are made by all the people in the community.

Tax rates on full land values vary from over two per cent. in certain boroughs of New York City, to less than one per cent. in some rural districts. The heavier the carrying charges the more quickly will the owners of land either improve it themselves, or sell it at a reasonable price to some one who wishes to do so. Were the tax rate on full land values increased to three or four per cent., a much larger acreage of farm lands would be used, and would be used more productively, i. e., intensively, while suburban land near large cities, instead of being left vacant and unsightly, would be used for gardening. Vacant lots in cities would similarly be improved sooner, with the result that rents would be reduced and home ownership, directly or through co-partnership societies, would be facilitated. More employment would naturally result.

The London Conference on Unemployment in 1908, recommended:

> That drastic legislation for taxing land values and for enabling public authorities to compulsorily acquire land on the most reasonable terms, is urgently needed to bring all land into useful and productive occupation.

The English Parliamentary Land Enquiry Committee reported last year, after considering the arguments for a national tax upon land values:

> A careful review of the above considerations leads us to the conclusion that the arguments in favor of the principle of a national site tax as one of the sources of national revenue are unanswerable.

The total annual cost of government, local, state and federal, is approximately $2,987,000,000 for current expenses. (See Note 2.) The total revenue secured by taxing land values is only about $650,000,000. (See Note 3.) Four-fifths of the cost of government (approximately $2,200,000,000) is paid by taxes upon industry, labor, and the products of labor, since all taxes, except those on land values, are derived from these sources. The annual tax rate upon all producers and agents of production—buildings, machinery, tools, mortgages, merchandise, crops and other personal property—varies from one per cent. to about two per cent. This is a fixed charge upon production, a millstone around its neck, and it inevitably curtails production. All taxes, except those on land values, are shifted on to the consumer of the goods or articles taxed, or the user of the services taxed. Income and inheritance taxes likewise cannot be shifted, but as only about five per cent. of the $2,987,000,000 are raised from these taxes, they may be considered negligible quantities in the discussion of this problem. In passing, I might add that a

large increase of the land value tax will reduce most of the swollen fortunes that pay the income and inheritance taxes.

The English Parliamentary Land Enquiry Committee, quoted above, reported further:

> Owing to the inclusion of the value of buildings and other improvements in the basis of assessments, the present rating (local tax) system hampers industry in general and agriculture in particular." . . . "The total or partial exemption of buildings and other improvements from rates (local taxes) would stimulate the development of industy and agriculture and encourage the provision of working class houses.

Obviously, money spent for taxes, direct or indirect, cannot be spent for food, clothing and shelter. If the cost of government were met by taxing land values most families would be saved from $100 to $130 a year. (See Note 4.)

Were twenty million families each to spend annually only $100 more for food, clothing and shelter, this would mean an increase of two billion dollars in consumption, and of course would provide much additional employment.

The selling price of land is its untaxed or clear price. This net selling price of the land of the country is at present at least sixty billion dollars. An annual increase in the value of land of only 4 per cent. means an increase of $2,400,000,000; while the average annual increase in the value of farm lands, from 1900 to 1910, was nearly 12 per cent., and farm lands were worth in 1910 over twenty-eight billions. Within ten years, under the prevailing tax rates on land, the selling price of land in this country will be about one hundred billion dollars. This forty billion dollar increase in the value of land will go to a relatively few people, although created by the industry and thrift of all the people, and by public improvements paid for by all. Before land can be used, this increased price must be paid for it, or a return in the form of rent, say five per cent. net, paid the owners. Money is thus withdrawn from productive purposes—in which people would otherwise be employed—to pay tribute to privilege and monopoly, thereby increasing interest rates, and further manacling legitimate industry.

Estimating the ground rent at about six per cent. (out of which land taxes are paid) the land owners of the country secure nearly three billions of dollars a year ground rent, net. Land values increase approximately $2,200,000,000 a year net (i. e., above assessments, etc.). The net profits of land ownership are thus around five billions of dollars a year. In spite of this fact, all governments, local, state and federal, controlled as they are by land speculators, are heavy borrowers. The total interest

bearing governmental debt of the country is about four and a half billions of dollars. (See Note 5.) The annual net increase in the debt varies from two hundred millions to four hundred millions, according to the improvements undertaken. Three and a half to four per cent. is a fair average interest rate; so that the total annual interest paid on governmental debt is nearly $160,000,000. New York City, alone, pays nearly $50,000,000 a year interest on the municipal debt, a large part of which bears four per cent. interest, or more.

In ten years with heavy taxation of land values, we could pay off all government debts and meet all the expenses of government, and still leave land owners a reasonable recompense for their labor in collecting ground rents. (See Note 6.)

The Justice of Taxing Land Values More Heavily

The testimony of a few prominent economists on the justice of securing more, if not most, of the ground rent for purposes of government is germane:

Prof. John Bates Clark:

> Of the wealth that resides in land the State is certainly the creator, and the original and lawful owner. As creator, not of the earth, but of the value residing in it, the State has a producer's right to use and dispose of its product.

Ex-President E. Benjamin Andrews:

> To turn the golden stream of economic rent partly or mostly into the State's treasury where it would relieve the public of taxation in burdensome forms, seems to be extraordinarily desirable.

Prof. Henry R. Seager, discussing the matter in his "Principles of Economics":

> It therefore seems but just that a large portion of the income received from city lots should go to the city treasury. On these grounds and others of a more technical character a gradual increase of the proportion of municipal taxation that falls on land as distinguished from improvements, and different forms of personal property, is much to be desired.

Prof. John R. Commons:

> I have long been strongly convinced that a gradual reduction of the tax rate on buildings, finally leading to exemption of all improvements would be one of the most important gains that could be accomplished in our system of taxation. This is particularly true as a city grows in size.

Among other economists who favor transferring taxes now levied on buildings to land values are Profs. Irving Fisher of Yale, T. N. Carver of Harvard, E. A. Ross of Wisconsin.

Who Would Be Benefited by Untaxing Buildings and Taxing Land Values More Heavily?

Every one, except those who hold land for speculation. Every tenant, both urban and rural, would have his rent reduced.

Most urban tenants would save a fifth or more of the rent they now pay, because of the stimulus to the construction of buildings, creating greater competition for tenants. Taxes on small homes would be reduced from one-third to three-fifths, according to the relative value of the site and the building.

The larger the amount of ground rent taken for cost of government so as to relieve the public of taxation in burdensome form, the greater the stimulus to production, the greater the amount of employment, and the higher wages would be. Even so moderate a change as transferring taxes levied on buildings to land values would stimulate production and employment appreciably.

Is it Confiscation?

Beneficiaries and protagonists of the present tax system claim that it is "confiscation" to take more ground rent by increasing the tax rate on land values. The tax rate on land values in certain cities is, however, double the tax rate in some rural districts. The term "confiscation" is evidently only relative. If a tax rate of one per cent. on land values in some places is the maximum just rate, then the two per cent. tax rate on land values in New York City is confiscatory!

It must be remembered that land values and ground rents are created and maintained by the community in an entirely different way from anything else. Heavier taxation of land values is only a limitation of the privilege now accorded land owners to collect ground rents. The community merely recovers for community use community created values. Every public improvement, transit lines, parks, sewers, schools, buildings, etc., and every provision of public service, such as education, fire and police protection and a good health department, increases land values, as does economical administration. To call this "confiscation" is absurd, particularly if the process is gradual. The same cry of "confiscation" by the interests affected, has met every effort to prevent child labor, to improve factory conditions, to shorten the hours of labor, and even to abolish slavery.

Experiments in Untaxing Buildings

Buildings have been entirely exempted from taxation in several Canadian cities, the largest being Vancouver and Victoria, B. C.; and the movement is spreading all over Canada. The tax rate on buildings in Houston, Texas, has been for three years only about one-third the tax rate on land values. The result has been an appreciable reduction in rents, increase in home ownership and decrease in unemployment. In no city of this continent, how-

ever, have land values been heavily taxed. Several of the Canadian cities (erroneously designated "Single Tax" cities, merely because buildings are not taxed), instead of increasing the tax rate on land values have gone heavily in debt. Land values are more heavily taxed in New York City this year than anywhere else in the world, except possibly in New Zealand.

The results of untaxing buildings and taxing land values heavily cannot be given from experience. Even the moderate steps in this direction, however, have been beneficial, though relatively slight; and as Prof. E. R. A. Seligman told the New York City Commission on Congestion of Population:

> It must be stated, however, in defense of the claim that exemption of improvements is desirable, so far as I know, no town or city which has gone over to the exemption of improvements has receded from that position.

Limitations

Too great results should not be claimed for transferring taxes on buildings to land values, or even for the abolition of all taxes, except those on land values. Neither change will usher in the millennium.

Labor exchanges may be needed under the single tax; but if they are, more for the purpose of telling employers where they can get workers, than to dig up a few jobs for many workers. City dwellers will not desert the cities en masse. More recreational and educational opportunities will be needed in the country districts, just as they are to-day, to compete with "The Great White Way" and educational opportunities of the cities. Land banks, labor legislation, including workmen's compensation, coöperation, industrial insurance and other enlightened social measures, may for some time be required under the single tax. A marked distinction, however, should be noted. Under our present tax system, much of the benefits of these measures inure to land owners; under the single tax, and to a less degree with taxes on buildings transferred to land values, the benefits of these measures will go to the workers.

Conclusion

To exterminate involuntary poverty, workers of every station, and of whatever occupation must secure the values which they create and produce. At present, a few (relatively) land monopolists secure most of the land values and ground rents which the people of each community create and earn. This enormous fund must be recovered for the creators—all the people—before involuntary poverty can be exterminated. The only effective method of doing this is to tax ground rents into the

public treasury, and thus relieve the workers of the burdensome taxes now levied upon them, thereby increasing employment and wages.

Mr. Clarence Darrow, the labor attorney, put the situation as follows:

> Private ownership of land means increasing wealth for the few and increasing poverty for the masses. Workingmen take no account of fundamentals, any more than other folks. Millions of workingmen have organized themselves into unions to attempt the well-nigh impossible task of controlling the labor market instead of doing the fundamental thing, namely, changing conditions under which they live. If a small fraction of the millions that have been spent on labor unions had been spent on fundamentals there would be no need of labor unions to-day.
>
> "When we learn that the land belongs to all of us and to each only so much as he can use, then we will be free men—no need for labor unions then; no need to legislate to keep men and women from working themselves to death; no need to legislate against the white slave traffic. When it pays to behave men will behave. They'll do it, because they want to. There will be no class distinctions in that time, no awful poverty, and no awful wealth."

While I do not agree with Mr. Darrow that labor unions will be unnecessary under the regime of the single tax, I do believe that, when the dream of Henry George has been translated into fact, wars between capital and labor will cease.

NOTE 1: COST OF TAX SYSTEM PER FAMILY.

The total cost of government, about $2,987,000,000 a year, amounts to approximately $130 on the average for the 23,000,000 families in the country.

The value of manufactured goods consumed in the country is about $14,000,000,000 annually. On the average, we pay about eight per cent. more for these goods because of the existing tariff, or $1,300,000,000, an average of $50 per family, making the total levy per family, on the average, $180 a year.

NOTE 2: EXPENDITURES OF FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.

Expenditures of the Federal Government (1913)	$ 952,600,857
Expenditures of States (1913)	382,551,199
Expenditures of incorporated places (1913)	1,246,659,009
Expenditures of villages (estimated)	20,000,000
Expenditures of counties (1913)	385,181,760
Total	$2,986,992,825

These figures are secured from the Census Reports on National and State Revenues and Expenditures (1913), and on Wealth, Debt and Taxation (1913),

NOTE 3: ESTIMATED VALUE OF LAND, i.e., SELLING PRICE, AND TAX THEREON.

In 1910, the selling value of farm lands was $28,476,000,000 and this was an increase of 118.1% in a decade. A 40% increase in farm land values, during the past five years, would make their present value $39,866,000,000

The assessed value of land in New York City is	4,638,000,000
The assessed value of land in Chicago is	1,160,000,000

There are approximately 40,000,000 people in cities, towns and villages outside of New York and Chicago. If we estimate land values at $400 per capita ,or less than one-half that of New York City, the land value of these cities etc., is.. 16,000,000,000

Grand total land values, urban and agricultural.....$61,664,000,000

The estimate of $60,000,000,000 for the country is, therefore, most conservative.

In New York City, the tax rate on land values averages about 1.9% the total being.....$ 87,721,426

In many cities and rural districts, land is assessed very low, and it is taxed at only about 1% on full value, in many places much less. A 1% tax rate on land values would yield only 553,362,000

Total probable tax levy on land values.....$641,083,426

NOTE 4.

As shown in Note 1, the average charge per family of our present tax system is about $180. A tax rate of 4.42 per cent. on the land values of the country, $60,000,000,000, would yield the total cost of government, approximately $2,650,000,000. A family occupying land with a selling price of $1,000 would pay (if it were assessed at full value) $44.20. This would be all the family would pay on account of our tax system. The saving would be (estimating their present cost as the average) $180.00—$44.20, or $135.80. Wealthy families occupying sites worth $100,000 would pay $4,420.00, probably a decided increase over the taxes they pay to-day.

NOTE 5: GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS.

The total interest bearing Federal Debt (Oct. 1, 1914) was..$ 968,825,550
The total Funded and Floated Debts of States (1913) was.... 422,796,625
The total debt of cities, villages and other civil divisions (1913) was 2,985,555,484
The total net debt of counties (1913) was..... 371,528,268

Total $4,748,705,927

These figures are secured from official statements (October, 1914), the census Report on National and State Indebtedness (1913) and Census Report on Wealth, Debt and Taxation (1913). Four and a half billions is a very conservative estimate of the total government debt of the country, which at the present rate of increase will soon be five billions.

The Federal interest bearing debt is being gradually reduced, while some of the smaller cities and villages and other civil divisions are also reducing their debts.

NOTE 6.

The ground rent of the country, calculated at 6 per cent., is $3,600,000,000; the cost of government approximately $2,987,000,000. The ground rent will pay all the cost of government and leave land owners $613,000,000 profit a year. Should we pay off only $475,000,000 a year of the present governmental debt this would liquidate this debt in ten years, while leaving land owners about $140,000,000 a year commission, in addition to increases in land values. Part of this debt is being retired now, and about $40,000,000 would be saved in interest on every $1,000,000,000 paid off. A large part of the governmental debt incurred is for land, and with a 6 per cent. tax rate on land it could be acquired at a fraction of the price now paid for it.

DISCUSSION: The discussion was led by Professor E. R. A. Seligman of the Department of Economics, Columbia University, New York.

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THE PREVENTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT*

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With the passing of each hard winter there is danger that public interest in the problem of unemployment will die down and that little effort will be made during the comparatively good summer months to plan practical measures for the prevention of future unemployment. If we are to make substantial progress in dealing with this most complicated problem we must not lose interest, we must study continuously the many factors involved, we must prepare and propose constructive remedies and consistently urge their adoption.

The time is past when the problem of unemployment could be disposed of either by ignoring it, as was the practice until recent years in America, or by attributing it to mere laziness and inefficiency. We are beginning to recognize that unemployment is not so much due to individual causes and to the shiftlessness of "won't-works," as social and inherent in our present method of industrial organization.

During the winter of 1914-1915 the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, at the request of the committee on unemployment appointed by the mayor of New York, estimated after a careful canvass of its industrial policy-holders that 442,000 persons were unemployed in New York City. In the first two weeks of February a careful canvass was made by agents of the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics, on the basis of which it was estimated that 398,000 were still unemployed at that time.

The United States Census for 1900 showed that 6,468,964 working people, or nearly 25 per cent. of all engaged in gainful occupations, had been unemployed some time during the year. Of these 3,177,753 lost from one to three months' work each; 2,554,925 lost from four to six months each; 736,286 lost from seven to twelve months each.

Similar data were collected by the government in 1910, but they are still unpublished.

In 1901 the federal Bureau of Labor investigated 24,402 working class families in thirty-three states, and found that 12,154 heads of families had been unemployed for an average period of 9.43 weeks during the year. The New York State Department of Labor collected reports each month during the ten years 1901-1911 from organized workmen averaging in num-

*Section meeting Monday, May 17, 9:15 A. M.

ber 99,069 each month, and found that the average number unemployed each month was 14,146, or 18.1 per cent.

The federal Census of Manufactures for 1905 shows that in one month 7,017,138 wage-earners were employed, while in another month there were only 4,599,091, leaving a difference of 2,418,047. That is to say, nearly two and a half million workers were either unemployed or compelled to seek a new employer during the year. These figures were drawn from the manufacturers' own records.

It is important, therefore, that those who are aiming at the prevention of unemployment in America should never forget that it is a problem continually with us, in good seasons as well as in bad seasons. Occasional crises, with their sympathetic demands for temporary relief, should not blind us to the need for a constructive program. In the meantime the community, as a result of its past neglect to adopt some energetic constructive policy on unemployment, is being constantly confronted with an army of idle workers whose distress, which becomes conspicuous with the approach of bitter weather, demands and, according to the analysis here presented, deserves adequate relief.

Much unemployment is clearly caused by lack of efficient means for supplying information of opportunities and for enabling workers to move smoothly and rapidly from job to job. *Public employment exchanges must be established.*

A careful arrangement of public works to be increased in the slack seasons and lean years of private industry would help equalize the varying demand for labor. *Public work must be systematically distributed.*

Much unemployment is due to irregularity of industrial operations over which the workers have no control. Periodic abnormal excess of labor supply over labor demand is caused by the fluctuations of industry, which in its present disorganized form makes necessary constant reserves waiting to answer calls when they come. Hundreds of thousands more of workers are needed in good years than in bad years, and in each industry many more are needed in the busy season than in the slack season. Furthermore, in almost every business, special calls arise for more workers to be taken on for a few weeks, a few days, or even a few hours. The reserves necessary to meet these cyclical, seasonal or casual demands should be reduced to a minimum. *Industry must be regularized.*

While reserves of labor are essential to the operation of fluctuating industries, the industry and the public should recognize their responsibility to return these workers to industry with

efficiency unimpaired and in good health and spirits, and to preserve them from degenerating through privation into the class of unemployables. *Adequate unemployment insurance must be established.*

In addition to these measures for directly attacking unemployment, a variety of other policies which are indirectly helpful should also be encouraged. Among the most important of these are better industrial training, a revival of agriculture, a proper distribution of immigrants, and adequate care for the unemployable.

The general scheme of economic reconstruction and organization here outlined is based upon a number of intensive studies carried on during 1914 by special investigators for the American Association on Unemployment, in affiliation with the American Association for Labor Legislation, and will, it is believed, lead to conspicuous and permanent improvement in what has well been called one of the most perplexing and urgent of industrial problems.

I.

Establishment of Public Employment Exchanges

An essential step toward a solution of the problem of unemployment is the organization of the labor market through a connected network of public employment exchanges. This is vitally important as a matter of business organization and not of philanthropy. It is of as much importance for the employer to find help rapidly and efficiently as it is for the worker to find work without delay. The necessity of organized markets is recognized in every other field of economic activity, but we have thus far taken only timid and halting steps in the organization of the labor market. The peddling method is still, even in our "efficient" industrial system, the prevalent method of selling labor. Thus a purely business transaction is carried on in a most unbusiness-like, not to say mediæval, manner.

The system of employment exchanges in order to be thoroughly effective should be organized not only by municipalities and states, but also by the federal government. Local exchanges should be established in every city, either by the municipality, or by the state, or by both in conjunction. These should be brought into a connected system by means of state offices which would act as clearing houses and make possible the movement of workers throughout the state to the localities where they are needed. The work of the state offices should be further co-ordinated by an interstate exchange of informa-

tion and assisted by a federal employment bureau organized on a national basis.

About sixty public employment exchanges have been established by twenty-four American states, in addition to which about twenty have been opened by municipalities. In the Congress which adjourned on March 4, 1915, no fewer than six bills were introduced for the establishment of a national system of labor exchanges under the federal government. In Great Britain such a national system, comprising over 400 local exchanges, is maintained by the board of trade, while Germany has 323 offices and France 162, all maintained by local authorities.

1. *Local Employment Exchanges.* The local bureaus—state and municipal—should aim at a rapid connection between the "right man for the job and the right job for the man." Their watchword should be efficient service to both employer and worker, and they should aim to extend this service as completely as possible into all industries and all occupations. In establishing and operating these exchanges the following points are important:

(1) Location and Character of Offices. Well arranged, roomy, easily accessible offices should be chosen, in good neighborhoods.

(2) Departments. Offices should be divided into separate departments for

> *a.* Men, women and children. *b.* Separate industrial groups, such as skilled and unskilled labor, farm labor, domestic, clerical and factory labor, and the handicapped. In time, as their organization improves, they may need to establish special departments for certain large skilled trades, such as bookbinding, textiles, and boot and shoe making, and for professional groups, such as teachers and skilled technical workers.

Practically every public employment exchange in America has separate departments for men and for women. Four have separate juvenile departments. Division into skilled and unskilled is made in two offices, and in the new municipal exchange in New York City there are seven departments: Female: (1) mechanical, industrial and professional; (2) domestic, hotel, restaurant and institutional help. Male: (1) mercantile, professional, technical, and printing trades; (2) juvenile; (3) building, machine shop and foundry, boot and shoe, textile, factory help, engineers and firemen; (4) culinary, including cooks, waiters, countermen, etc.; (5) agricultural and general unskilled labor. In British exchanges the general register (which excludes casuals) is divided into twenty-two separate sections.

(3) Vocational Guidance. There should be a special department for vocational guidance, to coöperate with educational

and health officials, with unions and with employers, in endeavoring to place young workers where they will have an opportunity for industrial training and for real advancement, instead of leaving them to drift into blind-alley occupations. This department should be in charge of a superintendent experienced in vocational work and should be supervised by a special sub-committee on juvenile employment.

Vocational guidance is systematically carried on by the public employment exchanges in Massachusetts, and in three other states the beginnings have been made by interested superintendents. In Great Britain vocational guidance is a recognized and important function of the governmental system of labor exchanges. In London a local committee for each exchange, including representatives of the county council, the head teachers' association, employers and workers, coöperates with the health authorities and advises children and their parents.

(4) Selection of Applicants. Applicants should be placed on the basis of fitness alone. The offices should not be allowed to become resorts for sub-standard labor, but should strive to build up their business by attracting and serving the better grades of workmen.

Fitness is reported as a basis of placement in twenty American public exchanges.

(5) Decasualization of Casual Labor. One of the most important functions of a public labor exchange should be the decasualization of casual labor. The New York Commission on Unemployment reported in 1911 that two out of every five wage-earners are obliged to seek new places one or more times every year. When all casual workers are hired through a common center, employment can be concentrated upon the smallest possible number instead of being spread over a large group of underemployed.

Such systems are in successful operation in Great Britain among 31,000 Liverpool dock laborers, the cloth-porters of Manchester, and the skilled ship-repairers at Cardiff and at Swansea.

(6) Dovetailing of Seasonal Industries. The dovetailing of seasonal trades, so as to provide continued employment for workers during the slack seasons of their ordinary occupation, offers a promising field for public employment exchange activity.

During the winter building trades workers could take up ice cutting or logging, or do some of the less skilled work in shoe, textile or other factories which are busier at that season. Through the London labor exchanges women's work in ready-

made tailoring, which is busiest in the spring and fall, has been dovetailed with hand ironing in laundries, which is heaviest during the summer.

(7) Neutrality in Trade Disputes. These agencies should be held true to their public character and remain neutral in all trade disputes. Applicants from plants affected by strikes or by lockouts should be received, but workers applying for positions involved should be explicitly informed of the existence of the dispute. Statements from both sides about the issues involved should also be shown to the applicants when they can be secured.

This is the method followed, with complete satisfaction to both sides, in most American public employment exchanges, as well as in England, France, Germany and Switzerland.

(8) Advancement of Transportation. The officers should be empowered to advance, under careful safeguards, railroad fares to workers when necessary.

The Wisconsin exchanges sometimes turn over to applicants the transportation advanced by the prospective employer, checking the man's baggage to the employer as a safeguard. In Great Britain the exchanges advance carfare to workers residing more than five miles from the place of employment. In Germany workmen sent more than about fifteen miles are enabled to ride for half fare.

(9) Co-operation with Other Agencies. Offices should co-operate with other employment bureaus, municipal, state and federal, in exchanging applications for help and for work, and in adopting uniform systems of records.

(10) Civil Service. Only persons qualifying through civil service examinations should be employed in the work of the offices.

Civil service qualification is required in the state exchanges of Massachusetts, Minnesota, New York and Wisconsin, and in some municipal exchanges, including that in New York City. In Great Britain the employees of the national system, about 3,500 in number, are under civil service.

(11) Representative Committee. Each office should work under the supervision and advice of a representative committee composed of representatives selected by both employers and workers.

Such representative committees have been established in Wisconsin, are required under the New York law, and have long been an important adjunct to the exchanges in Great Britain and in France.

2. *State Systems.* The most advantageous working of the local exchanges requires that these be united in efficient state systems, among whose duties would be:

(1) Establishment of Local Exchanges. The state should open local exchanges at all important industrial or agricultural centers, except where this has already been done by the local authorities.

As already shown, twenty-four states have made provision for local exchanges.

(2) Co-operation with Local Authorities. Wherever it is possible, the state system should coöperate with the local authorities in establishing and conducting the local exchange.

In Wisconsin the cities pay for office space, heat, light, telephone and janitor service; the state pays for supplies, salaries and administrative expenses. In Cleveland and in Cincinnati, O., also, the city and state share in the expense.

(3) Regulation of Private Exchanges. Except, perhaps, in the largest cities, needful supervision and regulation of private exchanges are best carried on by state authorities closely connected with the public system. Methods of regulation include:

> *a.* Licensing and inspection. *b.* Use of license fees to enforce regulations. *c.* Making appropriate administrative rules for private agencies after classifying them according to type. *d.* Prescribing lishing information of the work of private offices together with that forms for records, uniform with those used at public offices. *e.* Pub- of the public bureau.

Private agencies are supervised by the same administrative body as that which conducts public labor exchanges in California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

(4) Statistics. As a basis for future preventive action, for vocational guidance, and for other purposes, the exchanges should carefully collect data, comparable from year to year and for the various sections of the state, on the amount and duration of unemployment, the ages and occupations of those affected, the causes, and on other points which will suggest themselves.

Detailed statistics of this nature are available through the British labor exchange system, through which the national unemployment insurance benefits are also paid.

(5) Bulletins. Periodical bulletins should be issued, showing the state of the demand for labor and the supply in the various districts and industries within their field.

Monthly news letters are issued by the Massachusetts public exchanges, and similar bulletins are provided for in the New York State law.

3. *Federal Employment Bureau.* The federal government bureau would have a valuable function in co-ordinating the work of the local bureaus and in organizing the labor market on a national basis. Such a federal system would have the following functions:

(1) Establishment of Public Exchanges. With careful regard to existing state and municipal exchanges, the federal bureau might find it advantageous to open offices of its own where needed.

(2) Assistance to Local Bureaus. Among the means by which the federal bureau could assist the work of the local exchanges are:

> *a. Interchange of Information.* A systematic interchange of information on the state of the labor market should be developed through close correspondence, the issuance of periodical reports and, where advisable, the use of telegraph and telephone. *b. Standard Record System.* A standard system of records should be devised and adopted for the whole country which would make possible comparison of results and compilation of statistics on a national basis. *c. District Clearing Houses.* The country should be divided into districts, with a clearing house in each. The district clearing houses would: *(a)* Exchange information between local bureaus and district branches of the federal bureau. *(b)* Receive reports of local public and private agencies, and advise and supervise these agencies.

Great Britain, with an area only one twenty-fifth as vast as ours, has been divided for the purpose of administering its employment bureau system into eight divisions, each with its divisional office as a clearing house and channel of communication with the central office in London.

(3) Regulation of Private Agencies. In so far as private employment agencies do an interstate business they are properly subject to federal supervision and regulation under the interstate commerce clause of the federal constitution. Complete regulation might be secured through the use of the federal taxing power.

II.

Systematic Distribution of Public Work

A well developed system of labor exchanges will not, of course, create jobs, but in addition to bringing the jobless workers quickly and smoothly in contact with such opportunites as exist, it will register the rise and fall in the demand for labor. This knowledge will make possible intelligent action for the prevention and relief of unemployment through the systematic distribution of public work and the pushing of necessary pro-

jects when private industry's demand for labor is at a low level. Public work will then act as a sponge, absorbing the reserves of labor in bad years and slack seasons, and setting them free again when the demand for them increases in private business.

1. *Adjustment of Regular Work.* Even at slightly additional cost regular public work should be conducted in years of depression and seasons of depression. A program of the amount of public work contemplated for several years in advance should be laid out and then carefully planned to be pushed ahead in the lean years which experience has shown to recur periodically, and in the months when private employment is at a low ebb. European experience shows that it is essential to the success of such a program that the work be done in the ordinary way, the workers being employed at the standard wage and under the usual working conditions and hired on the basis of efficiency, not merely because they happen to be unemployed. This method of equalizing the demand for labor is the easiest and cheapest way of maintaining the reserves which private industry demands. The independence and self-respect of the workers are preserved, while necessary and productive work is accomplished for the community.

The English statistician Bowley estimates that if in the United Kingdom a fund were set aside for public work to be pushed in time of depression, an average of $20,000,000 yearly, or only 3 per cent. of the annual appropriation for public works and services, would be sufficient to balance the wage loss from commercial depression. Duluth, Minn., has adopted the policy of building sewers throughout the winter in order to equalize the amount of employment.

2. *Emergency Work.* In communities which have not yet developed such a program, or in times of special emergency, it is a much wiser policy to start large projects for public works than to support the unemployed through private charity or public relief. This should not be "relief work" or "made work" simply to keep idle hands busy, but should be necessary public work which would have been undertaken normally in the course of time, but which can be concentrated in the time of emergency.

Over 100 American cities successfully carried on such work during the winter of 1914-1915. The work done included digging sewers, laying water mains, improving roads and parks, erecting school houses, and repairing other public buildings.

The Idaho legislature of 1915 passed an act establishing the right of every person who has resided in the state for six months to sixty days' public work a year, under direction of the county commissioners.

For women and girls, and for men unsuited by training or by physique for the rougher kinds of public work, the Brooklyn Committee on Unemployment recommended the establishment in vacant loft buildings of municipal workshops where the unemployed of these classes could manufacture for themselves simple clothing and household utensils.

In England, to prevent unemployment during the war, the government appropriated large sums to help the local authorities in building schools, hospitals, sanatoria, workingmen's houses, street railroads, improving roads, bridges and parks, afforestation, reclamation of waste lands and in other needed public improvements. Workers were hired through the labor exchanges without special reference to their non-employment and were paid standard rates.

III.

Regularization of Industry

Side by side with the movements for public labor exchanges and for systematic distribution of public work should go the movement for the regularization of industry itself, through the combined efforts of employers, employees and the consuming public.

Regularization is demanded by the interests of employer and employee alike. The employer, with an expensive plant, requires steady production to keep down overhead expenses and to gain his greatest profit; the employee needs steady work to prevent destitution and demoralization.

1. *Regularization by Employers.* In the regularization of industry a large responsibility lies directly upon employers to regularize their own businesses. Every attempt should be made within the limits of each business to make every job a steady job. Sincere efforts in this direction on the part of the employer can accomplish much. Among the things which he can do are:

(1) Establishment of an Employment Department. The employer should establish, as part of his organization, an employment department, having at its head an employment manager whose special duty it is to study the problems of unemployment in the individual shop and to devise ways of meeting them. Such a department would aim at:

a. Reduction of the "Turnover" of Labor. By a study of its causes through records of "hiring and firing," reduction could be made in the "turnover" of labor which is at present so excessive that factories frequently hire and discharge 1,000 men in a year to keep up a force of 300. *b. Reduction of Fluctuations of Employment Inside the Shop.* Among the methods that might be used for this purpose are:

(a) Systematic transfer of workers between departments. A Massachusetts candy factory has succeeded, through transferring workers beween departments, in overcoming the usual irregularity of the industry and in keeping its force at the same level throughout the year.

(b) Employing all on part time rather than laying off part of the force. This policy was widely recommended in the winter of 1914-1915, notably by the unemployment commissions of New York and Chicago, and by the Chamber of Commerce of Detroit. A large New Hampshire shoe factory employed half of its regular force each alternate week with complete success.

(c) Arranging working force in groups and keeping higher groups employed continuously. Those in lower groups will then be encouraged to keep out of the industry altogether, or to combine it with some other occupations to which they can regularly turn in the dull season.

(b) Keeping before the attention of the rest of the organization the importance of regularizing employment. Many progressive firms are now engaging the services of employment managers, and in Boston, Philadelphia and New York employment managers' associations have been formed for the co-operative study of their problems.

(2) REGULATION OF OUTPUT. The employer should regulate his output and distribute it as evenly as possible throughout the year. Methods to this end are:

a. Record Keeping and Forwarding Planning. Yearly curves should be kept, showing production, sales and deliveries day by day, week by week, and month by month; and an effort should be made each year to level the curve and to smooth out the "peak load." Production should, when possible, be planned at least six months ahead. A manufacturer of Christmas novelties keeps production regular through the year by sending out samples and booking orders one year in advance.

b. Building Up Slack Season Trade. Special instructions should be given to sales departments and to traveling salesmen to urge customers to place orders for delivery during the slack season. Special advertising also stimulates trade in dull periods. Some firms threaten delayed delivery on goods at the height of the season. Many firms offer especially low prices in the dull season, grant special discounts, make special cheap lines, or even do business without a profit simply to keep their organization together and to supply work for their forces. The mine owners by selling anthracite coal 50 cents a ton cheaper in April than in November have adjusted its sale and production so that work at the mines is more evenly distributed throughout the year.

c. Keeping a Stock Department and Making to Stock as Liberally as Possible in the Slack Season. The making of goods to stock requires the tying-up of a certain amount of capital, but many employers feel this to be balanced by the gain in contentment among the workers and the increase of efficiency and team spirit in the organization. They have the further advantage of being able to

supply goods immediately on order. This method keeps many firms busy. It is more difficult in industries where goods are perishable or where style is an important factor, as in garment making and shoe making, but even here there are conspicuous examples of its success. Other manufacturers deliberately follow a conservative style policy, or concentrate the making of staple styles in the slack season.

d. "Going After" Steady Rather Than Speculative Business. Well organized business with a steady demand and a regular and sure profit can afford to dispense with the irregular and unreliable gains of a speculative business which often involve disorganization and irregularity of production.

e. Careful Study of Market Conditions and Adjustment of the Business to Take Advantage of Them. A broad market provides more regular business than a narrow one. Foreign trade supplements domestic trade, and orders often arrive from southern and far western markets when the eastern market is slack. A diversity of customers will usually provide a more regular demand than concentration on one or two large buyers. The retail trade will often take a manufacturer's goods just when the wholesale season has stopped. In the shoe industry the ownership of chains of retail stores has enabled some manufacturers to regularize their business considerably, and a garment manufacturer who owns his own retail store is able to stock that just as soon as his wholesale orders run slack.

f. Developing New Lines and Complementary Industries. A diversity of products will often help to regularize a business. Many manufacturers study their plant, the nature of their material and the character of the market to see whether they cannot add new lines to supplement those they have and fill in business in the slack seasons. One rubber shoe manufacturer, for example, adds rubber sheeting, rubber heels, tennis shoes, rubber cloth and rubber tires, and achieves a fairly regular business.

g. Overcoming Weather Conditions. Special refrigerating, heating, moistening, drying or other apparatus proves effective in many industries in enabling operations to be continued even in unfavorable weather. Even in the building trade the amount of winter work can be increased by provision for covering or enclosing and heating work under construction. Brick making has been made a regular twelve months' industry instead of a seasonal six months' industry by the introduction of artificial drying.

(3). Co-operation with Other Employers. Employers could by collective action do much to diminish the extent of unemployment and to abolish trade abuses which lead to it. For instance, they could coöperate to:

a. Arrange for Interchange of Workers. A number of employers in the same or in related industries could arrange to take their labor from a central source and to transfer workers between establishments according to the respective fluctuations in business. This would prevent the wasteful system of maintaining a separate reserve of labor for each plant. The best agency for effecting this transfer is, of course, the public labor exchange. The building trades employers of Boston have agreed to hire all their labor from one central source. The result is that the workmen are directed without delay from one employer to another and secure much more regular work.

b. Provide Diversity of Industries. Through chambers of commerce or similar organizations an effort should be made to provide communities with diversified industries whose slack seasons come at different times, so as to facilitate dovetailing of employments.

c. Prevent Development of Plant and Machinery Far Beyond Normal Demand. An installation of equipment, the capacity of which is far in excess of orders normally to be expected, is not only a financial burden, but it is a continual inducement toward rush orders and irregular operation. In some industries this unhealthy tendency is counteracted by the distribution of excessive orders among other firms whose business is slack.

d. Prevent Disorganization of Production Due to Cut-Throat Competition. Agreements can in some cases be made to restrict extreme styles and other excessively competitive factors which serve to disorganize production. A shoe manufacturer's association has successfully carried out agreements fixing the styles they will manufacture during the season.

(4) Co-operation with Other Efforts to Regularize Employment. Employers should coöperate with all other efforts put forth in the community to regularize employment, especially with the public employment exchanges. Employers should make a special point of securing as much of their help as possible from these exchanges.

2. *Regularization by the Workers.* The workers themselves have a special opportunity and responsibility in the campaign against unemployment. There is a growing realization among them that regularity of employment is as important to the workers as a fair wage, and that poor employment lowers the standard of life as much as if not more than poor wages. There are evidences that they no longer feel resigned to unemployment as a necessary and inevitable consequence of the industrial organization, that they are expressing their indignation at the distress so caused, and are seeking means of relief. As measures against unemployment individually and through their organizations they should:

(1) Support the General Program Here Outlined. Parts especially recommending themselves for support by the workers are:

a. Establishment of the principle of elasticity of working time rather than elasticity of working force. Double pay should be enforced for overtime, however, thus compelling the employer to spread out production more evenly through the year. When part of the mines in a community shut down the organized workers in the other mines frequently divide their work with the men thrown out. *b.* Encouragement of public employment exchanges as the recognized agency for securing employment and for registering unemployment statistics. *c.* Systematic distribution of public work and provision of emergency work. *d.* Public unemployment insurance. *e.* Foundation of a thorough system of economic education and industrial training.

(2) Place Less Insistence on Strong Demarcations Between the Trades. This would make possible the keeping of reserves for the industry as a whole rather than as at present for each separate trade, for each shop, and even for each separate operation within the shop. It would also permit a more comprehensive program of industrial education.

3. *Regularization by Consumers.* Consumers should arrange their orders and purchases to assist in the regularization of production and employment. The principle of "shop early," which has proven useful in diminishing the Christmas rush, should be extended. Employers could do much more toward regularizing their output if consumers were more responsive to solicitations to buy in the slack season. Such requests are often sent out by employers, and too generally ignored by consumers. Much irregularity is also caused by sudden, heavy orders and by rush orders. A determination to exercise foresight and consideration in these matters on the part not only of the ultimate consumer but of large wholesalers and dealers whose demands on the manufacturer are often capricious and unreasonable, would also assist. The slogan of the consumer should become "Shop regularly!"

IV.

Unemployment Insurance

The final link, which unites into a practical program the four main methods for the prevention of unemployment, is insurance. Just as workmen's compensation has already resulted in the nation-wide movement for "safety first," and just as health insurance will furnish the working basis for a similar movement for the conservation of the national health, so the "coöperative pressure" exerted by unemployment insurance can and should be utilized for the prevention of unemployment. For although much regularization of industry can be accomplished through the voluntary efforts of enlightened employers, there is also needed that powerful element of social compulsion which can be exerted through the constant financial pressure of a carefully adjusted system of insurance. The adjustment of insurance rates to the employment experience of the various industries, and then the further adjustment of costs to fit the practices of individual trades and establishments even within given industries, is well within the range of possibility.

To be regarded as secondary to this function of regularization is the important provision of unemployment insurance for the maintenance, through out-of-work benefits, of those re-

serves of labor which may still be necessary to meet the unprevented fluctuations of industry. The financial burden of this maintenance should properly fall on the industry (employers and workers as a whole) and upon the consuming public, rather than upon the fraction of the workers who are in no way responsible for industrial fluctuations and who are as essential, even in their periods of unemployment, to the well-being of industry as are the reserves of an army. Furthermore, it is as important for industry as for the workers themselves that their character and physique be preserved during periods of unemployment so that they may, when called for, return to industry with unimpaired efficiency, and may be preserved from dropping into the ranks of the *unemployable* where they will constitute a much more serious problem.

Some form of unemployment insurance exists in most of the countries of Europe. Three methods of insurance, which can be either combined or organized independently, have been developed:

1. *Organization of Out-of-Work Benefits by Trade Unions.* This method has proven successful to some extent in Europe and has been used to a limited degree in the United States.

The Cigar Makers' International Union of America has had a successful system of out-of-work benefits since 1890. In 1912 it paid out $42,911.05 in out-of-work benefits, at a cost of $1.06 per member.

2. *Public Subsidies to Trade Union Out-of-Work Benefits.* As the "Ghent System," invented by Dr. Varlez, the international secretary of the Association on Unemployment, this method of administering unemployment insurance has become well known throughout western Europe.

Approximately 600,000 workers in Great Britain, 111,000 in Denmark, 103,000 in Belgium, 29,000 in Holland, and 27,000 in Norway were, on January 1, 1914, insured against unemployment under this system, which was also in operation in Luxemburg, certain cities of France and Italy, and in certain cantons of Switzerland.

3. *Public Unemployment Insurance.* In this employers, workers and the state should become joint contributors. Such a system should be carried on in close connection with the labor exchanges, for the exchanges furnish, particularly when their knowledge of opportunities for private employment is supplemented by an intelligent adjustment of public works, the best possible "work test" for the unemployed applicant for insurance benefits. Possible abuses of the insurance system may thus be

thwarted. During the process both employers and workers learn to make use of the exchanges as centers of information and thereby help to organize the labor market. And of crowning importance in the movement toward regularization of industry is the careful development of this form of insurance with its continuous pressure toward the prevention of unemployment.

Compulsory nation-wide insurance against unemployment is found in Great Britain, where a law providing insurance for 2,500,000 wage-earners in seven selected industries went into effect on July 15, 1912. The successful working of the system points toward its early extension. Employer and employee each pay 5 cents weekly, payments being made, as with health insurance, through fixing stamps in a book, and a state subsidy is added amounting to one-third of the annual receipts from dues. The annual income has been approximately $11,500,000, and $2,488,625 were paid out to about 1,000,000 cases during the year ending January 16, 1914. The large reserve fund which is accumulating is expected to meet the drain of future hard times. The workman may receive a cash benefit from the second to the sixteenth week of unemployment in each year, under the following conditions: (1) He must have worked in one of the selected occupations at least twenty-six weeks in each of the preceding three years; (2) his unemployment must not be caused by a strike or by his own fault; (3) he must accept work of equal value if found for him by the labor exchange. Less than 2 per cent. of all the cases have been found to be still out of work at the end of the sixteenth week.

In advance of the careful grading of industries according to the degree of irregularity of employment, this British system offers financial inducements to employers to keep their working force regularly employed. An annual refund of 75 cents is made for each of their workers who has been employed forty-five weeks during the year. Moreover, an ingenious provision of the law entitles any workman over sixty years of age who has been insured more than ten years and who has paid more than 500 weekly contributions to a refund of his total payments minus his total benefits, with compound interest at 2½ per cent. This provision is intended to commend the system to the especially skilled and trusty workman who runs little risk of losing his job.

Other Helpful Measures

In addition to the foregoing measures, which are directly aimed at the prevention of unemployment, the following poli-

cies, initiated primarily for a variety of other social purposes, would also prove helpful:

1. *Industrial training,* both of young people and of adults, should be encouraged. Every advance in his skill strengthens the hold of the worker upon his job, and a wider industrial training makes possible for him adaptation to various kinds of work. Children, especially, should not be permitted to go to work without sufficient industrial training to prevent their being used as casual labor, and should be discouraged from entering "blind-alley" employments which destroy rather than develop industrial ability. For those who go to work early, the system of continuation schools, now found in many states, should be still further developed. The idea, also, that industrial training and education are not feasible for the adult worker should be abandoned.

2. *An agricultural revival* should be promoted to make rural life more attractive and to keep people on the land.

3. *A constructive immigration policy,* concerned with both industrial and agricultural aspects of the problem, should be developed for the proper distribution of America's enormous immigration.

4. *Reducing the number of young workers* by excluding child labor up to 16 years of age and restricting the hours of young people under 18 would lessen the number of the unskilled.

5. *Reduction of excessive working hours,* especially in occupations where the time of attendance and not the speed of the worker is the essential factor (such as ticket chopping and 'bus driving) would increase to a certain extent the demand for labor.

6. *Constructive care of the unemployable,* who are themselves largely the product of unemployment, must be devised, with the aim of restoring them, whenever possible, to normal working life. The problem of these persons is distinct from that of the capable unemployed, and should not be confused with it. For the different groups appropriate treatment is required, including (1) adequate health insurance for the sick, (2) old age pensions for the aged, (3) industrial or agricultural training for the inefficient, (4) segregation for the feeble-minded, and (5) penal farm colonies for the "won't works" and semi-criminal.

UNEMPLOYMENT: DISCUSSION*

George E. Barnett, Ph. D., Professor of Statistics, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

In times of industrial depression the promotion of labor bureaus appears to the general public to be a practicable means of providing employment for the unemployed. An historical study of the establishment of public labor bureaus in the United State would show that a number of these have been established after each great industrial depression since the Civil War. Shortly thereafter interest in the labor bureaus dies out. The high hopes of their usefulness are shown to have been exaggerated. The bureaus themselves relax their efforts and we fall back to practically the same place as before.

It seems to me that we are in danger at present of repeating this experience. Everywhere throughout the country, labor bureaus are being established and older systems are being overhauled. The problem, I take it, is to see that the depression of 1914 leads to some permanent improvement in our methods of dealing with unemployment, and the first step in that direction ought to be to impress firmly upon the public mind the fact that the labor bureau will not solve the problem of unemployment. The public mind has been too much impressed by the idea of fitting together the "jobless man and the manless job." I do not by this mean to indicate that the establishment of labor exchanges and the reform of existing systems of labor exchanges are not highly desirable ends. On the contrary, they are the first necessary steps in any campaign against unemployment; but, unless we are again to experience the reaction which has hitherto followed each movement against unemployment, we must make it clear that the labor bureaus, themselves, are only a step, and that the problem of unemployment can be solved only as a trade problem, that is, by each trade and industry for itself. This will require the coöperation of employers, of workmen, and of the general public.

It is primarily the regularization of industry which must be aimed at, and not merely the securing of a new job for the man who has lost his old one. It is to be admitted, of course, that,

*Author's notes used.

even under the best conceivable system, there will be men passing from one job to another. And the labor offices can serve a large usefulness in minimizing the time of passage. But, after all, the labor bureaus and unemployment insurance are merely mitigations of economic loss. The problem is to stop that loss at the source.

My concrete suggestion is, therefore, that we should put more to the forefront in our program measures for the regularization of employment.

DISCUSSION: The discussion on Unemployment was continued by the following delegates: M. V. Powderly, Washington, D. C.; Fred R. Johnson, Boston; Charles Strull, Louisville; Benjamin C. Marsh, New York; Frederic Almy, Buffalo; Mary Van Kleeck, New York; Bertram Benedict, Pittsburgh, O. G. Finkelstein, Chicago; Francis Tyson, Pittsburgh; Mary Lee Hale, Boston; J. W. Magruder, Baltimore.

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HEALTH INSURANCE

J. P. Chamberlain, Legislative Bill Drafting Association, Columbia University, New York City

It would be a waste of time at such a conference to insist on the great part which sickness plays as a cause of poverty and degeneration in families and individuals. Great as we all know this to be, it is, however, more than probable that a year's experience of health insurance would astonish us as much as a recent report of a departmental committee on sickness benefit claims astonished many of those in England who thought they knew.

> The evidence of medical practitioners is overwhelmingly in support of the view that the effect of the Act has been to disclose, especially among industrial women, an enormous amount of unsuspected sickness and disease, and to afford treatment to many who have hitherto been without medical attendance during sickness, (Hodgson, W. 25, 701; Cox, Q. 30,436; Belding, Q. 33,325). It may be permissible to quote the words of one witness practicing in an area which would not ordinarily be regarded as unhealthy. I thought I knew how much illness there was in my neighborhood, but I had no conception of the amount of real illness that existed until I was brought in contact with it through

> the Act. * * * I had no idea that it existed, and was going unrelieved, and that people were dragging along with such illness." (Broster, Q. 37,520-2). Report; p. 16.

You know the problem; as a body representative of the best thought and of the widest experience in social work in America you must boldly face the question of its solution. This paper is intended to call to your attention one of the answers given by the experience of civilized men, an answer which that experience is increasingly emphasizing, and to urge your careful consideration, not only of the principles of policy involved, but also of some of the details, often of more real importance than general principles, and which such a body as this is peculiarly in a position to understand and on which it is best fitted to give counsel.

If the conference would appoint a representative committee to consider this question during the coming year, a committee which would hammer out a workable plan to submit to the members before next year's conference so that they could be familiar with its details and ready with criticisms and questions, I believe the result could stand fire. It is quite probable that a detailed study, made with the practical knowledge your members could bring to bear, would result in some plan other than health insurance to meet our national need.

Following up this idea I desire to emphasize a statement made a year and a half ago, that general descriptions of systems of sickness insurance are not now the need. Such works as Frankel and Dawson, Rubinow, Seager's useful essays, and the very well considered study by a man whose experience and insight is sadly missed today—Charles R. Henderson—supplemented by the articles on recent European experience by Dr. Coman—another whose services to this object should not be fruitless, have fully supplied the general need; what is now necessary are careful studies of the detail of foreign acts and careful consideration of our own conditions, particularly of the various agencies now protecting more or less against sickness and to the possibility of developing them into a better and more efficient organization or of supplanting them with something else.

Miss Addams well says, not forgetful of the deeper spiritual side of voluntary insurance:

> Almost every Sunday in the Italian quarter in which I live various mutual benefit societies march with fife and drum and with a brave showing of banners, celebrating their achievement in having surrounded themselves by at least a thin wall of protection against disaster, upon having set up their mutual good will against

> the day of misfortune. These parades have all the emblems of patriotism; indeed, the associations present the primitive core of patriotism, brothers standing by each other against hostile forces from without. I assure you that no Fourth of July celebration, no rejoicing over the birth of an heir to the Italian throne, equals in heartiness and sincerity these simple celebrations. Again one longs to pour into the government of their adopted country all this affection and zeal, this real patriotism. A system of State insurance would be a very simple device and secure a large return.—*Newer Ideals of Peace*, pp. 90, 91.

Such studies as that of the National Civic Federation on England are in the right direction in so far as they are based on a sincere desire to know the facts and the determination to get at the bottom of defects in organization and in the working of the act. The United State Health Department has men in the field studying the medical end of the insurance in Europe whose reports and whose unreported experience will throw the kind of light which we need on what is probably the hardest problem of insurance.

Five years ago Professor Henderson, for the Illinois Commission on Industrial Diseases recommended that "an essential part of a scheme of protection (from industrial disease) must include a system of legally obligatory insurance working automatically to prevent both accidents and diseases." (Report of Committee, p. 18.)

Health insurance for employes has a double aim: First, the immediate care of sickness and relief of the family during the incapacity of the wage-earner caused by sickness; and, secondly, the effective prevention of sickness. The first object will not be met without provision for prompt and efficient medical and surgical care, proper hospitalization, medicines and appliances, and without sick pay during the incapacity of the wage-earner; the second, and in its results the most important, requires an organization so composed and equipped as to assure the interest of employees, employers and the public in the prevention of disease. Our attention is easily attracted to reports of a new serum, of a new bacillus, of a striking operation on the brain; we are not equally informed as to the more important progress, from the point of view of the health of the community, in the discovery of means for the prevention of disease. The health committee of the Association of Life Insurance presidents looking at the question from the point of view of preservation of life, observes:

> From a layman's, as well as from an economic viewpoint, the most interesting and important achievements of medical science have been the discoveries for the prevention of disease.

Health insurance should aid this campaign of prevention in three ways: first, by prompt attention to early symptoms; second, the collection of statistics which show the prevalence of various types of sickness in various localities and in various industries. These will supply the "official statistics" to "convince any community that it is an unhealthy place in which to live" (and we can hope with the Life Insurance Presidents that these facts will be so effectively presented that "when they become common knowledge the local inhabitants will apply the remedy"). It will also far more effectively than any public medical system, locate in a given factory or group of factories those causes of industrial disease which as Doctor Hayhurst has shown in his excellent recent study, are largely unnecessary. Thirdly, in a system of publicity which as the Life Insurance Presidents Committee says "is the most effective weapon that can be employed; it is a greater agent in any reform than mere mandatory legislation." Far more effectively that even so strong an agency as the Life Insurance Companies can a social insurance committee reach the public ear through the medium of the press, of its lectures, by leaflets and more effectively yet through the voices of its physicians and nurses in daily, hourly contact with the insured. Furthermore, its councils will be those of a group to which a large portion of the population belongs as employer or employee and in which, therefore, the persons most affected have a voice.

Interested in the preservation of the public health and equipped with that knowledge which is power in the legislature, on the stump, and in the home, all of you know that, such an agency will prove a mighty lever in raising the weight of ignorance, carelessness and graft which weighs so heavily on the health of the race and ultimately upon all social progress. What a coöperative effort can do when directed by interest and trained intelligence appears in the remarkable accomplishment of the Safety First movement following the introduction of workmen's compensation insurance, the first step of social insurance in America, and accompanying its extension. Will not the slogan of "Health First" arouse an equal response and an equally strong force to even greater deeds.

To fulfill the immediate purpose of health insurance, the curing of the sick, there must be an adequate medical and surgical aid with such support for the family of the afflicted breadwinner that he will be enabled to undergo the necessary treatment without anxiety. So well recognized is this double need that the social service of hospitals was called into being by Dr. Cabot. Why prescribe medicine and rest for a sick man

when he cannot buy the medicine or will condemn his family to serious want if he takes the rest? Merely providing a money benefit is not enough. The recent disclosures in New York of one form of medical fraud which preys upon the poor, reminds us sharply of one reason why; the economic advantage of collective bargaining joined to greater ease of control both of physician and of patient furnishes a conclusive argument for medical aid. The personal relation of physician and patient need not be sacrificed. Its advantages may be assured by the **panel system of choice of physicians.**

To this audience I shall not devote many moments to the exposure of the defects of the existing form of sickness care in the United States. Labor unions, both national and local, fraternal organizations, small local societies, commercial insurance, establishment and hospital funds, all provide more or less for sickness among the working people. Their weakness from a social point of view is emphasized by a sentence in the report of the Commissioner of Labor on *Workmen's Insurance and Benefit Funds in the United States:* "The investigation discloses that nearly all of these funds attempt to accomplish no more than to relieve immediate necessities." As to how far they accomplish even that you have more experience than I; but can the $5 a week so usual as a sick benefit for disabled members pay for satisfactory medical care and supplies? There is little attempt as far as I know to care for illness until disablement results and none, except in the case of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, to cope in a broad way with sickness prevention. No comment is necessary on the waste and the inefficiency of such health insurance; even those mining and railroad hospital funds which supply medical care appear to treat only illnesses which have become serious. A few factories have tried to prevent disablement by early treatment but the opposition of the unions through fear that the investigation would be used against individuals where the doctor is wholly in the pay of and subject to the employer is a barrier against the extension of this movement. Public hospitals and dispensaries, especially with the aid of visiting nurses, are doing an increasingly great work. In New York city in 1914 there were 4,003,600 treatments in dispensaries and in addition 142,261 visits to the homes of patients by nurses and physicians. "In connection with the subject of sickness insurance we may cite the evidence furnished by the Board of Commissioners of Cook County, Illinois. In a report given out by them on September 20, 1910, they say:

> Section 1. Increase of Hospital Population.—We find that the hospital (that is of Cook County, public charity) is greatly overcrowded. In 1903 the daily average was 835; in 1908, five years later, it was 1303, showing an increase of 56 per cent in daily average population. During the last year the daily average was 1,451. This increase is due to a number of causes: (1) The increase in the population of the county; (2) the *extension of industrial pursuits which resulted in an increase of accidents and occupational diseases endangering human life;* (3) the popularization of the hospital idea.

In Section 6 of the same report this board recommends a bond issue of three million dollars for the construction of five new buildings to meet the increased demands." (Illinois Report of Commission on Occupational Diseases, Page 18.)

As the prejudice against this service is lessened it will undoubtedly be called upon increasingly and a properly devised system of sickness insurance should go far both towards removing the prejudice and providing means for a rapid extension to meet the calls.

A committee of the American Association for Labor Legislation which has been studying the question of industrial health for the past year has concluded that the establishment of the system of health insurance on the German model should be seriously considered in this country. The English experience confirms the belief that the German system of local compulsory carriers of the insurance is better than the English dependence on societies; and, furthermore, there is no evidence that we have in the United States a frame-work of societies nearly as good as that in England on which to build. The severe criticisms of the committee of the National Civic Federation on the English system will strongly support the adoption of the German in this country.

According to the plan proposed, all persons employed at manual labor and all employees paid less than a certain salary will be compulsorily insured. Others up to a salary of $1200 may be insured voluntarily. Employer, employee and the state pay each one-third of the contributions, but where wages are below a certain figure, the share of the employer is increased. Persons voluntarily insured pay the employer's contribution as well as their own. Contributions for employer and employee are paid by the employer who deducts the employee's share. These are based on wages. Benefits are medical, surgical, nursing and necessary medical supplies in case of sickness or accident not governed by workmen's compensation acts. A payment of 66⅔ per cent. of wages for a period of twenty-six weeks sick benefit and a maternity benefit to insured women and the wives of insured men are included. There is a burial benefit to cover the cost of the funeral.

For the purposes of the insurance, the state is to be divided into districts in each of which the insured persons and their employers are to form one or more Employes Health Associations, or Employes Trade Health Associations, the latter along trade lines. Trade unions, fraternal and other mutual benefit societies and establishment funds may, if approved by the State Commission, also carry the insurance, but they must join in a union in each district for the administration of the medical benefit. Employers do not pay any contributions to these voluntary carriers, except to establishment funds. The associations are governed by boards of directors composed one-half of employers and one-half of employees under the supervision of the state commission. The medical benefit is administered through panels of doctors with provision for a physicians' committee to aid the directors in the administration of the benefit. A state social insurance commission is created, appointed by the governor with all its employees under strict civil service. Its duties will be to watch over the administration of benefits, to judge cases on appeal from the associations and approved societies, to apportion the state's contribution, to approve the rules and regulations made by the various associations. An advisory council to consist of representatives of the employers and employees in insurance elected by the employer and employee directors of the various associations is created to act in an advisory capacity to the commission. Matters of a judicial nature may be assigned by the commission to a committee composed of one member of the association and two members of the advisory committee, one an employer and one an employee, with a limited right of appeal to the full commission.

Contributions are required from employer, employee and the state. The public contribution is in part a guarantee fund to care for epidemics or special outbreaks of sickness, in part the public share in the maternity benefit and the fair share of the public in respect to its part in the responsibility for illness. If workmen and employer are to have joint control of the management of the fund they must jointly contribute to it; disposition by one side of the money of the other, such as is now the case in most mine and railroad hospital funds, cannot but lead to ill feeling and in a widely extended scheme, to disaster. Employees are now paying largely for doctors, medicines and burial. Their contribution to various relief funds have been touched upon; budgets collected by the United States Department of Labor in 1903, by Mrs. Moore and Dr. Chapin in New York more recently, agree that at least 4 per cent. of the income of working families goes for sickness or for industrial, practically burial, insurance.

For the latter purpose $26,800,000 was paid in premiums in New York State alone in 1912. Mine funds giving medical aid alone to miners and their immediate families usually require contributions of $12 a year, a dollar a month, just 2 per cent. of a $600 wage. Railroad benefit funds giving medical and surgical aid to men alone have contributions of $6 a year, but in both these cases it must be noted that accidents are included. What influence workmen's compensation laws have had has not as yet been studied, but in such a state as Pennsylvania a workmen's compensation law putting upon the employer the entire cost of medical and surgical aid for all accidents would modify very considerably the charges on the hospital fund. The Pennsylvania Railroad benefit fund shows about half as much spent for accidents as for sickness annually. Figures on expenses for sickness are merely tentative, but they indicate the large sum that is being actually spent by the working people for objects covered by health insurance.

The employer's payments are justified for two reasons: first, because of the gain to him by an improvement in the health of his working force; secondly, because of the share of industry in causing sickness. That tthe first is recognized is shown by the many sick funds in existence which employers foster, notably among the miners. Direct evidence from Germany is ample. I quote from the British White Paper on German Insurance:

> * * * The proof that these laws are remunerative to the employers lies in the fact that an employer has an interest in having at his disposal a healthy and efficient labour force.
>
> I regard the effects of the social insurance legislation as entirely beneficent, though it is impossible to prove by figures whether and to what extent this legislation actually repays the employers for the financial obligation it imposes upon them.
>
> The operation of the German insurance legislation has, in the course of time, greatly improved the condition of the workers and also increased their efficiency, and has had, in general, a very beneficent influence.
>
> The cost of insurance is willingly borne by the employers. The laws are also advantageous, as larger expenditure in benevolence is thereby averted.

From American employers, in a book published by the American Manufacturers Association, *Accident Prevention and Relief*, p. 413, I cite:

> Loss of earning power from industrial injuries is only one, and a minor cause of loss of earning power. *Disease and death must inevitably impair the earning power of every worker; industrial injuries; that of a very few. If there are sound economic reasons for compelling an insurance of the one, why not of them all?*

National Cash Register Weekly, September 19, 1913:

> So rapidly, however, has our current of thought been changed that today every farsighted employer besides assuming an obligation to protect the lives and health of workers, comprehends the benefits accruing to his own industrial undertaking through such a course.

Even legal and judicial confirmation of this point is not lacking. *People ex rel Metropolitan Life Insurance Covpany v. Hotchkiss*, 136 *Appellate Division, New York* (*Page* 154). It is well within the corporate power to assume the care and treatment of such of its employees as are afflicted with tuberculosis. * * * *The reasonable care of its employees according to the enlightened sentiment of the age and community is a duty* resting upon it and the proper discharge of this duty is merely transacting the business of the corporation.

Mr. Elliott in his book on *The Law of Railways* considers railway benefit funds a proper enterprise for a railroad company because "the company is benefited as well as the employee and the public." (Vol. III, p. 908, § 1380.) He cites Beck against the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, 63 N. J. Law 232 "On the part of an employer such a scheme (Railway relief plan) may be deemed likely to increase the efficiency of the force it employs." Secondly, were this not so, were employers blind to the direct advantage which they are to gain from an increase in efficiency in human machines, they could not yet be heard to protest against paying part of the cost of health insurance because evidence as to the part played by industrial conditions in causing sickness is too overwhelming to be controverted. I quote the introductory note of the Ohio State Board of Health to their edition of the list of industrial poisons of the International Association for Labor Legislation.

> The relationship between industrial poisons and poisoning is clearly seen. It is interesting, however, to know that this entire list of poisons, comprehensive as it is, still constitutes probably less than 10% of the causes of disease conditions which are associated with occupations. By this we mean those conditions, other than extrinsic poisons, which cause industrial anemia, tuberculosis, pneumonia, Bright's disease, heart disease, nervous afflictions, premature old age and other diseases, which follow in the wake of dusts and irritants, extremes of heat, cold, fatigue, inactivity, infections and like factors. (Pamphlet on Industrial Poisons, Ohio State Board of Health, p. 3).
>
> In the case of most trades, however, which predispose to ill-health, the pathological results are only observed in a higher morbidity from general diseases, rheumatism, nervous and digestive diseases, etc. In the so-called "duty trades," the mortality from tuberculosis is known to be enormously in excess of the normal proportion in recognized healthful employments. The statistical evidence upon this point is the same for European countries as for the United States. (Memorial on Occupational Diseases, Page 4).

Dr. Rubinow gives a table from the German experience showing the variation in sickness experience among different occupations which brings this point into relief.

CASES OF SICKNESS PER 100 PERSONS AND NUMBER OF SICK DAYS PER PERSON IN CERTAIN INDUSTRIES (AMONG PERSONS 35-44) ACCORDING TO DATA OF THE LEIPZIG SICK INSURANCE FUND.

Industries	Cases of sickness per 100 persons per annum	Sick days per one person per annum
Male		
Stone working	58.2	17.5
Cement and lime	65.8	13.6
Building trades	51.7	11.7
Metal working	49.6	11.1
Printing, publishing, etc.	32.4	11.1
Glass, porcelain and pottery	44.5	10.8
Paper	39.4	10.9
Chemical industry	49.4	10.7
Leather and similar products	37.7	10.7
Agriculture and forestry	46.9	10.2
Transportation	44.8	9.8
Food and drink	43.4	9.6
Wood and cut materials	38.8	9.2
Fats, oils, varnishes, etc	41.5	9.1
Gas works	59.9	9.0
Textiles	40.5	8.9
Hotels and restaurants	32.5	8.8
Clothing and cleaning	32.2	8.6
Musical and scientific instruments	31.7	8.1
Hides, leather, etc	36.0	7.7
Engineers and firemen	35.3	7.4
Office employees	21.6	5.8
Females		
Textiles	69.9	19.3
Paper	55.2	16.3
Printing and publishing	50.4	15.8
Agriculture and forestry	60.8	14.2
Clothing and cleaning	41.0	12.4
Hotels and restaurants	40.9	12.2
Office employees	21.4	7.0

The English experience confirms the German tables. Much of the trouble caused to approved societies has arisen from the fact that certain societies insured men employed in particular trades in which the health hazard was excessive.

Many of these industrial diseases are of slow development. I quote from Bulletin 79 of the Bureau of Labor for November, 1908:

[British Occupational Disease]

> The committee, having arrived at the opinion that fibroid phthisis is a specific and distinguishable trade disease, concluded that employers might properly be required to pay compensation to their work people who contract it; but it did not, however, recommend the extension of the Workmen's Compensation Act to the disease for two reasons. The first was that owing to the

> long period of its development it would not be right to lay the whole burden on the employer under whom the workman had been serving during the twelve months prior to the incapacity. The other and more important reason was that for several years before the nature of the disease can be definitely diagnosed the patient may suffer from symptoms that while not distinctive are sufficient to prevent him from securing employment.

Evidently a particular employer can rarely be held responsible for similar diseases of slow development and evidently a scheme of occupational disease insurance which takes into consideration only the more striking and quick-acting, in fact the least important, industrial diseases is unsatisfactory and unfair. Workmen's compensation cannot take care of industrial disease in a broad way. Health insurance, on the model proposed, can, and industry will contribute for the health risk of industry in proportion to that risk, for rates can be raised or lowered in a given factory or trade as it appears responsible for a greater or less amount of sickness. Standards in factory sanitation will be at least as easy to establish and to enforce as standards of accident prevention.

If we can believe German experience, that dread of sickness insurance, malingering, can best be met by the trained physicians and nurses of these great funds. Frankel and Dawson are emphatic on this point; the reports of the Leipsig Fund covering 200,000 beneficiaries, bear them out. This fund has a system of volunteer sick visitors in addition to its paid staff, but the record of efficiency is overwhelmingly in favor of the paid staff. No such visiting nurse system as is possible here exists in Germany and I do not believe that I exaggerate when I say that the saving from the prevention of involuntary or voluntary malingering resulting from the visits of a nurse would go far towards paying her salary. She would not long be looked on as an intruder either—experience has shown that much, and through her will the education of the people be best effected. The value of a voluntary sick committee need not be lost. As in Germany they will function as a supplement to the professional service and will be especially important in smaller cities and towns. By requiring some degree of training for volunteer sick visitors, in hygiene and first aid, another avenue of education of visitors as well as invalids, will be opened up.

The bill provides for compulsion. It is generally agreed that without compulsion those most in need cannot be got into and kept in insurance, and without compulsion the actuarial difficulties and the expense ratio increase greatly. Compulsion is no novelty in social insurance in the United States. It has been

widely accepted, directly or indirectly, in compensation legislation, it is in practical operation in mines, on the railroads and in many lumber camps and other establishments today in sickness insurance. Miners are docked their dollar a month for hospital dues and never see or hear of it again unless they have the misfortune to need the doctor in whose choice they have nothing to say. Many railroad men have the same experience except that in some of the great systems the men have representation on the managing board. Yet I have not heard that these men for all their compulsory sickness insurance show that weakening of the moral fibre which we are told afflicts the unhappy victim of compulsion. With compulsion, furthermore, but little reserve is necessary. A constant supply of healthy young lives will take care of the increasing sickness of older persons, a man's sons will care in this way for his old age; to put it in another way, a man's or woman's overpayments in youth will make up for the underpayments of later life and old age.

In administration the Wisconsin plan of associating men and employers with the officials is adopted. It is only fair that those who must pay the cost and those who share the benefits should have a say in the administration of the system, and good means of communicating their ideas and complaints to the public officers who must sit in judgment on the acts of the various local institutions. The crystallizing effect of officialism will thus be counteracted by the diffusion of changing new blood from the ranks of employer and employee in the organization.

It has been said that we can have health insurance when we are willing to pay its cost. A committee of the American Association for Labor Legislation in 1910 estimated that the 33,000,000 of American workmen lost $792,892,860 in the year as a result of sickness, a large percentage of which should have been saved. We have seen what is being paid for medical care or for sickness or burial insurance, so that I do not believe that the cost of a widely organized well-run system of sickness insurance will equal the sums now being paid for the same objects. The fact that it will cost the state and cost heavily, however, brings into relief the legitimate interest of social workers in efficient and economical government.

The committee had deemed it wiser to prepare a plan for sickness insurance, that is, the care of a sick person for a limited time, rather than to complicate actuarial and administrative questions by adding invalidity insurance at first, as was done in England. Invalidity and old age, widows and orphans insurance, can be later added, but it will probably be necessary

to combine several local funds to provide more convenient and stronger carriers for the much heavier burdens and to plan for a reserve for the long time pensioners. Sickness insurance proper liquidates itself annually, the carry-over from year to year will be about the same since no case can continue in benefit for more than the fixed number of weeks. The power of the directors to fix rates, supervised by the commission, will provide a sufficient elasticity to insure solvency, while the long time pensioners in invalidity insurance, in ever increasing numbers for the first years will need large reserves, or excess of contributions over payments for the first years. The problem of the immigrants, furthermore, does not loom up so forbiddingly in sickness insurance.

I have tried in this paper to give you an idea of the leading questions arising in health insurance. They are not all answered. Even those which I have attempted to answer should have more facts behind them, and it is from bodies such as this that those of us working in this wide field have a right to expect exact information from all over the country. How are sickness societies working in your town, or in yours? Is the field for the betterment of local health conditions being properly developed? Can employer and employee unite in these committees—are they not now uniting in Safety First committees? Do hospitals and dispensaries and visiting nurse associations with tuberculosis and social service and private or lodge doctors handle satisfactorily the problem of sickness among the working people, or do they not by not getting early diagnoses, by insufficient equipment, or through popular suspicion, fail in part?

And establishment or hospital funds,—are the employees not at least cold toward them, doubtful of their honest management? I know that in some of the mining regions this is so. Are these funds doing their best for the health of their people, or could they not accomplish far more towards education and towards the combination of men and employers in a compaign for better health conditions? Especially in mines and small factory towns or cities is not a great chance for the development of better feeling as well as better health being lost by not giving the employee a share and a large share in the management of and responsibility for the funds which their contributions keep up. Safety First is a success because men, foremen and superintendents are interested, Health First will only become so when the doctors' fund is not looked at from one side as a graft, however unfairly, and from the other as a burden got rid of by hiring a doctor or contracting with the hospital association, and from neither as

having possibilities for sickness prevention as well as sickness cure.

Last, but not least, take your city. Has it even a sick fund for its many low-paid employes? Does it, by paying wages for sick employes, contribute largely—though indirectly and in the least effective way—to sickness insurance, real sick insurance this, insures a man's staying sick. Does it, by not taking simple precautions like sprinkling the streets before sweeping, covering garbage wagons, actually create disease-breeding conditions which would be changed if the voters and officials had figures of cost and cause of sickness among employees placed before their eyes in the annual budget, and realized that the city's contributions were graduated on ability to keep down the amount of illness? By the way, has your city a budget?

ILLNESS INSURANCE

James Jenkins, Jr., Director, Department of Social Betterment, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, Brooklyn, N. Y.

After the very able paper on Saturday night on *Employment Insurance* and the fine paper by Mr. Chamberlain, this Conference must be convinced that the next important step in social reform is social insurance. As I am especially in touch in my work with the poverty caused by illness, I have been asked to speak on that branch of social insurance. The chairman of the committee, in asking me to speak, asked me to discuss illness insurance, as he wanted someone who had had contact with illness, as a cause of poverty, and would appreciate the practical need of such insurance.

Illness Statistics

We have in the United States no very exact figures in regard to the amount of loss by accidental death or preventable illness, or to the financial loss through unnecessary unemployment, but authorities state that two persons are continually ill for every person who dies. The approximate figures indicate that for every death, two years of illness must fall to the lot of some person in this country. The mortality statistics in the United States show about 1,500,000 deaths. At the above mentioned rate, as many as 3,000,000 persons were continually ill during that period. Of these, according to the estimate, as many as

500,000 were afflicted with tuberculosis—which we admit is preventable—one-half of them being completely incapacitated by the disease, and the other partly incapacitated.

During the past winter, there has been an exceptional amount of unemployment on account of the war in Europe, but, even with this unemployment as an exceptionally large cause of poverty for the past winter, an investigation made in one of the districts of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, showed that in 287 active cases, illness, and illness with unemployment, was a greater contributary cause of poverty than unemployment alone. Of these cases, illness caused 69 families to ask for aid, and sickness and unemployment caused 81, while unemployment alone caused 137 to ask for the help of Organized Charity.

As Frederick L. Hoffmann has expressed it, "There is, of course, no question whatever that the American death rate, using the term in a very comprehensive sense, has substantially declined within the last fifty years; but it is equally evident that this decline has been at the younger ages and not during the period of life which economically is of the greatest value." I believe that illness insurance would act specifically to prolong the life of the adult. Professor Fisher shows that the seven most important causes of death in the United States have shortened the average duration of life in the United States needlessly by more than eight years. Medical science now believes that these seven causes of death can be largely prevented and controlled.

Prevention Fostered

One justification of the problem of illness insurance is that it would foster prevention. Professor Seager says, "The program of Social Insurance may go too far, or it may not go far enough, but it certainly is not open to the objection which applies to indiscriminate relief." As Mr. Chamberlain and other authorities agree, prevention and social insurance go hand in hand, and are complements and not substitutes. Prevention must always be given a large place in the social program, but it is not sufficient because prevention will reduce the amount of illness, but will not entirely prevent it.

Illness Insurance First

In my opinion, the next step in social insurance should be illness insurance, in spite of the fact that we all have been greatly moved by the suffering during the past winter through unemployment. In Germany and the United Kingdom, which have taken the lead in protecting their working classes from in-

dustrial accidents, the great problem presented by illness has also been taken up. Even before organizing machinery for compulsory insurance against accidents, Germany made illness insurance compulsory. We have begun social insurance in this country in various states by workmen's compensation acts, and more recently in a few states by widows' pensions. Let us advance the next step.

Up to the present time in the United States, we have considered sickness as a private matter against which each family should protect itself. Most European countries now attack it as a national evil and agree that sickness insurance must be made compulsory. Requiring all persons, who are well to contribute to funds for the relief of those who are ill, gives everyone a vital interest in the problem of national health. The great aim of sickness insurance is to foster this national health, not simply to pay indemnity to those who cannot support themselves on account of illness.

Under our form of government any change in the field of social insurance will have to be brought about through state legislation, except for those very few persons engaged in interstate commerce.

Funds Available

Many objections are made to increased demands upon the state and many persons fear to put upon the state the management of large sums of money. In New York at present we have not even sufficient funds to carry on the regular state activities, but there is one element in our modern revenue system which is still capable of great development, but for which an appropriate use has not yet been found. This is the inheritance tax. Mr. Alvan S. Johnson, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, for April, 1915, writes as follows:

> Inheritance taxes are levied in almost all of the countries in Europe, and in many of the states of our own Union. The revenue from such taxes, like that derived from other imposts, is supplied to the current needs of the state. Our national wealth is increasing now at the rate of $5,000,000 yearly, while the estates which pass through the Probate Courts can hardly amount to much more than $4,000,000,000. The Inheritance taxes now levied in Great Britain take for the public about 6% of the wealth passing by death. Six per cent of $4,000,000,000 would yield a revenue of two hundred and forty millions. Suppose that we allow $4.000,000 the inheritance taxes now levied by the states we still have $200,000,000 added to our ordinary federal revenues. Whether this revenue should be adequate to the support of the social needs of the time or not is of course something that we cannot tell with certainty. A social insurance scheme as liberal as that recently adopted by Great Britain would cost the United States not more than $150,000,000 at the present time.

I quote this illuminating article of Mr. Johnson's to show that funds are available for social insurance.

I agree with Mr. Chamberlain that the German plan of insurance, with some possible modifications, is the plan to adopt in America; and I also agree that one of the most important things that this conference could do would be to appoint a representative committee to study this question and bring a report at the next conference of a workable plan for illness insurance. I am an opportunist and believe there is a stronger plea for illness insurance than there is under normal conditions for unemployment insurance, and that the sympathetic public would more readily agree to indemnify wage earners who were incapacitated by illness, than they would to pass laws benefiting those who were out of work.

Definition

The definition of illness insurance is insurance to indemnify the wage earner for loss of time through illness; to prolong life and to decrease illness by preventative measures and medical care. I believe that with a system of sickness insurance should go adequate medical care, which would include community hospital care, free for those who could not pay, adequate hospital care for all; a sufficient number of clinics and doctors and nurses to do the necessary visiting, and follow-up work in the homes.

Facts Needed

There is a great need of facts on which to base such insurance in the United States. The Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia has just launched a plan to ask all the social service workers in connection with hospitals, to add to the facts which they have been in the habit of obtaining, answers to these three questions:

Occupation of the patient.
Trade process of the patient.
Former occupation of the patient.

Would it not be a valuable addition if the organized charity workers throughout the United States for the next year included these three questions in their reports of families in which there is illness?

Classification

There are several things that should be decided about sickness insurance, which group themselves in my mind as follows:

(a) Kind; compulsory or voluntary. Probably we all agree, for obvious reasons, that it should be compulsory.

(b) Kind; competitive or non-competitive. No doubt we all agree that it should be non-competitive.

(c) Control; state, local or private. I think the control should be state and private combined.

(d) Collection; employer, home or office. The employer seems to be the best channel for collection.

(e) Fund; state, local, private. I agree with Mr. Chamberlain that it should be along the lines of the German system.

Use of Private Organizations

In Germany and England, where illness insurance laws were passed, already existing private organizations, such as benefit societies, were used to advantage. It has been suggested—although I do not say that I approve of this plan—that the great machinery of the private mutual industrial insurance companies, such as the Prudential, the Metropolitan and the John Hancock, which now have in existence about forty million policies, with many thousands of collectors, might be utilized.

Publicity

Mr. Chamberlain refers to the great value of the system of publicity in regard to health measures. The Committees on the Prevention of Tuberculosis have led the way in this kind of educational work; their educational campaigns have been copied by boards of health and by life insurance companies. The weakness, however, in such campaigns of advice is that, while it is very well to say that the cures and the prevention of tuberculosis are good food, pure air, sunshine and rest, health education does not put the working man who depends on his pay to support himself and family in a position to obtain these prerequistes to health. Valuable as is education, it needs to be supplemented by a living wage.

Labor Union Benefit

A few of the labor unions pay sick benefits, but these benefits are generally inadequate, and, although there is an effort on the part of the labor unions to make factories sanitary, there is practically no effort on their part to initiate large preventative measures for illness. The tuberculosis committee in Chicago has a plan for the examination of all employees in certain factories, a plan which is carried out by the employers. The system has had some good results but is objected to by the National Federation of Labor as undemocratic. In Brooklyn some generous employers continued for a short time the wages of the sick, but I have never known the length of time to be sufficient for the

complete recovery of the employe. Very often such employes have to be assisted by organized charity, in addition to the pay and vacation allowed by the employer.

Inadequacy of Volunteer Organizations

Mr. Chamberlain asks, "Do hospitals and dispensaries and visiting nurses associations, with tuberculosis and social service, and private or lodge doctors, handle satisfactorily the problem of sickness among the working people, or do they, by failing in early diagnosis, fail in part?" I happen to be connected with one of the few sanatoria in the country partially run by labor unions for the care of tubercular working people. Our experience for two years has been that the various unions send us one man after another, who is in the advanced stages of the disease. At every meeting of the directors, who are largely labor union men, we beg them to get the cases in the incipient stages of the disease, and each time we are met with the same answer, "Workingmen cannot give up their jobs and will not quit until they are forced to." On further inquiry, we find that they dislike and distrust charity, and would rather die at their work and retain what they consider is their self-respect. Therefore, it would seem that the agencies do fail to handle the problem satisfactorily, although not always from failure in early diagnosis. A system of sickness insurance would make it possible for these employes to take treatment in the early stages of the disease, thus possibly being cured and preventing the spread of the disease, while their families were cared for by the insurance.

The most vital fight in this conference has been on public and private outdoor relief. From Indiana and from Denver we hear reports of the fine system of public outdoor relief, and many of us will go home encouraged to believe that the community can handle these questions properly, and that only the community should handle them. Can we also go home having thought over the question of public or private insurance? And shall we not feel equally convinced that the community should provide for various forms of social insurance? Have we, or have we not, faith in democracy?

DISCUSSION: The discussion on Illness Insurance was continued informally by the following delegates: Edith Ryder, Chicago; Michael M. Davis, Jr., Boston; Courtney Dinwiddie, Cincinnati; Mary Van Kleeck, New York; Benjamin C. Marsh, New York; Dr. Andrews, and J. M. Hanson, Youngstown.

EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL WORK

PROGRAM

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Is Social Work a Profession?*

Abraham Flexner, Assistant Secretary, General Education Board, New York City

Before beginning to consider whether social work is or is not a profession, I must confess a very genuine doubt as to my competency to undertake the discussion. My acquaintance with social work, with the literature of social work, and with social workers is distinctly limited,—far too much so. Hence if the conclusions that I have reached seem to you unsound or academic, I beg you to understand that I should not be disposed to press them.

The word *profession* or *professional* may be loosely or strictly used. In its broadest significance it is simply the opposite of the word *amateur*. A person is in this sense a *professional* if his entire time is devoted to an activity, as against one who is only transiently or provisionally so engaged. The professional nurse, baseball player, dancer, and cook thus earn a livelihood by concentrating their entire attention on their respective vocations and expect to go on doing so; whereas the amateur nurse enlists only for the duration of the war, or the amateur baseball player, during early youth or college life. Social work is from this point of view a profession for those who make a full-time job of it; it is not a profession for those who incidentally contribute part of themselves to active philanthropy.

However, I have not been asked to decide whether social work is a full-time or a part-time occupation, whether, in a word, it is a professional or an amateur occupation. I assume that every difficult occupation requires the entire time of those who take it seriously, though of course work can also be found for volunteers with something less than all their time or strength to offer. The question put to me is a more technical one. The term profession, strictly used, as opposed to business or handi-

*General session Monday, May 17, 11:00 A. M.

craft, is a title of peculiar distinction, coveted by many activities. Thus far it has been pretty indiscriminately used. Almost any occupation not obviously a business is apt to classify itself as a profession. Doctors, lawyers, preachers, musicians, engineers, journalists, trained nurses, trapeze and dancing masters, equestrians, and chiropodists—all speak of their *profession*. Their claims are supposed to be established beyond question if they are able to affix to their names one of those magical combinations of letters that either are or look like an academic degree. On this basis chiropody would be a profession because the New York School of Chiropody confers the degree of M. Cp., and social work might qualify at once with the degree S. W. Some years ago the president of a western university told me that he had compiled a list of all the degrees ever conferred by his institution. In the list appeared a very ominous combination of letters,—nothing less, in a word, than N. G. I was relieved to be informed that this was not an effort to characterize the entire academic output, but signified only "graduate nurse." If the academic degree decides, nursing is a profession for that reason, even were there no other.

We need waste no time in endeavoring to formulate the concept of *professional*, if the concept is to include the indiscriminate activities touched on above. If there is a dancing profession, a baseball profession, an acting profession, a nursing profession, an artistic profession, a musical profession, a literary profession, a medical profession, and a legal profession—to mention no others—the term profession is too vague to be fought for. We may as well let down the bars and permit people to call themselves professional, for no better reason than that they choose in this way to appropriate whatever of social distinction may still cling to a term obviously abused.

But to make a profession in the genuine sense, something more than a mere claim or an academic degree is needed. There are certain objective standards that can be formulated. Social work is interested in being recognized as a profession only if the term is limited to activities possessing these criteria. The social worker wants, I assume, to be a professional, if at all, only in the sense in which the physician and the engineer are professional, and he wants to make common cause with them in defending the term against deterioration. In this narrower and eulogistic sense, what are the earmarks of a profession?

One has, of course, no right to be arbitrary, notional, or unhistorical. The nature of a profession has undergone a readily traceable development, and the number of professions has not remained stationary. Occupations that were once non-profes-

sional have evolved into full professional status. These changes will continue to go on. The definition that we may formulate to-day will therefore need recasting from time to time, and internal modifications will occur in many of the activities that we shall mention. My present concern, however, is not to consider the evolutionary aspects of the problem, but rather to ask what are at this moment the criteria of a profession and to consider whether social work conforms to them. There are a few professions universally admitted to be such,—law, medicine, and preaching. From these one must by analysis extract the criteria with which, at least, one must begin the characterization of professions. As we proceed, we shall consider how far the conception has been widened or modified by the addition of new professions; and finally, to what extent social work measures up to the standard thus reached.

Would it not be fair to mention as the first mark of a profession that the activities involved are essentially intellectual in character? Manual work is not necessarily excluded; the use of tools is not necessarily excluded. The physician is not the less a member of a profession because his fingers feel a pulse and his hands sound a patient's chest; the engineer is not the less a member of a profession because he employs instruments and tools. But in neither of these instances does the activity derive its essential character from its instruments. The instrument is an incident or an accident; the real character of the activity is the thinking process. A free, resourceful, and unhampered intelligence applied to problems and seeking to understand and master them,—that is in the first instance characteristic of a profession.

Wherever intelligence plays thus freely, the responsibility of the practitioner is at once large and personal. The problems to be dealt with are complicated; the facilities at hand, more or less abundant and various; the agent—physician, engineer, or preacher—exercises a very large discretion as to what he shall do. He is not under orders; though he be coöperating with others, though the work be team work, rather than individual work, his responsibility is not less complete and not less personal. This quality of responsibility follows from the fact that professions are intellectual in character; for in all intellectual operations, the thinker takes upon himself a risk. If then intellectuality with consequent personal responsibility be regarded as one criterion of a profession, no merely instrumental or mechanical activity can fairly lay claim to professional rank; for the human mind does not, in instrumental or mechanical activities, enjoy the requisite freedom of scope or carry the requisite burden of per-

sonal responsibility. The execution or application of a thought-out technique,—be it crude or exquisite, physical or mental,—is after all routine. Some one back of the routineer has done the thinking and therefore bears the responsibility, and he alone deserves to be considered professional.

We are accustomed to speak of the learned professions. What is the significance of the word *learned* in this connection? Does it imply that there are unlearned as well as learned professions? I suspect not, for the intellectual character of professional activity involves the working up of ideas into practice, involves the derivation of raw material from one realm or another of the learned world. Professions would fall short of attaining intellectuality if they employed mainly or even largely knowledge and experience that is generally accessible,—if they drew, that is, only on the usually available sources of information. They need to resort to the laboratory and the seminar for a constantly fresh supply of facts; and it is the steady stream of ideas, emanating from these sources, which keeps professions from degenerating into mere routine, from losing their intellectual and responsible character. The second criterion of the profession is therefore its learned character, and this characteristic is so essential that the adjective *learned* really adds nothing to the noun profession.

Professions are therefore intellectual and learned; they are in the next place definitely practical. No profession can be merely academic and theoretic; the professional man must have an absolutely definite and practical object. His processes are essentially intellectual; his raw material is derived from the world of learning; thereupon he must do with it a clean-cut, concrete task. All the activities about the professional quality of which we should at once agree are not only intellectual and learned, but definite in purpose. The professions of law, medicine, architecture, and engineering, for example, operate within definite fields and strive towards objects capable of clear, unambiguous, and concrete formulation. Physicians rely mainly on certain definite sciences,—anatomy, physiology, pharmacology, etc.,—and apply these to the preservation and restoration of health. Architecture relies on mathematics, physics, etc., and applies these to the designing and construction of buildings. Ends may of course be concrete and practical without physical or tangible. University professors, engaged in teaching, in the training of teachers, in the increase of knowledge or the development of thought, stand the tests that we have thus far enumerated:—their work is intellectual, learned in quality, and definitely practical in object.

Each of the unmistakable professions already mentioned for the purpose of illustration possesses a technique capable of communication through an orderly and highly specialized educational discipline. Despite differences of opinion about details, the members of a given profession are pretty well agreed as to the specific objects that the profession seeks to fulfill, and the specific kinds of skill that the practitioner of the profession must master in order to attain the object in question. On this basis, men arrive at an understanding as to the amount and quality of training, general and special, which should precede admission into the professional school; as to the content and length of the professional course. These formulations are meant to exclude from professions those incapable of pursuing them in a large, free, and responsible way; and to make sure that those potentially capable are so instructed as to get the fullest possible benefit from the training provided.

A profession is a brotherhood,—almost, if the word could be purified of its invidious implications, a caste. Professional activities are so definite, so absorbing in interest, so rich in duties and responsibilities, that they completely engage their votaries. The social and personal lives of professional men and of their families thus tend to organize around a professional nucleus. A strong class consciousness soon develops. But though externally somewhat aristocratic in form, professions are, properly taken, highly democratic institutions. They do indeed tend to set up certain requirements for matriculation, so to speak; but democracy, I take it, means not the annihilation of distinctions, but rather the abrogation of gratuitous and arbitrary distinctions. If membership in a profession were conditioned on some qualification not essentially related to the activities involved—on birth or wealth or some other accident—professions could be fairly charged with being snobbish or aristocratic; but if qualifications are determined by the nature of the responsibility alone, and if membership depends solely on satisfying terms thus arrived at, then professions must be adjudged thoroughly democratic in essence.

There is, of course, always danger that the interests of an organization may conflict with those of the body politic. Organizations of physicians, lawyers, and teachers may find the personal interests of the individuals of whom they are composed arrayed against those of society at large. On the whole, however, organized groups of this kind are, under democratic conditions, apt to be more responsive to public interest than are unorganized and isolated individuals. In any event, under the pressure of public opinion, professional groups have more and

more tended to view themselves as organs contrived for the achievement of social ends rather than as bodies formed to stand together for the assertion of rights or the protection of interests and principles. I do not wish to be understood as saying that this development is as yet by any means complete. Such is far from being the case. Organizations of teachers, doctors, and lawyers are still apt to look out, first of all, for "number one." But as time goes on it may very well come to be a mark of professional character that the professional organization is explicitly and admittedly meant for the advancement of the common social interest through the professional organization. Devotion to well-doing is thus more and more likely to become an accepted mark of professional activity; and as this development proceeds, the pecuniary interest of the individual practitioner of a given profession is apt to yield gradually before an increasing realization of responsibility to a larger end.

Let me now review briefly the six criteria which we have mentioned; professions involve essentially intellectual operations with large individual responsibility; they derive their raw material from science and learning; this material they work up to a practical and definite end; they possess an educationally communicable technique; they tend to self-organization; they are becoming increasingly altruistic in motivation. It will be interesting to submit various forms of activity to the test in order to determine whether these criteria work.

We begin with a crude and obvious example—plumbing. Plumbing possesses certain professional characteristics: it is definite in purpose, possesses a technique communicable through education, and has developed a very definite organization. Nevertheless plumbing is not a profession. The plumber is a mechanical performer, acting on the instrumental rather than the intellectual level; the data which he uses are the property of common experience, not immediately or recently derived from the realms of science and learning; finally, there is as yet no convincing evidence that the spirit of plumbing is becoming socialized. Plumbing is still prosecuted too largely for the plumber's profit. It is therefore a handicraft, not a profession.

Banking is an activity with certain professional characteristics. Its purpose is definite; it gives a good deal of scope to intelligence; it develops a distinct class consciousness. But the disqualifications are plain: banking is as yet far from being to a sufficient extent the application of economic science; it is largely a matter of what is vaguely called *business sense* or *business experience, common sense* or *rule of thumb*. The scientific possibilities unquestionably exist, and recent legislation

marks a distinct advance in the direction of scientfic or professional banking in the stricter use of those terms. For the present, however, banking practices are still too largely empirical to square with the modern conception of professionalism. There are, of course, other defects. A prominent banker recently described himself as "a dealer in credits." The motive of financial profit is thus too strongly stressed. It is true that in times of crisis the banking interests of the country have mobilized for the protection of the general public. But in these instances, trade interest and general interest so largely coincide that it is a question whether the motive can be regarded as an example of professional altruism; in any case, it is exceptional, due to common danger from the outside rather than to spiritual striving from within. For the present, therefore, banking is to be regarded as a trade with certain professional learnings.

Is pharmacy a profession? Is trained nursing a profession? The pharmacist compounds the physician's prescription, for which task he requires a considerable degree of expertness, a knowledge of certain sciences—especially chemistry—and a high degree of caution, since either the slighest error on his part, or inability to detect an error on the part of the physician, whether due to ignorance or to carelessness, may have very serious consequences. Recurring to our criteria, I should say that pharmacy has definiteness of purpose, possesses a communicable technique, and derives at least part of its essential material from science. On the other hand, the activity is not predominantly intellectual in character and the responsibility is not original or primary. The physician thinks, decides, and orders; the pharmacist obeys—obeys, of course, with discretion, intelligence, and skill—yet in the end obeys and does not originate. Pharmacy, therefore, is an arm added to the medical profession, a special and distinctly higher form of handicraft, not a profession. Nor is this distinction merely a verbal quibble, for it has an important bearing on the solution of all educational questions pertaining to pharmacy.

I am conscious of endeavoring to pick up a live wire when I undertake to determine the status of the trained nurse. But if consideration of various activities serially arranged will throw any light upon the problem as related to the social worker, there are obvious advantages in discussing the twilight cases. The trained nurse is making a praiseworthy and important effort to improve the status of her vocation. She urges, and with justice, that her position is one of great responsibility; that she must possess knowledge, skill, and power of judgment; that the chances of securing these qualifications, all of them essentially

intellectual, improve, as the occupation increases in dignity. It is to be observed, however, that the responsibility of the trained nurse is neither original nor final. She, too, may be described as another arm to the physician or surgeon. Her function is instrumental, though not, indeed, just mechanically instrumental. In certain relations she is perhaps almost a collaborator. Yet, when all is said, it is the physician who observes, reflects, and decides. The trained nurse plays into his hands; carries out his orders; summons him like a sentinel in fresh emergencies; subordinates loyally her intelligence to his theory, to his policy, and is effective in precise proportion to her ability thus to second his efforts. Can an activity of this secondary nature be deemed a profession? On the answer, an entire educational policy depends.

I have spoken of the trained nurse, the sick-room attendant, and I have raised, without endeavoring finally to dispose of, certain questions suggested by her relationship to the physician. Meanwhile, it is only fair to add, we are developing nursing along other lines. The public health nurse is a sanitary official, busy in the field largely on her own responsibility rather than in the sick room under orders. Whether the term nurse is properly applicable to her, whether a differentiation in training and terminology is not likely to occur as public health work comes into its own, I need not undertake to decide.

With medicine, law, engineering, literature, painting, music, we emerge from all clouds of doubt into the unmistakable professions. Without exception, these callings involve personally responsible intellectual activity; they derive their material immediately from learning and science; they possess an organized and educationally communicable technique; they have evolved into definite status, social and professional, and they tend to become, more and more clearly, organs for the achievement of large social ends. I need not establish this position separately in reference to each of them. Let the case of medicine suffice. The physician's function is overwhelmingly intellectual in quality and his responsibility absolutely personal. He utilizes various instruments, physical and human: miscroscope, stethoscope, sphygmograph, orderly, pharmacist, dietician, nurse. But his is the commanding intelligence that brings these resources to bear; his the responsibility of decision as to the problem and how it is to be solved. There are, of course, physicians in abundance to whose processes the word *intellectual* cannot be properly applied—routineers, to whom a few obvious signs indicate this or that procedure, by a law of mechanical association; but these poorly trained and ill-equipped medical men have no place in

modern medicine. They are already obsolete, mere survivals destined soon to pass away.

In the next place, medicine derives its material immediately from science. Indeed, an imposing array of sciences has been developed, very largely out of problems encountered and needs felt in medical practice: anatomy, physiology, pathology, bacteriology and pharmacology. These sciences have now achieved independence in the sense that, like chemistry and physics, they possess inherent interest and are capable of development without immediate reference to disease. They nevertheless furnish the data with which the physician very largely operates, and his professional development may be determined by the degree to which he substitutes in his observation and thinking data thus derived for data empirical in character.

Medicine qualifies on other points equally well: it has the definite, practical end already noted, viz: the preservation and restoration of health; it lends itself admirably to an effective and orderly educational discipline, calculated to attain the definite object just stated; it has achieved a very definite status; finally, though neither the organization as a whole nor the members as individuals can claim to be exempt from selfish and mercenary motives, it must in fairness be said that the medical profession has shown a genuine regard for the public interest as against its own, that it is increasingly responsive to large social needs, and that there are not wanting signs of a development that will minimize personal profit somewhat as it is minimized in teaching.

I hope that these examples have made our criteria so clear that they can now be applied to social work. Is social work a profession in the technical and strict sense of the term? The Bulletin of the New York School of Philanthropy under the title *The Profession of Social Work* makes the following explanation:

> The School of Philanthropy is primarily a professional training school, of graduate rank, for civic and social work. The word *philanthropy* is to be understood in the broadest and deepest sense as including every kind of social work, whether under public or private auspices. By social work is meant any form of persistent and deliberate effort to improve living or working conditions in the community, or to relieve, diminish, or prevent distress, whether due to weakness of character or to pressure of external circumstances. All such efforts may be conceived as falling under the heads of charity, education, or justice, and the same action may sometimes appear as one or another according to the point of view.

The activities described in these words are obviously intellectual, not mechanical, not routine in character. The worker must possess fine powers of analysis and discrimination, breadth

and flexibility of sympathy, sound judgment, skill in utilizing whatever resources are available, facility in devising new combinations. These operations are assuredly of intellectual quality.

I confess I am not clear, however, as to whether this responsibility is not rather that of a mediating than an original agency. Let me explain as concretely as I can. The engineer works out his problem and puts through its solution; so does the physician, the preacher, the teacher. The social worker takes hold of a case, that of a disintegrating family, a wrecked individual, or an unsocialized industry. Having localized his problem, having decided on its particular nature, is he not usually driven to invoke the specialized agency, professional or other, best equipped to handle it? There is illness to be dealt with —the doctor is needed; ignorance requires the school; poverty calls for the legislator, organized charity, and so on. To the extent that the social worker mediates the intervention of the particular agent or agency best fitted to deal with the specific emergency which he has encountered, is the social worker himself a professional or is he the intelligence that brings this or that profession or other activity into action? The responsibility for specific action thus rests upon the power he has invoked. The very variety of the situations he encounters compels him to be not a professional agent so much as the mediator invoking this or that professional agency.

In speaking of social work as mediating, I do not intend to say that other professions are mutually independent and act independently. Indeed, the collaboration of different professions in the doing of specific tasks is a characteristic feature of latter-day organization. Architects, engineers, sanitarians, lawyers, and educators coöperate in the building of a school or a tenement. But it is to be noted that this is a division of labor among equals, each party bearing, subject to general consent, primary responsibility for his particular function, the definiteness of that function and the completeness of the responsibility differing, I take it, from the function and responsibility of the social worker under similar conditions.

Consideration of the objects of social work leads to the same conclusion. I have made the point that all the established and recognized professions have definite and specific ends: medicine, law, architecture, engineering—one can draw a clear line of demarcation about their respective fields. This is not true of social work. It appears not so much a definite field as an aspect of work in many fields. An aspect of medicine belongs to social work, as do certain aspects of law, education, archi-

tecture, etc. Recur for a moment to the scope of interest indicated in the extract above quoted from the prospectus of the New York School: the improvement of living and working conditions in the community, the relief or prevention of distress whether individual or social in origin. The prospectus of the Boston School for Social Workers enumerates the various kinds of positions occupied by its graduates as follows: care of children, church and religious work, civic agencies, industrial betterment, institutional and medical social service, neighborhood work and recreation, organizing charity, probation and parole. The field of employment is indeed so vast that delimitation is impossible. We observed that professions need to be limited and definite in scope, in order that practitioners may themselves act; but the high degree of specialized competency required for action and conditioned on limitation of area cannot possibly go with the width of scope characteristic of social work. A certain superficiality of attainment, a certain lack of practical ability, necessarily characterize such breadth of endeavor. If, however, we conceive the social worker, not so much as the agent grappling with this or that situation, but rather as controlling the keyboard that summons, coöperates with and coördinates various professional specialists, this breadth of attainment is very far from being a matter for reproach. It imposes upon the social worker the necessity of extreme caution, of considerable modesty, because in these days a considerable measure of certainty is possible to any one person only within a restricted field. Would it not be at least suggestive therefore to view social work as in touch with many professions rather than as a profession in and by itself?

Perhaps the same idea can be brought out in other ways. A good deal of what is called social work might perhaps be accounted for on the ground that the recognized professions have developed too slowly on the social side. Suppose medicine were fully socialized; would not medical men, medical institutions, and medical organizations look after certain interests that the social worker must care for just because medical practice now falls short? The shortcomings of law create a similar need in another direction. Thus viewed, social work is, in part at least, not so much a separate profession, as an endeavor to supplement certain existing professions pending their completed development. It pieces out existing professions; breathes a new spirit into them; and binds them together in the endeavor to deal with a given situation from a new point of view.

Lack of specificity in aim affects seriously the problem of training social workers. Professions that are able to define their objects precisely can work out educational procedures capable of accomplishing a desired result. But the occupations of social workers are so numerous and diverse that no compact, purposefully organized educational discipline is feasible. Well-informed, well-balanced, tactful, judicious, sympathetic, resourceful people are needed, rather than any definite kind or kinds of technical skill. In so far as education can produce this type, the education is not technically professional so much as broadly cultural in a variety of realms of civic and social interest. The vagueness of the enterprise in which they are engaged must have troubled the instructors themselves, if I may judge from a remark once made to me by one of them: "We don't know just what to teach them." In this connection it is worth noting that the heads of schools for social workers are trained men with subsequent experience, but not trained social workers. Dr. Graham Taylor is a theologian by training, Dr. Brackett and Dr. Devine are economists. In addition to knowing a specialty well, they are all well-informed in many other directions. This breadth of interest and attainment reinforced by practical experience makes them competent heads of schools for social workers—this, rather than any particular training aimed at the particular job.

Let me add, however, that what I have just said does not imply that schools of philanthropy are superfluous. Looking at them as educational ventures, I suspect that they are as yet feeling about for their proper place and function. There is an obvious convenience, however, in having an institution which focuses as far as possible the main lines of social activity; an obvious advantage in having an institution that emphasizes the practical side of what might otherwise be more or less academic instruction in many branches. But instruction of this kind is not exactly professional in character; it supplements and brings to bear what good students might well acquire in the course of their previous higher education.

If social work fails to conform to some professional criteria, it very readily satisfies others. No question can be raised as to the source from which the social worker derives his material —it comes obviously from science and learning, from economics, ethics, religion and medicine; nor is there any doubt on the score of the rapid evolution of a professional self-consciousness, as these annual conferences abundantly testify. Finally, in the one respect in which most professions still fall short, social work is fairly on the same level as education, for the rewards

of the social worker are in his own conscience and in heaven. His life is marked by devotion to impersonal ends and his own satisfaction is largely through the satisfactions procured by his efforts for others.

There is, however, another side even to this aspect of professional activity. Professions may not be cultivated for mere profit. Neither, let me add, can they develop on the basis of volunteer or underpaid service. Most men and women are fortunately so placed that the careers they adopt must afford them the income necessary to their existence and development. Well-trained men and women cannot, as a rule, be attracted to a vocation that does not promise a living wage in return for competent service. Am I mistaken in thinking that not infrequently the inner joy attached to philanthropic endeavor has seemed to those in control a more complete satisfaction of the worker's legitimate desires than it has seemed, for example, to the worker herself? Here again I am raising a question, not making a criticism.

Now that we have run through the marks of the professions and have found that on the whole at this stage social work is hardly eligible, it is fair to ask whether we have not been simply engaged in verbal quibbling. Has an analysis of this kind any practical significance?

It seems to me that it has. For example: the social worker is at times perhaps somewhat too self-confident; social work has suffered to some extent from one of the vices associated with journalism, excessive facility in speech and in action. Let us suppose for a moment that our reflection on the differences between the accepted professions and social work reminds the social worker at crucial moments that he is, as social worker, not so much an expert himself as the mediator whose concern it is to summon the expert: will not his observation be calmer, his utterance more restrained, be the difficulty he encounters economic, educational, or sanitary? He will, I mean, be conscious of his dependence, and this consciousness will tend to induce caution, thoroughness, and moderation. For if social work is not definite enough to be called a profession, the social worker will at least be less cock-sure than the professional man whom he calls in. Is it not possible that part of the vast army of reaction is made up of those needlessly terrified by the occasionally reckless—and perhaps somewhat baseless—confidence of the reformer? If so, failure to realize the limitations of social work from the professional point of view is not without practical consequences.

Matthew Arnold somewhere quotes Gœthe as saying: "To do is easy; to think is hard." There is a sense in which the remark is true. If we mean routine doing and fundamental thinking, then truly to do is easy, to think is hard. But there is a sense in which the remark is false. For if we mean by doing, effective doing, and by thinking the facile movement of suggestion, then to think is easy, to do is hard. The easy, impatient sweep of progressive recommendation, characteristic of even the best progressive journalism, is one thing; the working out of a practical problem is quite another. I know of nothing more difficult than to take hold of a definite situation in sanitation or education and to make it better. Nor is it only or in some cases mainly the iniquity and perversity of men that are at fault; our impatience may occasionally be unjust, if it is due to any such view. The problems are in themselves intricate; our resources are inadequate; our powers, especially in dealing with others, are relatively slight and work slowly. In the sense in which we are now speaking, Gœthe's saying may be reversed: to think is easy, to do is hard.

I have no desire to discourage social workers; still less do I want to bring aid or comfort to the enemy. I do not want to diminish the vigor of any attack that can be made upon poverty, ignorance, disease, selfishness; but for the moment I am, ignoring all else, looking at the method of the social worker from the merely professional standpoint. Now when social work becomes thoroughly professional in character and scientific in method, it will be perceived that vigor is not synonymous with intelligence. Moreover, vigor cannot succeed without intelligence. The battles that social work wages will not be won by phrases which too often serve as a substitute for experience and knowledge, but by trench warfare carried on by men and women who have learned every inch of the ground over which they must fight.

I spoke a moment ago of journalism. I would not be understood as discrediting effective and able journalistic work. Its limitations, however, are obvious, and by none are they more acutely felt than by some of those who are compelled by the necessities of the case to labor within them. What I mean to point out here is this: that a profession needs in these days a form of expression and record that is scientific rather than journalistic in character. The newspapers, the weekly and monthly periodicals, more or less serve social work as far as journalistic publicity is concerned. Now while it is doubtless still advisable to concentrate this material in journals expressly devoted to social work for news-propaganda and agitation, it

is important to remember that we do not thus rise above the journalistic to the scientific or professional level. A profession must find a dignified and critical means of expressing itself in the form of a periodical which shall describe in careful terms whatever work is in progress; and it must from time to time register its more impressive performances in a literature of growing solidity and variety. To some extent the evolution of social work towards the professional status can be measured by the quality of publication put forth in its name. I cannot pretend to such familiarity with the literature of social work as to warrant me in passing an opinion as to how far its periodical or its book literature is impressive, scientific, or professional in quality; but I believe the point is one which might be profitably considered by those who wish social work to be taken as seriously as medicine or engineering.

At the moment, therefore, it may be—observe that I am not endeavoring to be very positive—it may be that social work will gain if it becomes uncomfortably conscious that it is not a profession in the sense in which medicine and engineering are professions; that if medicine and engineering have cause to proceed with critical care, social work has even more. The father of the late President Gilman was once asked whether his son Daniel had "chosen his profession." "I don't know," he replied, "Daniel is always working rather than professing."

But, after all, what matters most is professional spirit. All activities may be prosecuted in the genuine professional spirit. In so far as accepted professions are prosecuted at a mercenary or selfish level, law and medicine are ethically no better than trades. In so far as trades are honestly carried on, they tend to rise towards the professional level. Social work appeals strongly to the humanitarian and spiritual element. It holds out no inducement to the worldly—neither comfort, glory, nor money. The unselfish devotion of those who have chosen to give themselves to making the world a fitter place to live in can fill social work with the professional spirit and thus to some extent lift it above all the distinctions which I have been at such pains to make. In the long run, the first, main and indispensable criterion of a profession will be the possession of professional spirit, and that test social work may, if it will, fully satisfy.

SOCIAL WORK AND PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

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As a lawyer I belong to a profession which has behind it the experience of eight hundred years. But as an American lawyer I am sharply differentiated from the English lawyer. The standards of the English bar are very largely derived from the very fact that its members form a small aristocratic body of commanding intellectual and social position. The standards of the American legal profession, however, are inseparably united with the history of legal education in this country. To that history I should like, briefly, to invite your attention.

The course of legal education in the United States has three periods. The first step is that of apprenticeship. You were articled to a practicing lawyer; you copied his pleadings (and the better your handwriting the better fitted you were for your task); you picked up the knacks and tricks of his dealings with people; read in his chambers, and established a personal relationship from which intellectual equipment followed. Judge Reeve, of Connecticut, personifies the next stage—the establishment of private proprietary law schools. At the end of the eighteenth century, Judge Reeve founded the famous school at Litchfield, Connecticut, and others followed. Soon it came to be felt that law had as much title to university consideration as other recognized professional pursuits. And so, with the establishment of the Harvard Law School, in 1817, we reach the third step in legal education, namely, the recognition by our universities of the obligation of training men fit to practice and administer law.

Present day legal education dates from 1871 when a new method of legal training was adopted at the Harvard Law School. This method is now the prevailing mode of law teaching in the United States. In a word, it is the application of the scientific spirit to law. What are its underlying assumptions? They are that law is a science, if not like the physical sciences, verifiable in the laboratory, yet a body of experience, a body of data, from which, increasingly, definite guides for the future may be gathered. Secondly, that this is a vast and complex body, and a cumulatively important body of learning which requires constant, comprehensive, and well-directed application on the part of those who pursue it. It must be studied in an orderly, continuous, and systematic way. Step by step the con-

ditions thus required for the study of law have been recognized by our universities, and step by step more favoring conditions for the pursuit of study have been enforced.

Until 1871 there were no examinations, practically speaking, either for admission or for graduation from law schools in this country. In 1871 Dean Langdell, at Harvard, established a minimum requirement of admission, a graded course of teaching of two years, with required examinations at the end of each year. It was soon found that two years was inadequate, and in 1877 a three-year course was established. These changes met with much opposition and some cynicism; yet today these are generally recognized as the normal requirements, even if not the universally established requirements in legal education.

Finally, it was realized that the study of law requires certain fundamental pre-professional training, and so in 1896 Harvard made its Law School a truly post-graduate school by conditioning admission on a college degree acquired prior to entrance. Again, other schools have followed, and that is the growing normal requirement today. More and more the proprietary law school is being crowded out, and we are reaching that maturity in our national life which demands, as the duty of universities, the training of men to fit them to teach, to practice, and to administer law. Thus there has arisen in this country the highly specialized profession of teaching law at the universities. Successful law teaching requires different capabilities from those required in the successful practice of the law. For education is not the imparting of information. To teach one must have the ability to make facts vital; to teach is to generate creative interest in the human problems back of the law. This is a profession that requires all of a man's time. It involves not only class-room work, but living research—study of the workings of the legal system, study of the legal systems elsewhere, and the production of a literature which is an indispensable product in any field that truly calls itself a profession.

In a word, the history of legal education in this country is the establishment of an adequate school connected with the university, a school having rigorous requirements of admission, a school with graded courses extending at least for three years, a school having men as teachers who give their entire time exclusively to teaching, and through their research work furnish critical standards, however tentative, for application and modification by bench and bar in the actual enforcement of the law. I have thus sketched the best development of legal education in the United States. By no means does it operate throughout the country; but the tendency is all that way. Nor have we

reached the end of our development. Quite the contrary. There are new demands made upon it which legal education must soon meet. In the remarkable report on legal education in the United States which Professor Redlich, of Vienna, has just made for the Carnegie Foundation, the conclusion is reached that in view of the great mass of scientific data which the various social sciences have given us, and which law must assimilate, and in view of the need of a philosophy of law, more time is required for legal training than is now at our disposal. Therefore, Professor Redlich suggests that a fourth year, which is now optional at the Harvard Law School, shall be made compulsory.

The history of legal education, so hurriedly sketched, finds a striking parallel in the history of medical education in this country. This history has been most lucidly set forth in Mr. Flexner's well-known report on medical education. First, there was the apprenticeship system, the knack of acquiring the art of a physician in a haphazard way; then the establishment of proprietary schools; then the university schools; until all the great medical schools of today are parts of the universities and united to a hospital, so that theory and practice, hypothesis and verification—the two aspects of scientific method—may both come into play. It has taken a long time to recognize the need of professional standards in medical education. It was not until 1901 that President Eliot was able to bring the Harvard Medical School to realize that there are certain fundamentals which a man must have had before he is fit for a medical training; that it is impossible, as has been said, that a man should walk straight from the street into a medical school. In this field, too, we cannot afford to feel smug, but the tendency is sound and hopeful.

The course of university professional training is entering other fields than the two old established professions. It is but a few years since Mr. Brandeis elaborated at Brown University the idea that business is a profession. Since then the idea has fertilized, and our universities have responded to the realization that business *is* a profession, that it is based on conscious inventiveness and accumulated experience, and that it must be pursued, if rightly pursued, for community ends, and not merely for personal profit. So it is that Harvard and Dartmouth, and now Columbia, have established schools for business administration. There is such a thing as professional business engineering. What has been the history here? The same as we found in legal and medical education. First, the assumption, still much too prevalent, that all a man needs is knack and luck and industry; second, a school of large pretensions and poor equip-

ment seeking to teach men by making money out of it; and, finally, the conviction that business has very vital social ends, and that before a man shall be sent out to practice it he must have certain preliminary training, which colleges should, and if adequate to their tasks alone can furnish, and that post-graduate schools of business should, in specialized lines, build on that preliminary training.

And now for your profession, or quasi-profession, as Mr. Flexner would have it. Whether social work is a profession, or a quasi-profession, you are pursuing a very influential and purposefully directed calling. You are assuming to be the most immediate practitioners of the present day faith that society can, within limits, control its development. Considering the field of your activities I wonder whether the lines are not nearly parallel with the line hastily followed in the other fields. We have seen there that growth has been from a purely individualistic conception of it to an organized method of training people for it, and, finally, to the establishment of university departments dealing with the respective problems. The activities which have evolved to the present day social work were, in the beginning, on the whole regarded as matters of personal charity. The discharge of such activities could not be organized into a professional calling. Later on charity commenced to have the social aspect. Human kindness assumed an organized scale. We finally reached the beginning of the present stage, roughly, with Ward's great book on *Dynamic Sociology*. That marks a definite beginning of modern American sociology —or social engineering, if you will. It brought us, in this country, to the recognition that we must not deal merely with individual cases. Contemporary conditions presented a more radical challenge to human reason and will. The need for equipment to deal with the problems was responded to by the establishment of private schools. This is the stage in social work today. Has not the time arrived to take serious thought about the next step? One can hardly speak of the future without seeming to slight the past, and yet I hope that nothing I say will fail to convey my high sense of the pioneer service that has been and is being done in the schools for social work throughout the country.

The law profession, and to a less degree the medical profession, have had centuries of accumulated data to build on. You come later into the field; you are dealing practically with a new human effort. On the other hand, you have the experience of other professions to help you. The history of education for social work is the history of only a little over a decade. The

progress achieved during this period has been marked. The progress, perhaps, is most significantly disclosed by the high standards aimed at by these schools and the sense of their own inadequacy. It is their own need of the situation, their own high aims, which embolden me to suggest what I conceive to be the next step. The New York School of Philanthropy says it is a professional school. The Chicago School has a similar statement, and goes even further in indicating that the work pursued in that School is more like the professional law and medical schools than other post-graduate departments of the university. Here, then, we find that there is a recognition of certain requirements—requirements, however, which these schools do, as yet, not fulfill.

I submit that what has been found necessary for adequate training for those social activities which we call the profession of law and medicine, is needed for the very definite, if undefined, profession we call social work. I cannot believe that the preliminary training of a lawyer, most of his life spent in the adjustment of controversies between individuals, requires less of a background, less of an understanding of what has gone before in life, less of a rigorous critical discipline, than is needed by those of you who go out to pass judgment on the social conditions of whole communities, by those of you who administer laws like the minimum-wage law, and the other social legislation now administered in great numbers by social workers. Secondly, I cannot believe that a training fit to discipline people who shall guide and deal with the social forces of the day, can be done in less time than the time found necessary for the training of lawyers. Thirdly, I cannot believe that the experience of medicine and law as to the quality of teachers to train men in those professions applies less in regard to teachers of social work. I believe social workers, to reach the professional level, must be guided by teachers not only of insight and possessed of scientific equipment, but teachers who give their whole time and thought to it. The time has gone by when the teaching of any profession can be entrusted to persons who from their exacting outside work of practice or administration, give to teaching their tired leavings.

Finally, and at the center of it all, is complete association with a university. The schools for social work have sprung up, of course, in our large industrial cities. Is not their evolution destined to become an integral part of the universities in those cities to which they are now, in most cases, somewhat platonically attached? For the university is the workshop of our democracy. If it is not that, it has no excuse for being. The

university should be the laboratory of this great new mass of scientific and social facts, and the coördinator of these facts for legislation, for administration, for courts, for public opinion. The nineteenth century necessarily was a period of specialization, even over-specialization. Our task is to unify and correct the partial facts of the all too-scattered social sciences. Mr. Flexner truly pictured the character of social work in showing its close interrelation with medicine and law, and sanitation, and the other applied social sciences. In a scattered way these professional studies are now pursued by the university. The function of the university, however, is to accommodate these various social sciences, to unite in a whole all these facts of life. The schools for social work must be intimate parts of the university, because they must have contact with the other branches of the university's work. I suspect that by a careful scheme of coördination our great universities could establish schools of applied social science with very little addition to their existing plant or personnel. These schools need the university. But the university needs the school for social work. Just as the medical school cannot do its job well without a connected hospital, so the medical school, and the law school, and other branches of the university, need the experience and the experimentation which a school for social work should produce. These various aspects, necessarily specializations of one common endeavor, should be parts of a single intellectual community.

A bracing thinker, Mr. Justice Holmes, has said that "the mode through which the inevitable comes to pass is effort." The awful sadness of the war has served only to stiffen present day democracy in its faith that only through effort—rationalized, imaginative, persistent effort—can we organize, or reorganize the existing social scheme of things. We, the public, have a right to require that those who are the most immediate engineers of that effort should have the best equipment for the task; and you, as those social engineers, need that equipment.

COMMITTEE REPORT: THE PROFESSIONAL BASIS OF SOCIAL WORK

Porter R. Lee, New York School of Philanthropy, Chairman

Amid the confusion that arises from attempts to define social work or to mark off its field from others, three conceptions of the social worker are distinguishable. Each may be briefly stated.

The first conception would include any person in any form of activity whose work is guided by a particular social purpose: the promotion of the common welfare. A good statement of this conception is to be found in Mr. Devine's book, *The Spirit of Social Work*. He dedicates the book "to all social workers"; "that is to say, to every man or woman who, in any relation of life, professional, industrial, political, educational or domestic; whether on salary or as a volunteer; whether on his own individual account or as a part of an organized movement, is working consciously, according to his light intelligently, and according to his strength persistently, for the promotion of the common welfare—the common welfare as distinct from that of a party or a class or a sect or a business interest or a particular institution or a family or an individual." The social worker in this sense is the socialized individual. Any person is a social worker if his work has conscious social purpose, although his vocation may be any one of the historic forms of human activity.

The second conception includes as social workers those who are engaged in so-called preventive work, that is to say, those whose efforts are directed toward social legislation, toward the development of the social point of view in the general public, and toward readjustments in social institutions and social habits. A distinction is sharply drawn between this group and those whose work is the treatment of the sub-normal. From this point of view social workers are investigating industrial conditions, reducing infant mortality, fighting tuberculosis, restricting child labor, promoting social legislation, and influencing political platforms. Those whose chief concern is with the treatment of the subnormal are not here classified as social workers unless they contribute also to these so-called preventive campaigns. Social work in this sense is not concerned with those who are disabled by adverse conditions of life, but with the adverse conditions.

The third conception of the social worker, on the other hand, identifies him primarily with efforts in behalf of the subnormal. To one holding this conception, the social worker is he who endeavors through case-work to re-establish disabled families and individuals in a routine of normal life. This does not preclude interest in social legislation and other forms of preventive work, but these are not the first tasks of this social worker. When social work as a generic term first came into general use leaders in work for dependent families, neglected children, the defective, the delinquent, and the destitute sick comprised almost the entire group to which it was applied. However much new enthusiasms and new knowledge may have

added to the program of social work, to most case workers, I fancy, their own contribution is still its foundation.

Whichever of these conceptions command the greatest measure of support from those who call themselves social workers, the proponents of all of them agree in speaking of social work as a profession. If it is or is to be a profession, has it definite characteristics which will admit all those who claim the name, or which will automatically exclude some? The announcements of this conference describe this as the greatest gathering of social workers on the continent. Our membership includes public relief officials, institution officers, play leaders, parish workers, charity organization secretaries, probation officers, placing out agents, nurses, settlement workers, medical social service workers, prison heads, friendly visitors, truant officers, matrons, teachers of special groups, members of boards of directors, tenement inspectors, public welfare directors, social investigators, executives of agencies for social legislation, industrial betterment leaders, those who work with immigrants, factory inspectors and—to avoid omitting any—many others. Is the tie which gives coherence to this group a professional one?

Profession undoubtedly is given an even greater variety of definitions than *social work*. There are the professions of medicine, law, teaching and the ministry. The designation *profession* is also applied to acting and baseball. Ordinarily however, as Mr. Flexner has told us, we use the word profession as connoting a dignified calling in which men, carefully trained, seek to reach certain definite ends, important for the well-being of the race, through recognized and proven methods. Social workers, when they think of themselves as professional men and women, incline to ally themselves with doctors, lawyers, teachers, and clergymen rather than with other vocational groups.

Up to the present time social workers have been classified *as* social workers because they have been engaged in certain occupations. That is to say, two men of approximately equal natural ability and general preparation may be choosing a career at the same time. One enters a bank, the other becomes secretary of an anti-tuberculosis association. Immediately the latter is recognized as a social worker and the former is not. Differences of opinion as to who is a social worker therefore are really differences of opinion as to what is social work. That is to say, the title has been attached to the character of the occupation and not to the qualifications of the worker. This is entirely legitimate as a method of classification; but it is clear from Mr. Flexner's paper that it is not the basis of professional distinctions.

When we speak of social work as a profession we are making large claims for ourselves. One does not become a doctor by assuming the title or even by prescribing iodine for the sore finger of a friend. Professional standing implies expertness. Expertness is not the result alone of interest in a problem, or even of attempts to solve it. Ordinarily expertness implies responsibility and power gained by hard work which other persons, including other kinds of experts, do not have. If social workers are to justify their claims to professional standing it will not be chiefly because they are working to promote social welfare, but because they are *qualified* to promote social welfare, and to promote social welfare in ways which other professions cannot.

We assume that human welfare, both individual and general, is based upon definite laws some of which science has discovered and which men have applied in their various forms of activity. This conscious activity to promote welfare, based upon scientific discovery of new possibilities of richer, healthier, more wholesome life, has been differentiated and standardized in various ways. It crystallizes in the professions of medicine, law, the ministry, and teaching. It crystallizes in various technical vocations and trades. It crystallizes in commercial activities. New forms of professional service such as engineering, new trades, new developments in commerce and industry, appear as experience and scientific experiment demonstrate their value. As a result of changed standards, modified practices and new forms of activity which new knowledge and experience bring about, there has appeared within a generation a new combination of old ideals, human needs and modern knowledge. To historic forms of organized activity designed consciously or unconsciously to promote human welfare—this generation has added the cluster of more or less related activities which we call social work. A large part of the effort put forth in its name implies beyond a doubt only the sort of enlightened citizenship which we defined as the first conception of social work.

No organized activity, however, can claim professional standing until it rests upon scientific knowledge, and has developed definite methods of using that knowledge to reach its goal. When technical processes within a profession have become established those who seek to enter it must not only work towards its particular goal of achievement; they must master those processes first. These processes change continually in any profession. The treatment of the sick today in many respects has little in common with the treatment of one hundred years ago. From day to day and from year to year, however, the change is slight;

and it is through the mastery of established processes first that the development of new processes becomes possible. In other words, the technical skill of the practitioner, as Mr. Flexner has pointed out, is one of the bases of any profession.

To those who believe in the professional possibilities of social work the mission of such enlightened citizenship as we defined under our first conception is primarily to give a new ideal, the ideal of social welfare, to *every* kind of activity—to the older professions, to artisans, to legislators, and to those engaged in commerce and industry. The real conception of the social worker is of a person technically trained and otherwise equipped to deal with certain problems which cannot be solved or even understood without such training and equipment. Fully appreciating the supreme importance of spiritual values in social work, this committee, nevertheless, respectfully suggests that the chief problem facing social work is the development of training methods which will give it this technical basis. This report is designed to emphasize the importance of this technical basis and to indicate its nature.

In the opinion of this committee, social work, strictly defined, deals with human welfare as affected by the economy of social life. To exercise this function requires a technical skill certain forms of which we do not believe to be implied in the technical skill necessary to the pursuit of any other calling. The tests of this technical skill we believe to be two: the diagnosis and treatment of disabilities so far as they are influenced by the social routine of the disabled person or family, and the determination of the general effect upon human welfare of different phases of the economy of social life. Further discussion may make these statements mean something.

The first problem for the technical skill of the social worker is the diagnosis and treatment of disability. Overwork, unemployment, low wages, bad heredity, ignorance, illiteracy, unsuitable education, sickness, vice, eccentricities of temperament and unstable character are definite handicaps to efficient living. Some are the products of others. All are the products of the economy of our social life. In behalf of the family or individual presenting some one or some combination of these disabilities we may apply simultaneously or successively the trained skill of the doctor, the lawyer, the teacher, the clergyman, or other technically trained persons and, in some cases, where the problem is simple, the result will be the development of a full measure of efficiency in the person or family so treated. In others it will not; why? Because the power to diagnose the effect of these disabilities upon human nature, human physique, human char-

acter and human efficiency implies technical skill some forms of which are not an essential part of the professional equipment of any of these other callings. This suggests no mere gap in the resources of a community desiring the welfare of its members, which social workers, seeking a niche of their own, may decide to fill. It is conclusive evidence that this power of social diagnosis is a distinctive and essential contribution to organized human efficiency and one for which other professions, as well as the needs of men, already are calling.

If we could say that we had already established the content of a training which would give this technical skill there would be little need for this report. We have, however, only made a beginning. Technical processes are always derived from experience. Standard methods in any form of work were experiments at one time. Repeated over and over, now unconsciously, now consciously, their universal validity is finally recognized. By studying their experience case workers dealing with the socially disabled have established some elementary principles. They have learned that there are certain methods which are more likely than others to yield the information necessary to an understanding of the disabilities of their clients. They have learned also that, given this knowledge, certain combinations of education, medical treatment, personal influence, opportunities for self-maintenance, restraint or relief are likely to lead to the removal of these disabilities to a greater or less degree. They are learning also that certain of their clients can never be improved by any of the methods now known to us.

We have, therefore, in the process of determining the general degree of welfare which any given client has reached, laid the foundation of a technique. This process—case work—includes the assembling of his health history and present physical condition, his heredity, the degree and quality of his education, his work record and other evidence of vocational ability, his reactions upon his fellows, his ideals and other indices to his capacity, moral character, and general standard of living. In this process, a knowledge of the sources whence this information must come and the way to use them is essential. Once this "degree of welfare" in the case of any given client is determined, the process of case work becomes one of adjustment between the client and his environment. There is no limit in sight to the degree of precision, the clarity of judgment, the ingenuity or the scientific knowledge which this case work process may absorb. The complexity of the task of inter-weaving the factors of employment, recreation, education, moral influence, and material environment with the temperment and powers of one's

client in a routine which will bring out his best is too obvious to need more than suggestion; the implications of the task are as far-reaching as the boundaries of human power.

This problem of adjusting individuals and families to their environment and environment to their needs is not confined to work for the subnormal. It is seen wherever conscious effort is made to develop the efficiency of human beings: in the school room, in the factory, in the charitable society, on the playground, in the institution. The process of meeting it is a technical process requiring a high degree of trained skill. How far the development of this skill can be carried we do not know. We only know that we are steadily acquiring greater skill; and that we see every day more clearly how indispensable to social welfare is the contribution of the case worker.

The technical qualifications of the social worker have another and equally fundamental phase. How *does* the economy of social life affect human welfare? In determining how it *has* affected a particular individual or family, the social worker, as we have seen, must build up a diagnosis from the social history which his skill enables him to secure and interpret. But does the economy of social life affect all individuals alike? Obviously not. That its effect upon groups of individuals, upon communities and nations can be determined and controlled is a fundamental assumption at the basis of all our social legislation and other preventive activities, and at the basis also of our case work.

Social legislation is designed to promote social welfare, by which is meant the welfare of the individuals in the mass who compose society. What determines the particular laws which we try to have enacted? Political expediency, in part, of course; but, more fundamentally, it is our knowledge of the evil effect upon human beings of certain phases of the economy of social life. We believe child labor to be bad for children and therefore bad for society. With more or less effort we gather certain facts and convince a community and its legislature that child labor should be abolished. Similarly we get a certain degree of compulsory education based upon knowledge of the effect of ignorance and illiteracy—of sanitary control, based upon knowledge of disease and its causes—of recreational facilities, based upon knowledge of children's need for play.

Superficial knowledge regarding the general aspects of certain of these adverse conditions every person, certainly every social worker, has. The farther we go, however, in readjusting our social institutions and habits, the less adequate does this superficial knowledge become. It is no light responsibility to

urge social action which will radically alter institutions long established in the economy of social life. If, however, it can be shown that such institutions have a bad effect upon human welfare, then such action is justified. Freedom of contract, the law of wages and other cherished institutions with solid achievement to their credit in the history of human progress were all threatened by the statute which limited the working hours of women. Who could say that social welfare would be better safeguarded by the new policy than by the old? Nobody, with any certainty, until there was compiled in behalf of the statute an irresistible array of evidence of the bad effect of long hours upon women and therefore upon society. Here were a compilation and interpretation of facts regarding the effect of one detail of the economy of our social life upon human welfare which, until our knowledge increases, cannot be challenged.

Every phase of the environment in which human beings live has its effect upon human efficiency, human physique, human nature; congestion, overwork, long hours, housing, education, temptation, noise, recreational facilities. In the wise direction of our activities toward social welfare, precise knowledge of their effect is essential.

How is this knowledge to be acquired? We believe this, also, to be a technical process. We have conceded this, at least to the extent of recognizing the experienced social investigator as a part of our trained equipment. Beyond a doubt the gathering and use of statistical material, the understanding of general social conditions through a study of the individuals and social groups affected by them—all of those processes which are suggested by the social survey and the special social investigation—are being standardized to a degree which will make proficiency in them a technical acquirement. It is through the application of these processes to living and working conditions that knowledge regarding the effect of our social economy upon human welfare is to be acquired.

It may be thought that in outlining the technical qualifications of the case worker and of the social investigator we have defined two types of the social worker instead of one. We believe, on the contrary, that both forms of skill should be developed in the training of any social worker, whether he be preparing for case work or for social investigation. Certainly a case worker who attempts to deal with a family in which employment is a factor, needs to be trained to see the effect of modern working conditions upon human beings. Every social disability which he finds in a particular individual has implications extending far beyond the weakness of this particular client;

and these larger implications may well modify his program in behalf of this client.

On the other side, since social welfare can be interpreted only in terms of the welfare of many individuals as individuals, the power to understand the forces which make individual welfare is essential in a worker whose field is the promotion of social legislation or the readjustment of social habits. If the time ever comes when the social worker is recognized as a social worker because of the skill he has, rather than because of the job he holds, it will be when he has been trained in these two fields.

The steps we have taken in acquiring a technique in case work and social investigation are only a beginning. If for no other reason than this, we would be loath to see any exclusive assumption of right to the title of "social worker" by those who have taken these steps. Other phases of social work have developed a technique which time may show to be as fundamental and distinctive as these. Certainly the problems of administration, of coördination of effort, of publicity, of the preparation and passage of social legislation call increasingly for technical equipment. We confess, however, that at present these are forms of technique which seem to us essential in the same way to the practice of business and of other professions and are not distinctively the technique of social work.

Moreover, if we confine the title of *social worker* to trained case workers and social investigators, we rule out most of those who have thus far given prestige to the title. We are far from asserting or believing that this should be done. In our campaigns for social welfare we cannot dispense with the socialized individual whose contribution is a point of view rather than a technique. Technical attainments alone will never make a social worker. Social ideals and a sympathetic understanding of the human soul in adversity are as indispensable now as ever. In dwelling upon the importance of technical attainments, we are merely voicing our belief that their development has lagged behind our growing knowledge of social problems and our emotional reactions to them. We do believe that the social worker of the future must be a technically proficient person. Just how far in the future this type of social worker may be we do not know. In the meantime, many of us have never had the advantage of technical training other than that given by grim experience. We need not question our status because a committee of the National Conference of Charities proposes for the social workers of the future qualifications which we could not meet. We should be disloyal to our calling if we did not believe that its standards

of achievement are to rise. Standards rise only as they are raised by the better qualified workers of a new generation. That has been the history of every standardized human activity and it will be the history of social work.

We do not suggest that technical training is the sole necessary part of the equipment of prospective social workers. How many other factors such training must include has already been indicated in our session on the *Curriculum of the Professional School.* It may well be that *social worker* as a distinctive title fits more appropriately the growing army of socialized individuals interested in the common welfare than it does this type of trained worker. If so, a new designation for those who meet the technical requirements outlined in this report will be evolved. As we compare an interest in social welfare with the trained ability to promote it, it is the distinction and not the name that is important to those who believe they are working in the pioneer stage of a new profession.

In conslusion, it may not be amiss to point out that it rests largely with social workers, themselves, whether their calling rise to the plane of a profession, or sink to the level of a trade. "I hold every man a debtor to his profession," said Bacon, in the introduction to *The Maxims of the Law,* quoted by Dr. Henry S. Pritchett. "That debt," says Dr. Pritchett, "devolves upon him who enters one of these great professions the obligation to fit himself for it, the obligation to conserve the honor and advance the cause of his profession, and above all to remember in his practice his duty to the state as well as to himself. It is only through the observance of these ideals that a profession can remain a profession."

In a sense of responsibility to society, social work as we know it today was born. Regarding the effect of the economy of social life upon human welfare and the way to control it, we are probably no more benighted than was the human race regarding the body of man and its afflictions in the early centuries of the medical profession. As the bad effects of industrial processes, living conditions and community habits have been discovered and understood, social workers have been fearless in making them known. If they have been less conspicuous in suggesting remedies—although a lower death-rate, better education more recreation and greater protection for workers and for the weak testify to the soundness of their remedies—it has been because remedies must evolve slowly out of thoughtful experience. Just here is perhaps the greatest responsibility of social work to the public and to itself. The collection and interpretation of facts in a large body of knowledge is part of the foundation of

any profession. Anatomy, physiology and kindred sciences are fundamental in medicine; the history of jurisprudence, legal principles and legal processes and other studies in law. These bodies of knowledge were not discovered fully developed, but were built up out of experience by doctors and lawyers interested in the advancement of their professions. Social workers find economics, biology and psychology essential to their own preparation, but beyond these there is need for the facts of social economy scientificially interpreted. Social work will grow from an occupation to a profession only if its practitioners can develop this body of knowledge out of their experience and acquire the power to apply it. When this committee considers, on the one hand, how easily social workers assume the mantle of expertness and, on the other, how long and how painstaking is the process by which the older professions have come to authoritative leadership they could wish for social workers of this generation, as part of their endowment nothing, more earnestly, than the spirit of humility in the face of their unparalleled opportunity.

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ROUNDTABLE: SCHOOL PROBLEMS*

On the first question, "How can young colored men and women best be trained for social work among their own people?" those who spoke informally were: Mrs. Eugene R. Smith, Baltimore; Prof. Kelly Miller, Washington, D. C.; James P. Kranz, Memphis; Walter W. Whitson, Orange, N. J.; Oscar Leonard, St. Louis; Prof. Joshua B. Simpson, Richmond; Rev. Frederic J. Siedenburg, Chicago.

On the second question. "What forms of classes or lecture courses are practicable and useful in communities which have no organized schools for training professional social workers?" the speakers were: John Daniels, Baltimore; Zilpha D. Smith, Boston; Prof. Edward F. Buchner, Baltimore; William Kirk, Rochester, N. Y.; Rev. F. M. Crouch, New York; L. A. Halbert, Kansas City, Mo.; Prof. Kelly Miller, Washington, D. C.

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EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL WORK†

Edward T. Devine, Ph. D., Director, New York School of Philanthropy

One of the chief reasons for the professional school as distinct from higher education in general, on the one hand, and a study class with apprenticeship training in an office, on the other, is that it establishes professional standards. The underlying idea of a professional school for social workers is that there are certain qualifications which are equally advantageous

*Section meeting Thursday, May 13, 11:00 A. M.
†Section meeting Saturday, May 15, 9:15 A. M.

for the conduct of institutions, for the improvement of social conditions, and for the relief or rehabilitation of individuals and families. These qualifications are partly to be discovered and partly to be developed, and the professional school has a responsibility both for discovery and for development. In the first announcement of the New York School's one year course, published eleven years ago, there is quoted a saying of Cicero which I think puts the matter in a nut-shell:

> I admit that there have been many men who without learning have, through their own original endowment, attained to wisdom and success. I will even grant that, of the two, character, unassisted by education, more often leads to honor and usefulness than does mere education, without a foundation of character. But still I contend that when to natural ability and talents are added the systematic training and theoretical knowledge to be gained from education then there results a personality of unusual force and value.

The professional school does not profess to create natural ability and talents, but it is in position by its entrance requirements and its requirements for a certificate or diploma to attest them. The curriculum can be discussed only in relation to the particular students who are to follow it, and the school has a responsibility, which I think none of us have yet fully met, for a searching scrutiny of candidates for admission as to whether they have the natural ability and talents, the original endowment, the foundation of character, to which systematic training and theoretical knowledge may be added in the confident expectation that personality of unusual force and value will result. It would be delightful if this could be done by so simple a process as requiring a college degree. But the fact is that some admirably qualified candidates for a professional school in social work do not have a degree and that many who have a degree are not qualified at all. A certificate of proficiency in certain subjects and of good conduct through the four years of a college course is something, but when we look more closely for those foundations of mind and character which give promise of usefulness in social service, we must apply other, at least supplementary, tests.

We want to see evidence of open-mindedness, of teachableness, of humility of spirit. We want to see evidence of backbone, of power of resistance to sentimental, partisan, and sensational appeals. We want to see evidence of originality, of personal independence, of sheer mental ability, of the power to judge honestly, to think straight, to pierce to the heart of things and to brush aside unimportant details. These qualifications may exist in one who has comparatively little erudition, but, of course, the more general knowledge and the more mental dis-

cipline gained in any particular fields—and especially in those fields which lie nearest to human welfare—the better.

The professional school may, itself, develop and strengthen some or all of these desirable qualities, but for the most part it should discover in advance at least the germs of them. A carefully prepared entrance examination paper, correspondence with references, not merely with those suggested by the candidates and not limited to a first formal testimonial, personal interviews and exchange of letters with the candidates, themselves, will enable the staff of the school to form a pretty clear judgment. The first obligation of the school, then, is to seek to establish high and discriminating standards of admission, based upon careful study of the qualifications required in those who are to do the work for which the school prepares its students.

There is special need of insisting on this obligation in social work, as compared, for example, with the law or medicine, for social workers, more than those of any other calling, are independent of the opinion and the good will of those whom they directly serve. Not their clients, as Miss Richmond calls them,—the sick and infirm, the poor, the offenders against the law, the orphan, the congested, the overworked, the exploited,—but the officers and directors of charitable societies, ultimately the contributors and, in public office, citizens and taxpayers, are the judges of their ethics and efficiency. Lawyers and doctors in general practice have clients, upon whose fees they depend for a living; but social workers do not have clients, but patrons, and the difference is fundamental. The difference is, however, not fatal. In fact, no profession is the slave of either client or patron if it has within itself the power of establishing and maintaining professional standards. The man who works for the fee of a client or for the salary of a patron without standards is equally beneath contempt. Both client and patron are better served by a profession with standards, and both may be brought by reason and education to accept with enthusiasm such professional standards, both of ethics and efficiency, as we are here considering.

The professional school, having drawn together a body of students with mental ability and talents, has next to consider what it will attempt to give them in the way of what Cicero calls systematic training and theoretical knowledge.

Social workers everywhere deal with individual human beings, deal with them most often under adversity, or surrounded by grave difficulties, victims of disease, poverty, appetite, harsh industrial conditions, or unfavorable living conditions; but still individuals, grouped by nature and providence into families,

struggling against their adversities, encountering tragic crises, surmounting obstacles, going their way towards fuller life, or a more meagre life, according as their original inheritance of body and spirit and their circumstances decree.

A course, therefore, which deals with individuals and families and their complicated disabilities is fundamental in the curriculum of a professional school for social workers. It goes straight for the material out of which all social work embroiders its specialties, and it is not, itself, a specialty at all. Other courses deal with human beings, also, but in a wholly different and in each case in a differently limited sense. Social movements, for example, have a technique, a method, a history, a literature, a philosophy; and these may, I think, be studied with profit; but the school might send out students who had not studied these particular matters and still expect them confidently not to disgrace the school. But any student who does not understand the meaning of chronic illness in a workingman's family, or the effects of desertion, or drink, or unemployment; any student who does not have a rather clear conception of the uses and limitations of material relief in a family which asks for it; any student who does not know how to get necessary institutional care, or dispensary or nursing care, or moral oversight, for those who require them, would be equally a disgrace to a school whether fate took him into a settlement, or into church parish work, or into prison administration, or the supervision of recreation or industrial research, or medical social service, or any other position in the heavens above or the earth beneath.

Of such a course as this, directed field work in organized charity, probation, medical social service, etc., is an essential part.

Next in importance to the study of the principles and technique of family rehabilitation, I would place that acquaintance with the history and nature of social movements to which I have just referred. It is desirable that social workers should have definite knowledge of the historical relations of social classes to one another, of the privileged and the exploited, of the distressed and their benefactors, of employers and wage earners under various social economies ancient, mediaeval, and modern. It is especially desirable that they should understand the conditions out of which recent organized movements for improving conditions, such as the tuberculosis movement, the housing movement, remedial loans, Red Cross, the playground movement, have risen, and the methods of educational propaganda which they have developed.

There are certain large fields of study into which students must be introduced and conducted as far as the teaching facilities of the staff permit. Among them I name as illustrations: Industry, health and hygiene, education, recreation, social legislation, social politics, penology. These subjects are all studied elsewhere with a different purpose and in a different way. Here they are studied as bearing on the social problems of poverty, disease, and crime, or on methods of social work.

Certain other courses, such as those in social statistics and in administrative problems, are on a different basis, furnishing an equipment respectively for presenting facts logically and accurately and for testing the efficiency of a mechanism for which it is intended.

THE CURRICULUM OF THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

Jeffrey R. Brackett, Director, School for Social Workers, Boston

Schools for social workers—to use an unsatisfactory term until we find a better—do well in offering a two year program. If a student can give more time than two years, it should be used for college undergraduate work, in subjects which are especially helpful as preparation for social service. Of a two year program, the second year should be for specialization in a part of the field for which the student shows aptitude. In the Boston school, that year consists chiefly of practice work with such care in selection and oversight that the details are an educational progression. Class exercises, of the nature of conference chiefly, deal with problems of technique and principles, interrelated; from helping an individual to organizing community effort. A special study, related to practice work and summed up in a written report, is preparation for getting and using social data in any place of service to which the student may go. Such a second year gives more in a short time than can be had from the usual employment in any agency.

The chief question before us is the desirable curriculum for the first year, that year which alone, at present, is taken by most students. Surely a professional school, in its brief time for training, should not duplicate work which may be done in college or by extension instruction. Such work is not merely valuable as introduction to the special school but is desirable for good citizenship, and should be in the equipment of many. We

may well advise that such subjects as the elements of physiology and hygeine, psychology, the structure of society and government, and economics, should be studied before entering the special school; but we cannot be dogmatic as to what best prepares for the school. Most desirable, however learned, are the ability to think hard and accurately, and the desire to improve conditions of living. Persons who do not bring such preparation in reasonable extent, won by schooling or thoughtful experience, had better be turned away rather than that our schools should deal with them and duplicate the work of many existing educational agencies.

As a professional school we should give what other agencies do not give. First, a large part, at least one-third, of the time should be for practice work, under careful direction. In the Boston school, this has been with two differing agencies; each for the whole year, so as to give real perspective. The opportunities for such practice work which is really educational are limited in any community. To spread thin here is to lower the school standard in a vital part. The direction of students should be as personal as possible, and by those who know from experience the value of a good technique. Next, the class exercises should be as much as possible, by conference, on practical problems which illuminate and are interpreted by the practice work. The subjects, the selected reading and the class leaders should be those which belong to a professional school. Such subjects as we have named above as helpful introduction will be considered, but from various points of view, and in application to practical problems.

In such a school, the chief lessons to learn are indeed in the wide field of group and individual psychology, but they should be interpreted through actual situations in groups or individual lives. Under social organization, stress should be laid on the function of neighborhood and community, and on development of institutions under public or private administration. Under the well-being of families or of individuals outside of family life, stress should be laid on the power of personal quickening, that which helps men to be and to do helpfully.

This first year, while teaching many facts, is rather to teach methods, to put tools into the students' hands. Giving an outlook over the field of social service, it helps students to find themselves, to know what parts of the field they wish to enter for specialization in the second year or in work. And observation of the student by several leaders in work may open a way to desirable employment.

Thus, briefly, we in the Boston school aim to spend our first year. What do we wish our students to get from it, that they may help others? First, to believe enthusiastically that achievement is coöperative, in the value of service from many sources and in the necessity of effort by him who would be helped. That means to think socially so as to act socially, to desire to understand other persons sympathetically.

Second, to appreciate the value of technique in "case-work," in any part of the field, with its necessary relation to measures for improving general conditions and advancing useful knowledge. That means to understand the scientific method of work, the getting of principles from thoughtful practice; where the test of usefulness, of laws or of little acts, one man with another, is in the needs and possibilities of human beings concerned.

Third, to get some definite training both in work with needy families and in group organization and neighborhood activities.

The heart of the whole matter is that what is needed most in social work is human beings rich in the subtle, compelling power of personality. For social work is developing helpful human association. That means life! But there is a body of knowledge from social experience to be gathered; and an art of teaching it is to be developed for training leaders. I believe that our schools will do best by intensive work, by thorough cultivation within a less rather than a larger field. Let us keep ourselves very modest withal, as contributing to the subject rather than as compassing it, as helping on a few to especially effective activity in a field where all should be doing. So we shall try to work out with our students a technical instruction. But let us shun the dangers of institutionalism and formalism! In proportion as we join the goodly fellowship of real teachers, who are working in any field of knowledge, we shall link the technicalities with the supreme lesson of all sound learning, that the chief social need is more development of character in us all, as neighbors and citizens, with sympathy, clear thinking and high adventure.

THE CURRICULUM OF SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL SERVICE

George B. Mangold, Ph. D., Director, St. Louis School of Social Economy

It seems to be pretty generally agreed that in every school of social service two lines of work are absolutely indispensable for the training of the student. The study of principles and methods

of social work is fundamental to the training of every person who wishes to engage in actual social service. Unless he has a knowledge of the methods of handling a case and the methods of carrying on the work of an organization in a scientific, up-to-date way, he cannot succeed. Furthermore, it is absolutely necessary to couple with, or develop from this line of training, a study of the causes of social abnormality, and of the magnitude of the problems with which we must deal. And, unless we show clearly the inter-relation among these various problems, we do not fit the worker well for the tasks which he is compelled to perform. Only too often we find that in his zeal to do good in one direction he is actually doing harm in another. We cannot afford to relieve distress by paying for it with the price of child labor, long hours, disrupted labor organizations and other evils. No permanent gain will have been made if we do this. Unless the social worker, therefore, has the perspective which enables him to do efficiently the things he intends to accomplish, his labors are frequently wasted.

There are several additional lines of training that I believe are most necessary for the student, and should be given serious attention. It is entirely natural that they should follow the lines already mentioned; but they must not be underestimated, because they are of great importance in completing the training of the student. I have in mind four subjects of study, three of them dealing with the technical training of the worker, and one with the theoretical.

Let me discuss the last subject first: We have not considered adequately the historical development of both social conditions and social improvement. The profession of social work is new, and many enthusiastic young men and young women are desirous of entering, and think that they can, at once, transform the world. Unfortunately, they are not grounded in the fact that progress is largely evolutionary in character; hence, they chafe at the apparent failure to gain results, and injure both themselves and the cause for which they are working. They must learn from history that the world will not consent to be upset, and that it takes time to work out our problems. The leader in social work must have an historical perspective. If he does not possess it, his work will lack the sound and permanent elements which are necessary for the definite improvement of social conditions.

Coming now to questions of technique, I find that the social worker must have the ability to understand, to analyze, and to interpret facts. In other words, he should be trained in methods

of social investigation and social research. The social worker who has no knowledge along these lines is seriously handicapped, and frequently does not interpret correctly the phenomena about him, nor can he correlate causes and effects. Statistics is history at rest and gives us a chance to examine it carefully, so that we may be able to determine the actual currents of social life. I feel that much would be gained if all the students in our schools for social workers had a thorough-going course in this subject.

The social worker deals, to a large extent, with the abnormal groups in society, the mentally, morally and economically abnormal. Consequently, the ordinary experiences of life will not give him the psychological background necessary for successful work with these groups. Heretofore, the principles and products of the case investigation have been concerned largely with the sociological aspects of the problem, while the psychological factor has been considered of minor importance. The latter, however, is decidedly not the case, as is being clearly shown by the results of mental tests that have recently been made. Each family, and each individual presents a separate problem from the psychological standpoint. I do not believe that social workers are sufficiently grounded in psychology, and especially in the method of its application. This must be developed in order to enable the worker to understand and interpret correctly the persons he touches and assumes to benefit. I have no definite plan to suggest, and hardly know how to cover the ground. To me, however, it is perfectly clear that we will gain much in the handling of the subnormal and abnormal groups in a community if we supplement our sociological knowledge and training with the knowledge of applied psychology.

Again, it is necessary for the schools to handle more effectively the problem of public service. This differs somewhat from the ordinary problems of administration, because public service has difficulties which would not inhere in private philanthropy. The person engaged in public social service must relate himself in a very definite way to the government above him; he must carry on efficiently the duties that devolve upon him, and he must develop such an attitude toward the people as will make it possible for him to succeed. Two problems continually face him; first, efficient service, and, second, the method of perpetuating that service. He must be acquainted with mass psychology, and know how to use public opinion for the benefit of social service.

Although the principal courses in the curriculum in our schools of social service seem to be well established, it will be

necessary from time to time to widen the field and to add courses of various kinds. I have not tried to cover this field exhaustively, but have been considering only a few of the immediate needs. I feel that we must emphasize the principles that determine social progress. But, whatever we may do along this line, it is absolutely necessary to add to the technique of social work. I should like to see courses such as the ones that I have suggested, developed in each school. It would mean more successful case work and more intelligent leadership.

DISCUSSION: The discussion was continued informally by the following members: Graham Taylor, Chicago; Franklin Johnson, Jr., Toronto; Lightner Witmer, Philadelphia; Charles Strull, Louisville; Oscar Leonard, St. Louis.

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FIELD-WORK AND THE TRAINING OF THE SOCIAL WORKER*

Edith Abbott, Associate Director, Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy

That one of our three section meetings should be given over to the subject of field work, is an implicit recognition of the fact that field work is regarded as one essential part of the training of the social worker. But it is perhaps necessary as a preliminary to this discussion that some attempt at limitation and definition of the term field work should be made.

Field work must be differentiated in the first place from so-called "field trips" and "field excursions" that are a common accompaniment of college courses in sociology, and are provided also in the schools of philanthropy. Such observational visits to social agencies should more properly be called inspection visits; they have no relation whatever to the field work that is so important a part of the training of the social worker. These trips are, of course, purely observational and informational, and from them the student learns nothing of the technique of doing. Field work, on the other hand, involves, not observation of social institutions, but actual participation in the practice of social work.

It is, moreover, significant that from the very beginning our schools of philanthropy have recognized the importance of field work as an essential element in training. Ten years ago, when the first school of philanthropy had completed its first full year

*Section meeting Wednesday, May 19, 9:15 A. M.

of training, the director of the school said in his report regarding the course:

> In addition to the instruction of lectures the students were given other kinds of efficient preparation of equal value. Numerous visits were paid to institutions in the vicinity of New York City. The theory and practice of inspection were imparted and work in connection with the offices of the Charity Organization Society was faithfully performed by a majority of the students who were working for certificates. This was the best and most extensive opportunity for field-work. Its value was chiefly due to the hearty and cheerful co-operation of the district agents of the Charity Organization Society.

The Year Book of the Chicago School has, for the past five years, repeated each year the belief of its directors that training for social work can not be given merely by lectures or by the study of books, or even by observation of social institutions; that students can learn how to do only by doing under expert supervision; and that social work should no more be undertaken without preliminary training in the field than medical practice without clinical experience.

Field work, then, is and has been one of the distinguishing marks of the school of philanthropy. University and college classes may to some extent cover the subject-matter dealt with in our classroom. Inspection visits in some form have long been a part of the curriculum of many colleges; but in its arrangements for field work and in the attempt to correlate the work of the classroom with the work of the field, the contribution of the professional school of philanthropy has been unique.

It is a part of the vagueness that attaches to the term *social work*, a vagueness that our chairman has done so much to dispel in his admirable report—that the term field work may properly be used to describe several widely varying kinds of training. Unquestionably, however, the most important of these is the apprenticeship with case work agencies, and it is, of course, unnecessary for me to define the term *case work agency* before this conference. The great majority, probably ninety per cent., of all the students in our schools of philanthropy will, during some part of their future careers, serve agencies of this sort, and this kind of field work is, therefore, the most fundamental and should probably be required of all students. There are, however, other kinds of field work that are essential as training for more specialized work, such as (1) work with some governmental or quasi-governmental agency, e. g., an efficiency bureau or a bureau of sanitary inspection, for those who wish to enter more specifically civic work, using the term *civic* in a somewhat narrow sense and as distinguished from social work in the narrower sense; (2) participation in the recreational work

of settlements or other neighborhood centers; (3) investigational work for those who wish the necessary technical training in methods of social inquiry.

These various kinds of field work involve very different problems. In the case of specialized civic work there are so few openings for young students that a discussion of the problems connected with their preparation for such work is hardly warranted here; the recreational classes present few difficulties because they do not involve any far-reaching consequences to the person involved, and they can usually be organized to meet the needs of students as those needs develop; so far as investigational field work is concerned, this can be, probably, best organized by the schools themselves. If this can be done, and it is being done in the Chicago School, then this form of the student's field work is, like the hospital of the medical school, under the entire control of the school, its problems, therefore, are less complicated, and a discussion of them is not needed now.

But practice work with case-work agencies, the participation of the student, under supervision, in the processes which the experienced social worker understands by the term case work, this is the fundamental and indispensable part of the student's field work training. Its purpose is to give the student such experience in the actual practice of case work as will enable him to undertake on his own responsibility, and with safety to the community, work of a similar character.

Assuming, then, that field work of this sort is an essential part of the social worker's training, numerous questions of organization arise that present many difficulties, not only to the schools, but to our long-suffering friends, the representatives of the social agencies of our progressive communities. How much of the student's time is to be given to field work, and how can the practical problem of the distribution of the student's time be arranged? To what agencies shall the time of students in training be entrusted, and how shall their work be supervised? How much time is to be given to any one agency? And what is the relation of field work to classroom work, lectures and conferences?

Field work presupposes good case work agencies eager and willing to cooperate in offering students the best possible facilities for training. The school must first determine which agencies are doing the kind of work that would be valuable as training for students, and second must persuade the superintendents of these agencies to permit students on their offices for training purposes. The school must on its part offer such

students who have the necessary qualifications in education, maturity, and judgment; it must insist that adequate time be allowed for field work; and it must hold its students to a rigorous standard of fidelity and efficiency in its performance.

For example, after consultation with social workers in Chicago, we have felt that the field work assignment must be, for all students, four or five half-days each week in order to make it possible for agencies to assign them to work that will have disciplinary value. On the other hand, the school must ask from the social agency that students be regarded as persons in training, and that work shall be assigned to them with this purpose in view.

While I wish to confine myself in this discussion to the general problem of field work, and not to the Chicago plan and the Chicago situation, I cannot, without seeming to show a shameless lack of appreciation, fail to record that since this arrangement as to the time of students has been made, the response of the social workers of Chicago, as a group, to the needs of the school has been generous beyond our hopes and, in many instances, self-sacrificing to a high degree. But when the schools are prepared to do their share by restricting the demand for field work privileges to mature university-trained students, and by requiring those students to give as a minimum four or five consecutive half-days each week to the work, it seems not too much to hope that, on the other hand, the agencies will do their part, that students will be cordially received and that they will be regarded as persons in training, and not as casual office assistants. It is here, of course, that the schools meet with many obstacles, with social workers who are prepared to tolerate but not to coöperate, to receive students on sufferance, but with an unwillingness to assume any responsibility in making the student's period of field work a period of instruction. This point of view is easy to understand. For many social workers the day's work is at once so exhausting and so absorbing that they have little time or thought to give to questions concerning the larger aspects of their profession and the importance of standardizing it and improving it; still less have they stopped to consider that not only the larger social field but even their own corners of it will be strengthened by organizing the methods of training the new recruits.

It comes about, therefore, that we meet too often the social worker who is unwilling to give any thought to the problems of the school and who, harrassed by overwork, is impatient at the pressure of students who make additional demands on her time

and attention without perhaps any immediate returns to her own immediate day's work.

It is not difficult to understand that many agencies feel that they are doing a great deal when they admit students to the office on any terms, even as one social worker expressed it "to sweep the office," and to them the limits of coöperation are passed when the school attempts to designate the kind of work to which the student is to be assigned. But I should like to illustrate the ideal which the schools and the social agencies must alike keep in mind by reading Mr. Flexner's account of the service of the good medical clinics in his remarkable report on *Medical Education*. In the good medical clinics (we are told) "each student gets by assignment a succession of cases, for a full report upon each of which he is responsible; he must take the history, conduct the physical examination, do the microscopical and other clinical laboratory work, propound a diagnosis, suggest the treatment." That is, "the student is a physician practising the technique, which it is to be hoped, may become his fixed professional habit; learning through experience, as indeed he will continue to learn, long after he has left school—a controlled systematized, criticised experience, however, not the blundering helpless 'experience' upon which the student hitherto relied for a slow and costly initiation into the art of medicine. . . ."

How far we are in the schools of philanthropy, from being able to provide such experience for our future social workers, I do not need to say. Too often, as I have indicated, students are received by the agencies only on sufferance and the school is felt to be interfering with the office work when it asks that students be given experience in meeting and dealing with different types of problems or cases. The social worker is likely to feel the need of "making the student useful to the agency." To such a worker the presence of the student in her office raises not the question, "How may this period of apprenticeship be most profitably made to serve the purpose of training?" but rather, "How may the time of this student be made most useful to the office?" The school is helpless at this point. Students can be removed, of course, from such agencies only if there are other agencies in the community with a more enlightened point of view.

We find here a further analogy with the medical school in its difficulty in securing proper hospital connections, and its struggles with the antiquated city hospitals where we are told 'students' were "eyed askance as interlopers." The medical school has solved its difficulties by providing its own hospitals

over which it may have absolute control. Unfortunately the schools of philanthropy cannot so easily create and control good social agencies. The medical school and the hospital that provides the necessary clinical material are, in the words of Mr. Flexner, "interlocked." The school of philanthropy and the social clinic or agency should likewise be interlocked, but the hindrances are many. And it may be that the necessary coöperation of the agencies is not to be fully hoped for until with the lapse of time the school graduates who have faith in the importance and necessity of organized training gradually come to occupy the places of workers who have looked askance at the new methods of training.

On the other hand, the school can, on its part, do much to make the apprenticeship period profitable by properly correlating it with class-room work. No service should ever be asked from the coöperating agencies that can be rendered at the school. The school must, therefore, by keeping closely in touch with the field, be able to explain by conference with students the why and the wherefore of their work in the field. The busy district superintendent must be asked to give the student certain work to do, but she cannot always, or perhaps often, take time to explain why this particular step in the investigation was undertaken, or why this particular method of treatment was chosen. This can be done in some measure, at least, by the school through case conferences or lectures.

To quote again from Mr. Flexner's report on *Medical Training:*

> Case work is discrete; students rarely possess sufficient generalizing power to redeem it from scrappiness at the bedside (or we may say in the district office) not much time is available for comprehensive or philosophical elucidation. The lecture—hugging as closely as may be the social ground of experienced fact—may therefore from time to time be employed to summarize, amplify and systematize.

It should not be overlooked, I think, that, if certain points in this discussion are accepted, then another question that has been raised particularly by the various colleges and universities that are preparing so-called "courses in social work" is already answered, that is, the possibility of giving training for social work in country colleges. This cannot be done if the necessity for field work is accepted. Training for social work can be given only in the centers where good social work is being done. As a necessary, if unsatisfactory, solution of this difficulty, it is proposed to substitute for the plan of having field work accompany classroom instruction, a compromise plan of having the entire time of the student given for one or more terms to

field work in a city after the classroom work has been completed in the college or university. That this solution is unsatisfactory cannot be questioned. The correlation between field work and class work is impossible under such circumstances, and the value of both is greatly lessened. It is, in fact, very much like the attempt of a medical school to substitute an interneship after graduation, for clinical training during the medical course; and Mr. Flexner's report on *Medical Training* has shown how far from satisfactory such a substitution is.

In conclusion, it must be emphasized that the schools of philanthropy have no wish to excuse their own shortcomings by criticising the over-worked social workers from whom they have asked so much and to whom they have given as yet so little in return. They are, on the contrary, closely identified. Few realize as do the staff instructors of the school that most of the social work in this country is done against heavy odds. The greatest handicap is, however, the need of trained workers. It is precisely this handicap that is our own and only excuse for being, and it is because of it that we venture to ask their coöperation—not in meeting their own immediate needs, not the needs of their own organizations, but in raising the standard of the social work that is being done and is going to be done in all sections of the country.

What I have tried to emphasize is rather that the problem of field work is peculiarly a *joint problem* that can be solved only by the closest possible coöperation between the social agencies and the school. The school must look to the social agencies for an insistence upon adequate field work as an essential part of the training of those whom they employ; more than that, they must ask that the social agencies regard the problem of field work as their own. To the social agencies then, we appeal for help in doing the best that can be done for today and tomorrow, but never forgetting that we must together plan and work for a larger and better doing in the future. I am sure that Mr. Flexner's interesting analysis of our work, Mr. Frankfurter's eloquent presentation of professional ideals, and our chairman's careful and critical statement of the progress we have made towards those ideals gave us all on Monday the glowing satisfaction of feeling that whatever their shortcomings may be in the present the schools of philanthropy and the profession of social work belong to the future if not to the past.

FIELD WORK

Zilpha D. Smith, Associate Director, Boston School for Social Workers

The essential necessity of field work and class work combined in the training of a social worker has been so adequately expressed by Miss Abbott, that I go on at once to speak of certain principles which seem to underlie getting from field work its full educational value, and of their application in Boston where the surrounding conditions differ somewhat from Chicago.

First, as to these conditions.

A social worker in Boston, as in Chicago, would like a student volunteer to give to that one agency many hours a week—but none of those to whom we send students has suggested that the work done in an average of seven hours a week has not both disciplinary and educational value. Before the schools were organized there had been growing up in settlements, in the associated charities and elsewhere, the practice of training volunteers who offered only a few hours a week—of leading each on from one task to another more difficult or more responsible.

And now graduates of the school take part in this field work training, a half-dozen as head-workers, many more as assistants under whom the students work, and a considerable group as members of boards. These more than others appreciate the student's peculiar difficulties and opportunities—but many not graduates, including some who come from social work in other cities, show equal faith in organized training, and give willingly, even eagerly, coöperation in that training. Should the number of students exceed the number of possible assignments offering training of quality, the schools will surely find it much wiser to reduce the number of students by such careful investigations of applicants as Mr. Devine recommended last week, than to use training places that are undesirable. It is fair to both the learner and the trainer to send no one to even the most efficient social worker during the first six months in a new position and never to send to an agency more students than it is quite willing to take.

The wish for more time for practice-work is one with which I sympathize so strongly that I should like to linger on the plan of our second year which gives weeks and months of practice in some one section of social work, in an educational progression

which it is not practicable for a single agency to arrange fully; and fortifies this with other experience and with specialized and advanced class work; the aim being to make the worker both skilful and flexible—able to do the same kind of task well even in new and surprisingly different situations, equipped with practical working knowledge of the various ways of administering an agency and of organizing the charitable spirit and the public spirit of the community to give it support and volunteer service. That is, the second year aims to send out a worker already fitted to undertake an independent or semi-independent position.

But both such a well-rounded, yet specialized, second-year for the few—and the slower single-line training of paid work for the many—need an earlier year of school work in which the questions as to practice-work are not so simple. The aim of that first year is to give a broad understanding of social work in its various phases, and to send out workers much less skilled than from the second year, but able to coöperate with all other social workers in understanding and sympathy. The schedule has been again and again studied and revised, and no more than one-third can be spared for practice—only fourteen hours a week.

The plans for using these fourteen hours are determined by several considerations:

First. The student is at the threshold of social work and needs to test himself—more often herself—and his chances of finding that particular kind of social work to which he will be most glad to contribute, are increased by trying himself in two kinds.

Second. Contact with his guides and with other workers is important for the student's education, and also for his future, because their judgments of him open or close the way to further training or to employment. These judgments often differ, and if both guides observe the student through the whole year—a year so rich in new knowledge and new experience that the student often shows at the end a very different reaction from that near the beginning, or even at mid-year—the judgments of his guides are more discriminating and just.

Third. An even more important educational reason for working with two agencies from the beginning to the end of the year, is the opportunity thus gained to carry in each a relationship with two families, or with several children placed out, or with a few persons on probation, or with a club or class in a neighborhood house—steadily through the whole eight months.

This gives the student opportunity to show initiative; to get at first hand "the long view"; to see things happen, perhaps to make them happen. New powers unfold under this responsibility long-continued.

So important are these three considerations — testing the student in two kinds of social work, securing judgments that are discriminating and just, carrying long responsibility—that, although often some one of the guides suggests a change to fourteen hours a week in one agency at a time, *no group* of guides after talking the matter out has ever recommended such a change.

Attendance is expected at such meetings of conference, committee or staff, as may help the student to relate his own special task to the whole work of the agency, and to understand its form of organization.

There still remain hours which are given to assisting other workers. To secure enough hours at one time to allow a gradual increase in the responsibility of the tasks given we use expedients with whose detail I will not trouble you, which increase the hours given one agency in one or more weeks, without increasing the hours given on the average.

We cannot make a highly skilled worker in fourteen hours a week during eight months, but we can give a practical understanding of what technique means, show how much there is still to learn, and help a student to discover his aptitudes and to choose, or be chosen in the field of work in which these apitudes may best be cultivated and used.

For most students, we prefer that the two agencies be associated charities and neighborhood work. The associated charities, through its weekly conferences, makes the student acquainted with a number of volunteers and with representatives of various specialties in social work (and makes them acquainted with the student), and also gives experience in problems where the family is the center. The settlement includes study of a neighborhood as a neighborhood rather than as the setting for a particular family, and uses the group method.

The kinds of social work which do not require in the long run both the family and the group method of approach are few. Tuberculosis classes and meetings of foster-mothers of placed-out children, are illustrations of the group method as used by agencies doing case work. And every agency has in some form its group of managers. It may seem a far cry from a working-girls' club, or a children's sewing-class to a board of directors. But at least in this they are alike—each member needs to be helped to want to come again, and to contribute his full share to the common cause.

The two preferred agencies, the associated charities and a neighborhood house, give acquaintance with different districts, chosen because they are different and will help the student to appreciate the neighborhood background and to coöperate with its various elements, even if work later undertaken be for children or patients widely scattered. However, we use other agencies, as more than half our students come already desiring to specialize. A few have already specialized and feel the need of a broader or a longer view. We try to discover both the wish and the need of each student, and to meet both. We send students to child-placing societies, to medical social service, to a probation officer, and occasionally to other kinds of work.

Written reports from both student and guide, interviews and telephone conversations are frequent, and suggestions for rounding out each student's development from any one of the four persons concerned—the student, her two guides in the field, and the associate acting for the school, are helpful to the other three. An outline of the class program for the current month is sent to each field-work guide, and some of them take pains to turn into the student's hands practical work which will bear on the current class subjects. On the other hand, the order in which subject follows subject in our class work has been modified somewhat for its effect on the student's practice.

The school owes one duty to the agencies which has not yet been mentioned—the duty of bringing together now and then the workers in each kind of field-work who guide students, and with them when practicable members of their committees or boards, to exchange ideas and experiences as to the training of our students, and of any other volunteers. One of the workers has recently reminded us that we had neglected this duty in the last year or two. We have plenty of excuses for this, but next autumn such conferences will again be held.

For the child-placing group which two years ago said they wished to experiment further before they had suggestions on training to give one another, I intend to go through the written reports from students and agencies of which I have spoken, and report back to the agencies for discussion all the units of work there disclosed as having been used for education. The settlement leaders will, I anticipate, wish to hear from one another of the quite different plans each has lately developed for helping a volunteer to understand the neighborhood.

The guides say these conferences to which we invite them help their work, and they surely help the school to interpret the field work. Miss Abbott has spoken of the need of class exer-

cises for this; there is often need of individual interpretation also, the worker having given the student a good educational succession of minor tasks and failed to make the student understand what their educational significance is, or which of the student's powers they have tested or disclosed. The conferences of workers help the Associate at the school to interpret the worker's plans to the individual student, each according to need.

DISCUSSION: The following-named delegates spoke informally on the subject of Field Work: Parker B. Field, Boston; Mrs. Mary G. Worthington, Boston; J. W. Magruder, Baltimore; Mr. Brackett; L. A. Halbert, Kansas City, Mo.; Betsey Libbey, Philadelphia; Katherine Hewins, Boston; Rose J. McCue, Chicago; Laura Gilman, Pittsfield; Mary Van Kleeck, New York; J. E. Cutler, Cleveland; Mary Parkman, Boston; Anna King, Stamford, Conn.; Mary E. Richmond, New York; Ora A. Kelly, St. Louis; Franklin Johnson, Jr., Toronto; Zilpha D. Smith, Boston; and Miss Abbott.

OPENING EXERCISES

Wednesday, May 12, 1915, 8:15 P. M.

Gen. Lawrason Riggs, presiding:

The divine blessing upon the deliberations of this Conference will be invoked.

(Invocation by His Eminence, James Cardinal Gibbons.)

Gen. Riggs: His Honor, the Mayor of Baltimore, will extend the official municipal welcome.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

Hon. James H. Preston, Mayor of the City of Baltimore

It is indeed a very pleasing duty to welcome this great concourse of people whose great aim, whose high purpose, whose philanthropic objects appeal to every man and woman in the world. There is no higher object, there is no better aim than the one you are engaged in. That mock judge in *The Merchant of Venice,* though in jest, spoke the truest words when she said:

> The quality of mercy is not strain'd,
> It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
> Upon the place beneath: it is twice blest;
> It blesseth him that gives and him that takes:
> 'Tis mightiest in the mighty: it becomes
> The throned monarch better than his crown;
> His sceptre shows the force of temporal power,
> The attribute of awe and majesty,
> Wherein doth sit the fear and dread of kings:
> But mercy is above this sceptered sway;
> It is enthroned in the hearts of kings,
> It is an attribute to God himself;
> And earthly power doth then show likest God's
> When mercy seasons justice.

So that you, ladies and gentlemen, coming to Baltimore tonight on a mission of charity, are doubly welcome, welcome on account of your mission, welcome because we are glad to see you. The contribution of mankind now being made to charities and corrections is certainly greater than it has ever been before in the world. From the days when a strict construction of our constitution, when regard for the power of government restricted it to the narrow purposes of government, it has become now extended to include the work of charity. Fraternalism let us call it, and we in Baltimore are proud to be in the van of that great procession. Baltimore City, four years ago, when I was

elected mayor, appropriated $450,000 a year for charity. Not considering many minor activities of a charitable nature, this year our appropriation has been $775,000, doubling, practically, that of four years ago. Our institutions for corrections, also have taken front rank in the march of progress. In welcoming you, I call your attention to these strides forward along the path of material progress and of aid to the poor, the amelioration of punishment, the recognition of the handicap of the criminal. In welcoming you, I invite your close attention to these our governmental agencies of the cause upon which you are visiting Baltimore today. I welcome you, ladies and gentlemen.

Gen. Riggs: The local committee representing the members of this Conference resident in Maryland, and representing also the various organizations of this city that united in extending to you the invitation to hold your conference in Baltimore, has asked the president of Johns Hopkins University to express to you our very great pleasure that you accepted the invitation,—President Goodnow of Johns Hopkins University.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

Frank J. Goodnow, LL.D., President of Johns Hopkins University

It is with great pleasure that I have accepted the invitation as the representative of Johns Hopkins University to participate in the welcome which is being accorded you tonight, members of the Conference of Charities and Correction. It has seemed to me that it was eminently fitting that the university should have even an humble place upon the program, for the university has for many years been closely associated with the life of the city of Baltimore. It has seemed to me also that this was not the only reason why the representative of the university should in this way participate in welcoming you. For a university is, as you all know, an educational institution, and while the Conference of Charities and Correction is not in an academic sense, certainly not in the way we usually employ the words, an educational institution, it is nevertheless exercising, and has always exercised an influence of very great educational value. You men and women who are to meet with us for the next few days for the purpose of exchanging views, for the purpose of giving each other the benefit of your individual experience, are really not engaged only in a benevolent and philanthropic work; you are also workers, as I see it, in a great social and economic laboratory. You are endeavoring by means of examination and observation of the fundamental facts of social life to reach con-

clusions which will be of value to those who are in charge of the administration of charities and of correction. You are, therefore, using the methods for ascertaining the truth, for reaching conclusions, which ordinarily are associated with the work of a university. The conclusions which you do reach, which you have reached in the past, have had great influence in shaping legislation and in causing the adoption of policies of administration. I feel that your deliberations at this forty-second conference will have, as they have had in the past, a far reaching effect, so that you are, as I say, an educational institution. You are educating yourselves in getting together, comparing notes in this way; you are educating the public which will later have the advantage of your deliberations. Your meeting here cannot fail to be an inspiration to those in this city who are now laboring in the same field in which you are interested. They will as a result of this conference forget, overcome, some of the discouragements which are always incident to the inability to realize all we are striving for. And when you go away you will leave with those of us whose privilege it is to work here a greater courage than we had before, an ability to take up the work with greater enthusiasm and prosecute it with greater intelligence because you have been with us. May I, Mrs. Glenn, express to you the pleasure it is to those of your friends in Baltimore that this conference is to take place under your presidency. Your departure from Baltimore was a regret to all of us, a regret which was only offset by the conviction that you were going to a wider field of usefulness. Your return is a great pleasure to all of us here. May I also express the hope to the members of the Conference that they will gain both profit and pleasure from their stay in this city which they have greatly honored by their presence.

Gen. Riggs: The careless reader of the program of this Conference might imagine that Mr. Alexander Johnson appeared here only once in twenty-five years. We would be glad to have him here even at that interval, but we have had the privilege of having him here often in the years intervening. It is with special pleasure that I present him, to respond to the addresses of welcome.

RESPONSE TO ADDRESS OF WELCOME

Alexander Johnson, the Training School, Vineland, N. J.

I suppose I have been appointed to this pleasing duty because I was one of the few who came to Baltimore a good many years ago to attend the seventeenth conference, and have had the

rare good fortune to survive all these long years. Almost exactly twenty-five years ago today,—on the 14th instead of the 12th,—the seventeenth conference met here. That is a long, long time in the life of a man,—an appreciable period even in the life of the world. We come again with great expectations. Many of us know these splendid people of Baltimore, and know the hearts of Baltimoreans and their hospitality. These people from the beginning have been hospitable, not only to men but to ideas. From the very foundation of the State of Maryland, the people have regarded, not the opinions of those who have come to them, but the folks, themselves. And so, whatever program we provide they won't find any fault with us, no matter how much we shall criticize them and ourselves in the usual pleasant Conference fashion.

Some reminiscences may be pardoned on such an interesting occasion. Most of the splendid citizens who met us so cordially on our first visit are no longer here, in the land of the dying. John Glenn, David Gilman, Joseph Cushing, Amos Warner, Richard Gundry, John Morris, C. C. Shippen and how many more, have heard the one clear call, have sailed across the bar and met their Pilot face to face. And how many of those pilgrims of the light who came with us from the prairies, the mountains and the shores have also joined the great majority. Albert Byers, Oscar McCulloch, M. McG. Dana, Oscar Craig, George D. Gillespie, Andrew Elmore, Phillip Garrett, Lucius Storrs, Roeliff Brinkerhoff, Agnes D'Arcambal, Isabel Barrows, Clara Barton, Fred Wines, Isaac Kerlin, William Letchworth, and a host of others less conspicuous, perhaps, yet equally worthy of our love and praise, friends and helpers of us and of mankind, have left us. They have joined the *Choir Invisible,* but their influence remains and helps to make this conference what it is.

"More homelike seems the vast unknown
Since they have entered there
To follow them will not be hard
Wherever they may fare
They cannot be where God is not
On any sea or shore.
Thanks be to God that such have been
Although they are no more."

It has been a wonderful quarter century. Often we grow impatient, the good we would achieve comes so slowly, often we stumble and fall, we have painful lapses, sometimes progress seems to halt or even turn to retrogression. Yet to one who can

look back over 25 or 45 years, there is a whole world of good to be thankful for.

A few days ago I glanced through the volume of the proceedings of the 17th conference, which was the first that I had a share in editing, and I was impressed, most forcibly, with the progress that has been made, with the many things, then hoped for, that since have been accomplished. Had I time or were this the right occasion I could tell you of many of them, but I must refrain.

Let me only mention one point among many. The date of our last conference here was that of the one hundredth anniversary of the death of John Howard. In the quarter century just past, more real reform in prison methods has been achieved than had been gained in the century since Howard's death.

And even in these dreadful days, and with the awful prospect which we possibly are facing, we still may thank God and take courage. And do not let us forget that good may come out of the worst evil. In the order of human events it has always been in times of great upheaval and adversity that men have been shaken out of their old mental ruts and that a new and improved order has risen from what looked like the wreck and ruin of all they held dear. So even in the present times it may be, men's souls shall be tried and purified like fine gold in the refiner's fire.

A few years after the conference of 1890 I was preparing some literature to use in preliminary announcements and I gathered together the various words of appreciation, that had been said by some of those whose pleasure it had been from time to time, to act as our gracious hosts. From Baltimore I found this word, "The effect of the conference on the social work of the city is still felt by us all. Whenever we find ourselves doing some new, good things, we invariably discern that they have grown from seed the conference scattered here." May we venture to hope that on this visit we may not only carry much good seed away with us, but leave a little behind in this fertile soil.

The Conference has grown and grown and changed in many ways. The old order changeth and giveth place to the new. Growth and change are conditions of life. One of the notable happenings of the past few years has been the degree in which new men and women, young in years as well as in heart and mind, are coming to the front, so that we old veterans who linger on the stage, perhaps in the minds of our young comrades, "linger superfluous," may look forward to the time when we

must shuffle off, without fear that the Conference will suffer, or even will greatly miss us.

It is just as well that it should be so, for

> "I doubt not through the ages
> One increasing purpose runs,
> And the thoughts of men are widened
> With the process of the suns,"

and we must have new men and women to realize them.

What will be in the next twenty-five years? Dear friends, suppose we were to try a little prophecy and say that all these things we have been trying to realize and have only just begun to set our hearts firmly, steadfastly to do shall have been achieved. Suppose we were to begin from this day on, the policy of prevention, forestalling evil, so that when you come to this Conference twenty-five years from now,—about the sixty-seventh National Conference,—the mayor of this splendid city shall not tell of three-quarters of a million dollars spent for relief, but he shall say, "We have no relief work in all the city because we have no unemployed in the city; we haven't any cancer hospitals, any tuberculosis sanitariums, because we have no contagious diseases. We have no child labor problem. We have no employed children, so we have no unemployable men, our men are all busy. And because we have no institutions to spend our money on, we have spent it in providing happiness for our people." Instead of new institutions being established for the feeble-minded he will tell us that after this year the last institution will be closed, for this year sees the last patient in the institution.

Twenty-five years from now, if we only will, we may do things like that. Let us keep up the pace of the last twenty-five years, and increase it. Let us face the facts of health, and industrial conditions, employment and unemployment, and all the other things, and we can do wonderful things in twenty-five years. I shall not see them, but you may, and if you do you may look back to this meeting and remember that this old fellow said something that was not so far from true.

Yes, the Conference has changed, but in some ways it is not changed, and it is not going to change. It has grown and taken on a new front. But the spirit is not going to change. The National Conference is always going to be a mount of vision, a place where we shall come together to get new prospects of our task and to make old prospects clearer, to meet old friends and to make new ones, to awaken new enthusiasms and new hopes;

and always it is going to be an educational institution in that it is the greatest convention of men and women in the service of their fellows. Here we shall always come to warm our hearts and quicken our spirits and to preach and practice that great gospel of brotherhood whose purpose is the uplifting of the human race.

Gen. Riggs: There are no conditions which those of us interested in this Conference can conceive of that would ever make you unwelcome to this town and to this state, but if there is anything that makes the measure of our happiness pressed down and flowing over, it is that you have come to us this year under the presidency of our Mrs. Glenn. It is a great pleasure and high privilege to be permitted to present to you, your president, Mrs. Glenn.

CLOSING EXERCISES

Remarks of Mrs. Glenn on Presentation of the President-elect, Rev. Francis H. Gavisk, LL. D.

Everyone here I believe, knows how much it means to me as president of this National Conference, to have been able to offer to the nine chairmen who have been responsible for our programs such a wonderful setting. Baltimore has given the setting, and without that setting it would have been impossible for these programs to have been so effective. In thanking you, Baltimoreans, I am thanking you, of course, as one of yourselves. We have worked together.

We have been discussing next steps during these days. Some people have missed a note in this Conference, a specific reference to war, and have regretted that no consideration has been given to the question of what should be done at this momentous time to help bring an end to the war. It seemed, however, that we should be serving as good soldiers, if we considered only our own next steps and took very great care to get the right kind of strength, so that we might fashion something of importance. We have stuck to our task. We have let this great question of the war and of the German note, pass us by, because we have stuck to the thing we came to do, and have given no time to the consideration of anything else. Those who listened to the reading of the chapter from Isaiah on Sunday can feel, perhaps, that during these days we have sought and have got, the kind of preparation that was referred to,—that they that wait on the Lord shall renew their strength. I feel as if we were now ready to go back to our several communities like a small devoted army carrying torches, because quite a wonderful thing has happened to us. As we have met here and considered how we might get a basis of right judgment in all things, there has descended upon us a kind of pentacostal fire. We are going back as an army bearing torches. We shall go to our posts and help to light fires that in time may kindle other fires. The lighting of fires on many hearths may mean a welding of the bonds of peace.

I have the honor of introducing to you the president of our next Conference. In offering him the gavel I offer it to one who comes from a state which already has given five great presidents to the National Conference. It is no small thing to be asked to

follow Oscar McCulloch and Timothy Nicholson, and Amos Butler, and Alexander Johnson, and Ernest Bicknell. As a representative of the great state of Indiana to the National Conference we do look with enthusiasm not only to you, Father Gavisk, but to the Board of State Charities, of which you are a distinguished member, to be our leader. As a member of that Board you are well known to all of us.

DR. GAVISK, ON ACCEPTING THE OFFICE OF PRESIDENT OF THE 1916 CONFERENCE.

My dear friends, in assuming the great responsibilities that will rest upon me as president of the next Conference, I feel that I can accept it with the aid of these good friends of the National Conference, who will be at my back. I came to Baltimore without any intimation at all,—I did not even have a lightning rod up, hoping it might be struck. It was a surprise until I read in the newspaper that I might be considered. I really feel, without assuming humility, that the Conference has made something of a mistake, but as I had nothing to do with it I am going to throw the blame of it all back upon you if it proves that a mistake has been made. I can hardly suppose the Conference will be as large and its program as alluring next year as we have had at Baltimore. We will try, however, with the aid of our good friends, to do our best at the next Conference at Indianapolis. Indianapolis is the center of the world, as you well know, the maps so locate it. I have been studying them, and find a series of concentric circles all about the city. It is the center of the Central States, at least. It is no farther for many of you to come to Indianapolis than it was to come to Baltimore. I assure you of a hearty Hoosier welcome when you come to Indianapolis. I thank you for the honor.

MINUTES OF BUSINESS MEETINGS

Wednesday, May 12, 1915, 8:15 *P. M.*

The forty-second annual session of the National Conference of Charities and Correction convened at Baltimore, Maryland, in the Academy of Music, under the chairmanship of Gen. Lawrason Riggs, Chairman of the Local Committee. (For account of opening exercises see p. 627.)

All of the other meetings referred to in these minutes were held at the Academy of Music with the exception of the one on May 15, which occurred at the Mount Vernon Place M. E. Church.

Thursday, May 13, 1915, 8:15 *P. M.*

Mrs. Glenn presiding.

The report of the *Committee on Time and Place* was made by the chairman, Mr. Joseph C. Logan, as follows:

> Invitations to the Conference have been received from Toronto, Can., Columbus, O., Galveston, Tex., San Francisco, Cal., New York City, Cincinnati, O., Lexington, Ky., and Indianapolis, Ind.
>
> After full consideration the Committee recommends that the place of Conference be Indianapolis, Ind., and the time as selected by the Executive Committee of the Conference.
>
> (Signed) JOSEPH C. LOGAN, Chairman.

On motion the report was adopted.

Two resolutions relating to land monopoly and to the devotion of our national energies to securing economic justice were presented by Mr. Benjamin C. Marsh and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Saturday, May 15, 1915, 2:00 *P. M.*

This was a meeting generally announced for the exclusive consideration of matters of business.

Mrs. Glenn presiding.

On behalf of the Executive Committee Mr. Frank Tucker

offered the following resolution, and having explained at some length the financial condition of the Conference moved the adoption of the resolution:

> That the Executive Committee recommends to the Conference the following amendment to the Rules of Procedure to become effective January 1, 1916: that paragraph three of the subdivision on Membership be amended to read: "the annual membership fee shall be $3.00, and the sustaining membership fee shall be $10.00 annually."

The motion was seconded by Mrs. Amigh of Alabama and was carried.

The following resolution was presented on behalf of the Executive Committee by Mr. Alexander Johnson, who moved its adoption:

> To be effective beginning with the Conference year 1917, the Executive Committee shall consist of the President, the First Vice President, and the last seven living ex-Presidents ex-officio, and fifteen members who shall be elected as follows: Five each year for a term of three years.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Blossom of Maryland.

After discussion an amendment was offered by Miss Lathrop of Washington, D. C., to the effect that each ex-president of the Conference be made a President Emeritus and that the Executive Committee consist of fifteen members elected by the Conference. The motion was seconded by Mr. Brown of Kentucky.

After further discussion a motion was made by Mr. Glenn of New York to lay the motion on the table, and his motion was seconded. This motion was lost.

A suggestion was offered by Mr. Glenn of New York to the effect that the terms of the five continuing members of the Executive Committee, elected by the present Conference, which would expire in 1917, be extended to three years; that at the 1916 Conference one series of five be elected for two years and another series of five for three years, so that beginning with the Conference of 1917 there will be a regular rotation of three groups whose terms expire in consecutive years. This suggestion was accepted by the movers of the amendment.

Following another period of discussion the amendment to the original resolution was adopted, the resolution as amended being as follows:

> To be effective beginning with the Conference year 1916-17, the Executive Committee shall consist of the President, First Vice-President, and fifteen other members who shall be elected as follows: Five each year for a term of three years. The term of office of the five members elected for the years 1916 and 1917 shall be extended to include the year 1918. At the Conference of 1916 five members shall be elected to serve two years and five other members to serve three years.
>
> The title of President Emeritus shall be given to each ex-president of the Conference.

The point of order being raised, it was ruled by the President that the amendment to the Rules of Procedure under discussion need not be referred to the Executive Committee before being adopted.

The original motion as amended was carried.

The following report of the Committee on Nomination was made by its chairman, Miss Lathrop. (See list of officers on page 654.)

The report of the committee was seconded and adopted and the officers as named declared elected.

The following report was made by a special committee of the Conference on method of nomination and election of officers through its chairman, Mr. Baldwin:

Amendments to the Rules of Procedure of the National Conference of Charities and Correction (as amended 1914) proposed by the Special Committee on Revision of the By-Laws, appointed at the Memphis (1914) meeting.

Amend Section 4, entitled "Committees" by striking out paragraph 5 relating to the appointment of a committee of nine on nomination.

Insert a new section between the sections on "Officers" and "Committees" to be entitled "Nomination and Election of Officers," to read as follows:

NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS

1. The President with the approval of the Executive Committee shall appoint, within ninety days of the adjournment of the Conference, a Committee of nine on nominations. No member of the Committee shall be an officer of the Conference or a member of the Executive Committee. The duty of this Committee shall be to nominate the elective officers of the Conference and members of the Executive Committee.

2. The Committee shall solicit from Conference members by publicaion in the Conference Bulletin, suggestions for nominees and for policies to be considered in selecting nominees. All such suggestions shall be sent to the Chairman of the Committee on or before November 15th of any year. The Committee shall thereupon proceed to draft its report, which shall be submitted to the members of the Conference by publication at least ninety days before the opening of the Conference.

3. Nominations in addition to those made by the Nominating Committee may be made on the signed petition of any twenty-five members sent to the Secretary at least thirty days in advance of the Conference meeting, when all nominations close. When such nominations are made in addition to those of the Nominating Committee, the Secretary shall notify the members in the final Bulletin sent out in advance of the annual meeting.

4. The election of officers shall take place at the first business session of the Conference held more than twenty-four hours after its opening. The vote shall be by acclamation if there is only one set of nominations; by printed ballot if more than one set. In such case the balloting shall take place in the twenty-four hour period preceding the business meeting and the result shall be announced at the meeting; the votes being counted by

five tellers appointed by the President, none of whom shall be officers or members of the Executive Committee.

All members who have paid dues two years in succession immediately preceding the Conference and who have attended at least one previous annual Conference shall be entitled to vote.

Roger N. Baldwin,
Amos W. Butler,
Alice Higgins Lathrop,
Graham Romeyn Taylor.

SUPPLEMENTARY SUGGESTIONS

(Not part of the Formal Report of the Committee.)

To be offered through the Executive Committee.

Amend Section 3 entitled "Officers" by striking out the words "first, second and third" before the word "Vice-Presidents," and by striking out the sentence beginning with the words "These officers shall be elected," and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"The President and Vice-President shall be elected annually by the Conference. The General Secretary, the Treasurer and the Assistant Secretaries shall be appointed by the Executive Committee. The State Corresponding Secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary."

As amended the section entitled "Officers" shall read as follows:

The Officers of the Conference shall be a President, Vice-President, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, a Treasurer and a Corresponding Secretary from each state and territory and the provinces of Canada.

The President and Vice-President shall be elected annually by the Conference. The General Secretary, the Treasurer and the Assistant Secretaries shall be appointed by the Executive Committee. The State Corresponding Secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary.

Roger N. Baldwin, Chairman,
Alice Higgins Lothrop,
Graham Romeyn Taylor,
Amos W. Butler.

The following minority report was made by the remaining member of the committee, Dr. McKelway:

1. On the afternoon of the first day of the session of the Conference there shall be held an election of the following officers: The President, the Vice-Presidents, and five members of the Executive Committee, the Executive Committee to appoint the other officers and committees of the Conference.

2. The Secretary of the Conference shall prepare a roll of the members present who have joined the Conference since the adjournment of the last Conference and have paid their dues. These and these only shall be entitled to vote for the elective officers of the Conference.

3. Upon calling the Conference to order the President shall state that nominations from the floor are in order for the officers of the Conference, the first officer to be the President for the following year. Nominating speeches shall be limited to five

minutes each, and one speech of five minutes shall be allowed seconding the nomination of each candidate.

4. When nominations are closed, those nominated for President shall retire from the Conference hall; the Secretary will call the roll and each member as his name is called will respond by voting *vive voce* for his candidate for the Presidency.

5. When the roll-call is completed the candidate receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected President; if more than one nomination is made for President the one receiving the second highest vote shall be declared elected First Vice-President; the one receiving the third highest number of votes shall be declared the Second Vice-President; and the one receiving the fourth highest number of votes shall be declared the Fourth Vice-President. If less than five nominations are made for President the places remaining for Vice-Presidents shall be filled by nomination for that office and elected by roll-call as in the case for President. In the case of a tie vote for any of these officers the President of the Conference shall cast the deciding vote.

6. Five members of the Executive Committee shall be elected upon nominations from the floor without nominating speeches; the roll shall be called, each member present being allowed to vote for five names, and the five receiving the highest number of ballots shall be declared elected.

The two reports were referred to the Executive Committee, and a recess of ten minutes was declared. The Executive Committee withdrew to consider the matter.

The majority and minority reports thus referred were reported back to the Conference by the Executive Committee without recommendation. Mr. Blossom of Maryland moved the adoption of the minority report, and the motion was seconded.

Mr. Leonard of Missouri moved as a substitute motion that the majority report be accepted, and this was seconded.

The chairman of the special committee, Mr. Baldwin, suggested that for reasons stated the two reports be referred back to the Committee with instructions to report again at an adjourned meeting to be held after the evening session the following Monday.

This suggestion was incorporated in a motion by Mr. Davis of Minnesota and it was seconded. The motion carried.

The following motion was made by Mr. Daniels of Maryland, and seconded by Mr. Wallace of Pennsylvania:

> That the incoming President of the Conference be requested to appoint, within ninety days following his election, a committee of nine, which committee shall report to the next Conference as to the advisability of changing the name of the Conference; this report to be printed, either in full or in abstract, in the last Bulletin preceding the next Conference.

The motion was adopted.

Sunday, May 16, 1915, 8:15 *P. M.*

Mrs. Glenn presiding.

The *Committee on Resolutions,* through its chairman, Father Gavisk, offered the following resolution, which was seconded and adopted:

Resolved, That the National Conference of Charities and Correction in annual session heartily commends the firm and dignified course of the President of the United States throughout the present international difficulties, a course that has scrupulously maintained neutrality toward the warring nations, that looks to the preservation of peace with the peoples of the world, and firmly upholds the dignity of the United States in the delicate situation of international affairs.

Resolved, That the National Conference assures the President of the United States of its hearty support in this trying time, of its sincere trust in his wisdom—both to avert danger to our country's peace and to safeguard the honor of the nation in any crisis.

Resolved, That the President of the Conference be directed to send to President Wilson these assurances of confidence and pledges of support of the men and women of this country engaged in charitable work.

Francis H. Gavisk, Chairman,
George B. Mangold,
Alexander Johnson.

Monday, May 17, 1915, 10:00 *P. M.*

Mrs. Glenn presiding.

The Committee on Organization, through its chairman, Mr. Kelso, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Organization has been in active correspondence since January of this year. It has, during those months preceding this meeting, received numerous suggestions relative to the program for 1916. Since arrival at Baltimore it has held six meetings, at two of which it has given open hearing to all applicants and petitioners relative to the said program. In the intervals between its meetings its members have sought for suggestion, opinion and criticism generally throughout the membership of the Conference.

Following the excellent example of the Memphis committee your Baltimore committee is appending to each of the committees which it offers you certain suggested subject matter in the form of sub-headings. That there may be no misunderstanding as to our meaning and intent in adopting this practice, we wish to say to you that we do not seek by these suggestions to restrict, limit, or confine those in charge of the committees to the narrower scope of the suggestions; but that on the other hand we wish by suggesting such sub-topics to convey that it is our best judgment after analysis and comparison of all the elements which have entered into the construction of the program that the emphasis in the development of the committee's program,

should, all other things being equal, rest in the direction of the subject matter which we suggest.

As a result of all our deliberations I have the honor for your committee to submit to you the following list of committees together with a memorandum of the chairman, vice-chairman and some members of each committee attached thereto, with the expectation that other members will be added by executive appointment.

(For the body of the report see schedule of 1916 committees on pages 654-6.)

Mr. Marsh of New York made the following motion, which was seconded:

Moved that the report of the Committee on Organization be referred back to the Committee with power, with instructions to substitute for the Committee on Inebriety a Committee on Rural Problems and the Land Question, in view of the fact that a large part of the country is under prohibition laws, and the fact that little stress is apparently to be laid by the National Conference next year, upon economic problems and the extermination of poverty.

A substitute motion by Dr. McKelway of Washington to the effect that the original report be adopted was carried.

The special committee on procedure in election of officers, through its chairman, Mr. Baldwin, presented a unanimous report on the basis of the majority and minority reports previously referred back to it, and of additional suggestions, as follows:

NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

1. The President shall appoint within ninety days of the adjournment of the Conference a committee of nine on nomination. No member of the committee shall be an officer of the Conference or a member of the Executive Committee. The duty of this committee shall be to nominate the elective officers of the Conference and members of the Executive Committee.

2. The committee shall solicit by publication suggestions for nominees from all Conference members. All such suggestions shall be sent to the chairman of the committee within ninety days of the date of publication. The committee shall thereupon proceed to draft a report on nominations, which shall include, first, the nominees proposed by the nominating committee, and so designated, and second, other nominees, if any, proposed by the suggestion or petition of at least twenty-five members, and so designated. The report shall be submitted to the members of the Conference by publication at least thirty days before the opening day of the Conference. Withdrawals of nominees, if any, may be made before the tenth day preceding the opening of the Conference, when the General Secretary shall print a ballot containing the names of all nominees and indicating whether they are nominated by the nominating committee or by petition. A blank space shall be left under each office for writing in any other name at the election.

3. The election of officers shall be by ballot, the voting to take place during business hours from the opening of registration on the first day of the Conference to five P. M. of the second day. The votes shall then be counted by five tellers appointed

by the President, none of whom shall be officers or members of the Nominating or Executive Commitees or nominees. The candidates receiving the largest number of votes shall be declared elected. The result shall be announced at the first business or general session following the completion of the count.

4. All members who have paid dues for the preceding year shall be qualified to vote. At any business session one hundred such qualified members shall constitute a quorum.

(Signed) Alice Higgins Lothrop,
Amos W. Butler,
Graham Romeyn Taylor,
Roger N. Baldwin,
A. J. McKelway.

After discussion, a motion by Mr. Leonard of Missouri that the report be adopted was seconded and carried.

A supplementary report by the same committee was made by Mr. Baldwin as follows:

Your committee, in considering the minority report by Dr. McKelway and its own majority report made to the Executive Committee relating to what officers should be elected and what appointed, suggest the following change in section three of the Rules of Procedure entitled "Officers":

"The General Secretary, the Treasurer, and the Assistant Secretaries shall be *appointed by the Executive Committee.* The State Corresponding Secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary."

The amended section would read: "The officers of the Conference shall be a President, first, second and third Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, a Treasurer and a Corresponding Secretary from each state and territory and the provinces of Canada.

The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected annually by the Conference. The General Secretary, the Treasurer and the Assistant Secretaries shall be appointed by the Executive Committee. The State Corresponding Secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary."

(Signed) Alice Higgins Lothrop,
Amos W. Butler,
Graham Romeyn Taylor,
Roger N. Baldwin,
A. J. McKelway.

On motion by Mr. Alexander Johnson, the supplementary report was adopted.

Tuesday, May 18, 1915, 8:15 *P. M.*

Mrs. Glenn presiding.

Two resolutions were presented by Mr. Marsh on suffrage and on the extermination of privilege, and were referred to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

Wednesday, May 19, 1915, 10:00 *P. M.*

Mrs. Glenn presiding.

The following report was made by the *Committee on Resolutions*, through its chairman, Dr. Gavisk:

The Committee has received several resolutions.

One relating to the war has already found a substitute in the resolution offered by the Committee on Sunday evening, and adopted by the Conference.

One relating to the functions of various foundations has not been presented to this body because the Committee does not believe that the Conference should interfere with the purposes of particular organizations.

Other resolutions referring to the program of the Conference were referred to the proper committee.

If the consciousness of a magnificent success can make happiness, then surely the Baltimore Committee of the Forty-second National Conference must be happy tonight. Never have the preparations and arrangements been more complete and perfect, never has there been such cordial co-operation by everybody in the city. The members and delegates will take away with them the memory of a Conference, perfect in plan and in execution.

To thank by name all the good people who have made our visit such a delight, we would have to recite the city directory, or at any rate the telephone book. But even at the risk of omitting some of those who have been so good to us, we cannot allow this opportunity to pass without naming some of them.

First and most notable must come the Baltimore Committee with General Riggs at its head, and Dr. Pleasants as secretary. They have bound together all the rest into a chain of good-will and happiness.

While all the sub-committees have done splendidly, we cannot omit special mention of the Committee on Membership, with Miss Goodwillie as chairman; they have succeeded far beyond our expectations or even their own hopes in enrolling the largest paid membership in the history of the Conference.

We desire to render thanks to the newspaper press of the city for excellent, full and readable reports, and with them we must associate the name of H. Wirt Steele, and the City Club, which not only gave us the use of its club house, but also donated Mr. Steele's services for the week.

To the many churches which freely gave the use of their beautiful auditoriums, to the Y. M. C. A. for the ushers who have been so helpful at the evening meetings, to the Junior League for their beautiful floral decorations, to the Women's City Club, to the Women's Civic League who gave us a charming garden party, to the Baltimore Country Club, to the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland, to the Peabody Institute, and to the many institutions of various kinds, we are grateful for hospitality and courtesy.

We have highly appreciated the work of the Boy Scouts, whose uniform is becoming a familiar sight wherever there is an opportunity for helpfulness.

To the Arundell Club who gave us the use of its club house and auditorium, to the ladies and gentlemen who placed their automobiles at our service on two memorable occasions, to the members of the Playground Association for their escort on a de-

lightful visit to the beautiful parks and playgrounds of the city, our grateful thanks are due.

We would especially thank the hosts and hostesses of the Friday afternoon teas, Mrs. H. Crawford Black, Miss Kate M. McLane, Mrs. James H. Preston, Mrs. Walter W. Abell, Mrs. Harry Fielding Reid, Miss Louise Dawson, and also the Arundell Club, the College Club, St. Paul's Rectory and the Colored Y. M. C. A. This was a form of hospitality which we have not hitherto enjoyed in so free a measure and was as delightful as it was novel. We would also mention the beautiful flower market, arranged partly for our delectation, by the Home Garden Committee of the Municipal Art Society and the Women's Civic League.

We would especially thank the ladies and gentlemen who presided at the Information Desk, for their faithful, intelligent and effective service.

Last, and not least, we would express our sincere appreciation of the courtesy and kindness of his Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, for his appearance on the platform and many courtesies throughout the week.

Those of us who attended the Conference twenty-five years ago expected great things of the city. Our fondest expectations have been more than realized. The meeting of 1915 will go down as one of the famous events in the history of the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

In the death of the Rev. Samuel G. Smith, a former President of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, and of the American Prison Association, the social workers of the United States have lost a valuable ally and the people a counsellor and friend.

The Conference expresses its deep appreciation of the services of the Rev. Dr. Smith as a pastor with a social vision, as a writer, as a professor of sociology in the University of Minnesota, as a leader in the Associated Charities of St. Paul, as a factor in the promotion of the social welfare of Minnesota, and as a power for good throughout the nation. His courage, independence, energy and leadership combined to give effectiveness to his labors and secured for him a measure of the reward he so richly deserved.

In the death of Dr. Charles Richmond Henderson, the cause of social service has suffered an irreparable loss. In all that pertained to this service no one had a greater knowledge, a clearer insight, or a finer power of expression than Dr. Henderson, to which was added the qualities of a heart full of human kindness, a rare capacity for organization and leadership. In his life he left an ineffaceable mark as a pastor of souls, as a teacher in a university, as an author of books upon social subjects, as a leader in constructive work in every deparment of effort for the betterment of his fellowmen. Though by nature of a retiring disposition, forgetful of self, ever ready for even the simplest service to his fellowman, his commanding ability brought him to the front in every movement for the public welfare. He was President of the Twenty-sixth National Conference of Charities and Correction, was President of the American Prison Association, was Commissioner from the United States to the International Prison Congress and President of that distinguished body when it assembled in Washington in the year 1910.

In this great international body, representing forty governments of the world, by his learning and scholarship, by his dignity of bearing and suavity of manner, Dr. Henderson made an impression of a type of American citizenship upon this ecumenical gathering, which enhanced the pride his countrymen felt in him.

But no enumeration of the high position Dr. Henderson filled in international, national, state or municipal bodies for public welfare can illustrate his character. He possessed a personality of rare influence, whether as pastor, as student, as teacher, as member of a civic body, or as an honored leader in any movement. His breadth of view bore down all barriers of race, or creed, or social condition. To him every man was brother; to every helpless individual he was father. Though his incisive mind elevated sociology to a place among the sciences, he never permitted the coldness of science to lessen the warmth of a sympathetic heart. He saw the best possibilities in every human life and he clearly purposed in every movement in which he engaged the very essence of charity, the eternal destiny of the human soul. The Conference desires to place on record its appreciation of his high service during his life, its deep regret at his death, but is confronted by the legacy he left it in his noble example, his thorough work in every department, and the memory of the sweetness of his character and the inspiration of his presence.

Respectfully submitted by the Committee,

Francis H. Gavisk, Chairman,
Alexander Johnson,
George B. Mangold,
Committee.

These resolutions were adopted as read.

On motion of Mr. Alexander Johnson, the following two memorial resolutions, which had previously been approved by the Committee on Resolutions, were adopted:

Monsignor McMahon, for many years supervisor of charities of the Catholic Diocese of New York and spiritual director of the Superior and General Councils of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, was well known to many members of the Conference, of which he was a member for many years, and was highly esteemed by all who knew him. His sense of fairness, his broad-mindedness, and his abounding charity endeared him to us all. He died in the prime of life and apparently in the full strength of a vigorous manhood. In his death the Conference has lost a most useful member, and many of us have lost a loved, trusted and faithful friend.

Judge Harvey H. Baker, of the Boston Juvenile Court, died on April 10. He was well known to nearly every member of the Conference, and belonged to the Executive Committee. In his death the juvenile court has lost one of its brightest ornaments, the National Conference, one of its most useful members, and everyone who knew him a valued and trusted friend. He was an ideal judge, a friend of all the weak, a protector of the helpless, a cheerful and hearty companion of the strong and fortunate. That such a man should be taken from us at the early age of forty-six is indeed a tragedy to us who knew and loved him, but his greatest loss will be to many children who never knew him but whose lives will lack the influence that would have been given them had he lived.

After the presentation of the President of the 1916 Conference, Rev. Francis H. Gavisk, LL.D., of Indianapolis, (see p. 635) the forty-second annual meeting was adjourned.

Mary Willcox Glenn, *President.*
William T. Cross, *General Secretary.*

RULES OF PROCEDURE FOR THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION

PREAMBLE

The National Conference of Charities and Correction exists to discuss the problems of charities and correction, to disseminate information and promote reforms. It does not formulate platforms.

MEMBERSHIP

All persons who are interested in charities and correction may become members by registering their names and paying the annual fee.

Honorary members may be elected on recommendation of the Executive Committee.

The annual membership fee shall be $3.00† and the sustaining membership fee shall be $10.00 annually. These membership fees shall entitle each member to a copy of the Proceedings and other publications of the Conference. Sustaining members shall be entitled to a second copy of the Proceedings, on request.

State Boards of Charities and other societies and institutions subscribing for the Proceedings in quantities shall be entitled to enroll their officers and members as members of this Conference at the rate of one member for each $2.50 paid.

OFFICERS

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, first, second and third Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, a Treasurer and a Corresponding Secretary from each state and territory and the provinces of Canada.

The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected annually by the Conference. The General Secretary, the Treasurer and the Assistant Secretaries shall be appointed by the Executive Committee. The State Corresponding Secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary.

The title of President Emeritus shall be given to each ex-president of the Conference.

NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS

1. The President shall appoint within ninety days of the adjournment of the Conference a committee of nine on Nomination. No member of the committee shall be an officer of the Conference or a member of the Executive Committee. The duty of this committee shall be to nominate the elective officers of the Conference and members of the Executive Committee.

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†To be effective beginning January 1, 1916.

2. The committee shall solicit by publication suggestions for nominees from all Conference members. All such suggestions shall be sent to the chairman of the committee within ninety days of the date of publication. The committee shall thereupon proceed to draft a report on nominations, which shall include, first, the nominees proposed by the Nominating Committee, and so designated, and second, other nominees, if any, proposed by the suggestion or petition of at least twenty-five members, and so designated. The report shall be submitted to the members of the Conference by publication at least thirty days before the opening day of the Conference. Withdrawals of nominees, if any, may be made before the tenth day preceding the opening of the Conference, when the General Secretary shall print a ballot containing the names of all nominees and indicating whether they are nominated by the Nominating Committee or by petition. A blank space shall be left under each office for writing in any other name at the election.

3. The election of officers shall be by ballot, the voting to take place during business hours from the opening of registration on the first day of the Conference to five P. M. of the second day. The votes shall then be counted by five tellers appointed by the President, none of whom shall be officers or members of the Nominating or Executive Committees or nominees. The candidates receiving the largest number of votes shall be declared elected. The result shall be announced at the first business or general session following the completion of the count.

4. All members who have paid dues for the preceding year shall be qualified to vote. At any business session one hundred such qualified members shall constitute a quorum.

COMMITTEES

The standing committees shall be an Executive Committee and a committee on each subject which it is proposed to discuss at the ensuing Conference.

To be effective beginning with the Conference year 1916-17 the Executive Committee shall consist of the President, First Vice-President, and fifteen other members who shall be elected as follows: five each year for a term of three years. The term of office of the five members elected for the years 1916 and 1917 shall be extended to include the year 1918. At the Conference of 1916 five members shall be elected to serve two years and five other members to serve three years.

The President, not later than three months after the closing of the Conference, shall appoint:

A committee of thirteen on Organization of the next Conference, whose duties shall be to select the subjects to be considered by the next Conference, to decide upon the titles of the committees which shall be asked to present them, and to nominate the chairman, vice-chairman and some members of the committee.

A committee of three on Resolutions, to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate.

A commitee on Time and Place of the next meeting. The Committee on Time and Place shall meet on the afternoon or evening of the first day after the organization of the Conference for the purpose of receiving invitations from cities, and shall give a reasonable time for the presentation of invitations by all cities desiring to present such invitations. The committee shall report to the Conference not later than 12 o'clock, noon, of the day following. The action on report of the committee shall be by a

rising vote, unless otherwise ordered, provided that the city receiving the highest vote shall be selected; and, provided further that the place of meeting selected may be changed by the Executive Committee if satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made.

The President shall fill promptly any vacancies occurring in these committtees, and the Secretary shall publish the names of these committees continuously in the Bulletin, together with an invitation to all members of the Conference to submit to these committees suggestions that are pertinent to the work of these committees.

DUTIES OF OFFICERS

The President shall be chairman, ex-officio, of the Executive Committee, and shall have the supervision of the work of the several committees in preparing for the meeting of the Conference. He shall have authority to accept resignations and to fill vacancies in the list of officers and chairmen of committees, and to fill vacancies in and add to the numbers of any committee except the Executive Committee. In case of the absence or inability of the President to serve he shall be succeeded by the First Vice-President, and he in like manner by the Second or Third Vice-President in the order named.

The General Secretary shall be ex-officio Secretary of the Executive Committee and Chairman of the Committee on Reports from States. He shall conduct the correspondence of the Conference with officers, committees and others, under the direction of the President. He shall have charge of the distribution of all announcements and programs, and shall direct the work of the secretaries and be responsible for the correctness of the roll of members. He shall be the custodian of the unsold copies of the reports of the Proceedings, receive all orders for the same, and direct their distribution.

He shall receive all membership fees and proceeds of sales of the reports of the Proceedings, and pay the same promptly to the Treasurer. He shall receive compensation for his services and an allowance for clerk hire and other expenses, the amount and time of payment of which shall be fixed by the Executive Committee from time to time.

The Treasurer shall receive and disburse all moneys of the Conference, all disbursements to be made only upon order of the General Secretary, approved by the President or by some member of the Executive Committee, to be named by the President.

The Official Reporter shall report the Proceedings of the Conference, under the direction of the General Secretary.

The retiring President of the Conference and the General Secretary shall constitute a Publication Committee, and shall have charge of the editing and publishing of the Proceedings.

The Corresponding Secretaries shall be responsible for the annual reports from their several states. It shall be their duty to secure the attendance of representatives from public and private institutions and societies.

THE DUTIES OE COMMITTEES

The Executive Committee shall be the President's Advisory Board, and shall hold the powers of the Conference in the interim between the meetings. The Executive Committee may appoint sub-committees to attend to matters of detail.

Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President of the Conference, and five members shall constitute a

quorum provided that, when the Conference is not in session, three members shall constitute a quorum.

The Local Committee shall make all necessary local arrangements for the meeting, and provide suitable meeting places, satisfactory to the President and the General Secretary. They shall provide funds for the expenses of the Conference in such amount as the Executive Committee may determine.

The President, in consultation with the chairman of each standing committee, shall arrange the program for the sessions and section meetings, and shall so arrange it as to give opportunity for free discussion; provided that the program, before final adopton, shall be submitted to the Executive Committee for its approval.

No paper shall be presented to the Conference except through the proper committee, and no paper shall be read in the absence of the writer except by unanimous consent.

In cases when there is a cognate national organization which meets at or about the time of the National Conference, the chairman of the appropriate committee shall endeavor to co-operate with the President of the said national organization and as far as possible shall endeavor to correlate the programs of the said society and of the Conference.

SECTION MEETINGS

The Section Meetings are designed for familiar discussion. Not more than two papers shall be read at any section meeting, to occupy together not more than thirty minutes. If possible, papers shall be printed and distributed beforehand, that the entire meeting may be given to discussion. No afternoon meetings shall be inserted in the official program.

DEBATES

In the debates of the Conference, speakers shall be limited to five minutes each, except by unanimous consent, and shall not be allowed to speak twice on any subject until all others have had an opportunity to be heard.

KINDRED ORGANIZATIONS

The Executive Committee may authorize the Secretary to announce in the official program the meetings of certain national societies whose purposes are in harmony with those of the National Conference, and which meet at the same place and during, or immediately after or before, the sessions of the National Conference. No such meetings shall be announced until after action by the Executive Committee upon each year's announcement. No such meeting shall be announced which is to occur more than four days prior to the opening meeting of the Conference. No meeting shall be announced which conflicts in time with any meeting of the Conference.

The kindred organizations whose meetings are announced in the Conference program shall be invited to send, if they see fit, to the Secretary of the Conference, in writing, not later than the second day of the Conference session, suggestions as to topics and speakers for the program of the next year's session. Also several names of persons desirable for membership on the standing committees of the next Conference. Such suggestions shall be turned over by the Secretary of the Conference to the Committee on Organization.

AMENDMENTS

These rules shall remain in force from year to year, unless amended; and all additions or amendments shall be submitted to the Executive Committee before being acted on by the Conference.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE OF 1915

Officers

President, Mrs. John M. Glenn, New York City.

First Vice President, Rev. John A. Ryan, D. D., St. Paul, Minn.; Second Vice President, Frank J. Sessions, Davenport, Ia.; Third Vice President, James T. Mastin, Richmond, Va.

General Secretary and Treasurer, William T. Cross, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago, Ill.

Assistant Secretaries: Frank D. Loomis, Indianapolis, Ind.; Charles Whiting Williams, Cleveland, O.; Joseph C. Logan, Atlanta, Ga.; E. J. Milne, Salt Lake City, Utah; Stuart A. Queen, San Francisco, Cal.; Nathaniel T. Grasty, Baltimore, Md.; J. J. O'Connor, Minneapolis, Minn.; Miss Louise F. Price, Richmond, Va.; Miss Margaret F. Byington, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Oscar Leonard, St. Louis, Mo.; Mrs. Adolph Kurz, Chicago, Ill.; William P. Capes, New York City.

Executive Committee: The ex-presidents as follows: F. B. Sanborn, Massachusetts (1881); Hastings H. Hart, Illinois (1893); Alexander Johnson, Indiana (1897); William R. Stewart, New York (1898); Charles R. Henderson*, Illinois (1899); Charles E. Faulkner, Minnesota (1900); John M. Glenn, Maryland (1901); Timothy Nicholson, Indiana (1902); Robert W. de Forest, New York (1903); Jeffrey R. Brackett, Massachusetts (1904); Rev. Samuel G. Smith* D. D., Minnesota (1905); Edward T. Devine, New York (1906); Amos W. Butler, Indiana (1907); Thomas M. Mulry, New York (1908); Ernest P. Bicknell, Illinois (1909); Miss Jane Addams, Illinois (1910); Homer Folks, New York (1911); Julian W. Mack, Washington, D. C. (1912); Frank Tucker, New York (1913); Graham Taylor, Illinois (1914). In addition, the President and First Vice President, as named above, and the following: Term expiring 1915; Joseph P. Byers, Trenton, N. J.; Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, Darling Pa.; J. A. Riechman, Memphis, Tenn.; Rev. John A. Ryan, St. Paul, Minn.; James O. White, Cincinnati, O.; term expiring 1916; Harvey H. Baker*, Boston, Mass.; Rabbi Louis Bernstein, St. Joseph, Mo.; Miss Jean Gordon, New Orleans, La.; Miss Frances Ingram, Louisville, Ky.; Edwin D. Solenberger, Philadelphia, Pa.

Also standing, or program committees, as follows:

Children

Chairman, C. C. Carstens, Boston, Mass.

Vice Chairman, Henry W. Thurston, New York City.

Other members: J. B. Montgomery, Coldwater, Mich.; Miss Katherine A. Gallagher, Canton, Ill.; George L. Jones, Baltimore, Md.; John L. Green, Jackson, Miss.; E. M. Williams, Cleveland, O.; Samuel McClintock Hamill, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. R. R. Reeder, Hastings, N. Y.; Miss Mabel Hutzler, Baltimore, Md.; James E. Fee, Boston, Mass.; L. J. Covington, Seattle, Wash.; J. A. Brown, Indianapolis, Ind.; Dr. Frances Sage Bradley, Atlanta, Ga.; Mrs. Alice B. Montgomery, Manchester, N. H.; Mrs. Thomas H. Ryan,

*Deceased.

Seattle, Wash.; Brother Paul, Baltimore, Md.; Milton Reisenstein, Baltimore, Md.; B. Franklin Pepper, Philadelphia, Pa.; Miss Bertha Phillips, Boston, Mass.

Corrections

Chairman, Prof. Demarchus C. Brown, Indianapolis, Ind.

Vice Chairman, Joseph P. Byers, Trenton, N. J.

Other members: Guy C. Hanna, Plainfield, Ind.; John J. Sonsteby, Chicago, Ill.; Judge Wm. H. DeLacy, Washington, D. C.; W. H. Winans, Cleveland, Ohio; John H. DeWitt, Nashville, Tenn.; W. H. Whittaker, Occoquan, Va.; G. Lombardi, Dallas, Texas; W. L. Kuser, Eldora, Ia.; Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder, Sherborn, Mass.; Prof. Calvin C. Derrick, Ione, Cal.; Thomas Mott Osborne, Auburn, N. Y.; Cleon B. Roe, Monroe, Wash.; Eli Frank, Baltimore, Md.; F. Emory Lyon, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. T. J. Toomey, St. Louis, Mo.; Dr. J. T. Gilmour, Toronto, Ont.; Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells, Los Angeles, Cal. (chairman sub-committee on Women Police).

Education for Social Work

Chairman, Porter R. Lee, New York City.

Vice Chairman: Miss Edith Abbott, Chicago, Ill.

Other members: George B. Mangold, St. Louis, Mo.; C. W. Williams, Cleveland, Ohio; Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, Chicago, Ill.; Howard Strong, Minneapolis, Minn.; Shelby M. Harrison, New York City; Dr. George Thomas Palmer, Springfield, Ill.; Boris D. Bogen, Cincinnati, Ohio; Rev. Michael J. Scanlan, Boston, Mass.; Jeffrey R. Brackett, Boston, Mass.; Miss Nannie J. Minor, Richmond, Va.; James E. McCulloch, Nashville, Tenn.; Dr. Jessica B. Piexotto, Berkeley, Cal.; Miss Kate McMahon, Boston, Mass.; William O. Easton, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. Frank A. Manny, Baltimore, Md.; Prof. James E. Hagerty, Columbus, Ohio.

The Family and the Community

Chairman, Riley M. Little, Philadelphia, Pa.

Vice Chairman: Miss Amelia Sears, Chicago, Ill.

Other members: William H. Pear, Boston, Mass.; Miss Katherine C. Felton, San Francisco, Cal.; Gertrude Vaile, Denver, Colo.; Miss Minnie F. Low, Chicago, Ill.; Charles M. Hubbard, St. Louis, Mo.; Charles C. Stillman, St. Paul, Minn.; James L. Fieser, Columbus, Ohio; Miss Helen Glenn, Philadelphia, Pa.; George A. Bellamy, Cleveland, Ohio; Ernest P. Bicknell, Washington, D. C.; Robert Biggs, Baltimore, Md.; Joel D. Hunter, Chicago, Ill.; Leroy A. Halbert, Kansas City, Mo.; Miss Virginia McMechen, Seattle, Wash.; Louis H. Levin, Baltimore, Md.; Miss Helen B. Pendleton, Savannah, Ga.

Health

Chairman, Dr. Richard C. Cabot, Boston, Mass.

Vice Chairman: Dr. Charles P. Emerson, Indianapolis, Ind.

Other members: Dr. A. R. Warner, Cleveland, Ohio; C. Eugene McGillicuddy, Worcester, Mass.; Dr. Theodore B. Sachs, Chicago Ill.; Dr. Livingston Farrand, Boulder, Colo.; Dr. John S. Fulton, Baltimore, Md.; Dr. Fred T. Murphy, St. Louis, Mo.; Miss Isabel Strong, Washington, D. C.; Miss Mary S. Gardner, Providence, R. I.; Miss Katherine Tucker, New York City; Miss Alice S. Griffith, San Francisco, Cal.; Mrs. K. H. Schulken, Memphis, Tenn.; Dr. Elizabeth C. Kane, Memphis, Tenn.; Dr. Lawrence Flick, Philadelphia, Pa.

Public and Private Charities

Chairman, George S. Wilson, Washington, D. C.

Other members: Amos W. Butler, Indianapolis, Ind.; Alexander M. Wilson, New York City; A. A. McCormick, Chicago, Ill.; Rev. F. H. Gavisk, Indianapolis, Ind.; Robert W. Kelso, Boston, Mass.; Jacob Billikopf,

Kansas City, Mo.; Miss Frances G. Curtis, Boston, Mass.; William J. Ahern, Concord, N. H.; Joseph C. Logan, Atlanta, Ga.; Mrs. J. A. Reed, Seattle, Wash.; Oscar K. Cushing, San Francisco, Cal.; Miss Katherine R. Williams, Milwaukee, Wis.; Miss Daisy Denson, Raleigh, N. C.; H. C. Bowman, Topeka, Kas.; Charles P. Kellogg, Waterbury, Conn.; Marl T. Murray, Lansing, Mich.; A. L. Bowen, Springfield, Ill.

Social Hygiene

Chairman, Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, Darling, Pa.

Vice Chairman: Dr. William F. Snow, New York City.

Other members: Dr. William T. Foster, Portland Ore.; James B. Reynolds, New York City; Dr. Carrie Weaver Smith, Dallas, Tex.; Miss Maude E. Miner, New York City; Dr. Donald R. Hooker, Baltimore, Md.; Rev. Walter T. Sumner, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. Katherine B. Davis, New York City; Dr. Francis Hollingshead, Cincinnati, O.; Orin C. Baker, New York City; Miss Linda Neville, Lexington, Ky.; Mrs. Robert K. Massey, Lexington, Ky.

Social Legislation

Chairman, Prof. H. R. Seager, New York City.

Vice Chairman: John R. Commons, Madison, Wis.

Other members: Roger N. Baldwin, St. Louis, Mo.; Frederick L. Hoffman, Newark, N. J.; John B. Andrews, New York City; Louis D. Brandeis, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York City; Rev. Harry F. Ward, Boston, Mass.; Rev. Edwin V. O'Hara, Portland, Ore.; Benjamin C. Marsh, New York City; Alexander Johnson, Vineland, N. J.; James Mullenbach, Oak Forest, Ill.; John Mitchell, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.; John H. Ferguson, Baltimore, Md.; Miss Jean Gordon, New Orleans, La.; Dr. Royal Meeker, Washington, D. C.; Prof. George E. Barnett, Baltimore, Md.; James Jenkins, Jr., Brooklyn, N. Y.

State Care of Insane, Feebleminded and Epileptic

Chairman, Dr. Walter E. Fernald, Waverly, Mass.

Vice Chairman: Dr. W. C. Van Nuys, New Castle, Ind.

Other members: Dr. George S. Bliss, Fort Wayne, Ind.; Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. W. F. Drewry, Petersburg, Va.; Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Washington, D. C.; Dr. J. H. Fox, Jackson, Miss.; Dr. A. C. Rogers, Faribault, Minn.; H. H. Shirer, Columbus, Ohio; Dr. Adolf Meyer, Baltimore, Md.; Dr. E. E. Southard, Cambridge, Mass.; Miss Edith N. Burleigh, Cambridge, Mass.; Daniel B. Murphy, Rochester, N. Y.; Dr. Owen Copp, Philadelphia, Pa.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1916*

Officers

President, Rev. Francis H. Gavisk, Indianapolis, Ind.

First Vice President, James F. Jackson, Cleveland, O.; Second Vice President, Dr. James T. Gilmour, Toronto, Can.; Third Vice President, Miss Minnie F. Low, Chicago, Ill.

General Secretary and Treasurer, William T. Cross, Chicago, Ill.

Assistant Secretaries: Frank D. Loomis, Indianapolis, Ind.; Joseph C. Logan, Atlanta, Ga.; Nathaniel T. Grasty, Baltimore, Md.; Miss Margaret F. Byington, Brooklyn, N. Y.; T. J. Edmonds, Cincinnati, O.; Robert W. Kelso, Boston, Mass.; John J. O'Connor, Chicago, Ill.

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Also standing, or program, committees as follows:

Children

Chairman, Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Washington, D. C.

Vice Chairman, Edward M. Williams, Cleveland, O.

Other members: William Wirt, Gary, Ind.; Edward N. Clopper, New York City; Miss Frances G. Curtis, Boston, Mass.; Miss Esther Eaton, Columbus, O.; Rev. Michael J. Scanlan, Boston, Mass.; Henry J. Gideon, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mrs. Beverley B. Mumford, Richmond, Va.; C. C. Carstens, Boston, Mass.; Miss Ruth True, New York City; Prof. D. F. Shirk, Topeka, Kan.; Dr. George B. Mangold, St. Louis, Mo.; Guy C. Hanna, Plainfield, Ind.

Corrections

Chairman, Dr. Katharine B. Davis, New York City.

Vice Chairman, Hon. Harry Olson, Chicago, Ill.

Other members: Hon. George S. Addams, Cleveland, O.; Prof. Demarchus C. Brown, Indianapolis, Ind.; Allan D. Conover, Madison, Wis.; Hon. Arthur Woods, New York City; Hon. Charles A. DeCourcy, Boston, Mass.; John J. Gascoyne, Newark, N. J.; Dr. John R. Haynes, Los Angeles, Cal.; Albert Garvin, Cheshire, Conn.; W. H. Whittaker, Occoquan, Va.; A. J. G.

*Corrected to date, October, 1, 1915.

Wells, Frankfort, Ky.; Fred L. Paddelford, Golden, Col.; Hon. James A. Collins, Indianapolis, Ind.; Mrs. Margaret M. Elliott, Indianapolis, Ind.; Robert B. Dripps, Philadelphia, Pa.

The Family and The Community

Chairman, Mrs. Ada E. Sheffield, Cambridge, Mass.

Vice Chairman, Prof. Frank L. McVey, University, N. D.

Other members: Mrs. H. E. Bacon, Evansville, Ind.; Prof. Walter G. Beach, Seattle, Wash.; Frank J. Bruno, Minneapolis, Minn.; Prof. C. C. North, Greencastle, Ind.; J. M. Hanson, Youngstown, O.; Prof. John M. Gillette, University, N. D.; Sherman C. Kingsley, Chicago, Ill.; Francis H. McLean, New York City; John Melpolder, Richmond, Ind.; Riley M. Little, Philadelphia, Pa.; Howard S. Braucher, New York City.

Feeblemindedness and Insanity

Chairman, E. R. Johnstone, Vineland, N. J.

Vice Chairman, Dr. George S. Bliss, Fort Wayne, Ind.

Other members: Dr. Owen Copp, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. A. C. Rogers, Faribault, Minn.; Alexander Johnson, Philadelphia, Pa.; Starr Cadwallader, Columbus, O.; Mrs. Lucy M. Sickles, Mitchellville, Ia.; Jacob Billikopf, Kansas City, Mo.; Dr. Walter E. Fernald, Waverly, Mass.; Dr. David Weeks, Skillman, N. J.; Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder, Sherborn, Mass.; Dr. David C. Peyton, Jeffersonville, Ind.

Health

Vice Chairman, Dr. Theodore B. Sachs, Chicago, Ill.

Other members: Frederick L. Hoffman, Newark, N. J.; Dr. Eugene Kelly, Seattle, Wash.; Dr. Charles P. Emerson, Indianapolis, Ind.; Lee F. Hanmer, New York City; Dr. S. Josephine Baker, New York City; Dr. Herman C. Biggs, Albany, N. Y.; Dr. S. E. Smith, Richmond, Ind.; Dr. R. K. Flannagan, Richmond, Va.

Inebriety

Chairman, Bailey B. Burritt, New York City.

Vice Chairman, Joseph C. Logan, Atlanta, Ga.

Other members: Murray A. Auerbach, Little Rock, Ark.; Dr. Irwin H. Neff, Norfolk, Mass.; Dr. George R. Green, Muncie, Ind.; Robert A. Woods, Boston, Mass.; Dr. Adolf Meyer, Baltimore, Md.; Alexander Fleisher, New York City; Mrs. Elizabeth Tilton, Cambridge, Mass.; Rev. Charles Stelzle, New York City.

Promotion of Social Programs

Chairman, Graham Romeyn Taylor, New York City.

Other members: W. J. Norton, Cincinnati, O.; Prof. Frank A. Fetter, Princeton, N. Y.; Orlando F. Lewis, New York City; Otto W. Davis, Minneapolis, Minn.; Dr. A. J. McKelway, Washington, D. C.; Shelby M Harrison, New York City; Charles Whiting Williams, Cleveland, O.; Porter R. Lee, New York City; Miss Virginia McMechen, Seattle, Wash.; J. Prentice Murphy, Boston, Mass.

Public and Private Charities

Chairman, H. H. Shirer, Columbus, O.

Vice Chairman, Charles C. Stillman, St. Paul, Minn.

Other members: James F. Bagley, Augusta, Me.; Miss Katharine R. Williams, Milwaukee, Wis.; Alexander M. Wilson, New York City; Leroy A. Halbert, Kansas City, Mo.; Howard Strong, Minneapolis, Minn.; John

H. Holliday, Indianapolis, Ind.; George S. Wilson, Washington, D. C.; A. L. Bowen, Springfield, Ill.; James B. Williams, Los Angeles, Cal.; Miss Amy F. Acton, Boston, Mass.; W. Frank Persons, New York City; Marl T. Murray, Lansing, Mich.

Unemployment

Chairman, William H. Pear, Boston, Mass.

Vice Chairman, Prof. Charles E. Merriam, Chicago, Ill.

Other members: Jacob H. Hollander, Baltimore, Md.; Miss Edith Abbott, Chicago Ill.; Miss Frances A. Kellor, New York City; Mrs. W. E. Miller, South Bend, Ind.; Prof. J. E. Hagerty, Columbus, O.; James Mullenbach, Chicago, Ill.; George L. Warren, Boston, Mass.; E. T. Brigham, Kansas City, Mo.

INDEX

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS INDEX

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Assn.	Association,-s	Disc.	Discussion,-ed	Prev.	Prevent,-ion,-ing
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Comn.	Commission,-s	Govt.	Government,-al	Ref.	Reference
Conf.	Conference,-s	Imgt.	Immigration,-nts	Reg.	Regulate,-ion,-s,-ing
Cor.	Correction,-s,-al	Indus.	Industrial,-y	Rel.	Relative,-ing,-tion,-s
Crit.	Criticized,-ism	Inst.	Institution,-s,-al	Rep.	Report,-ed,-ing
		Introd.	Introduction,-ory		
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Delinq.	Delinquent,-cy	Legis.	Legislator,-s,-ive,--ure,-ion	Soc.	Society,-al
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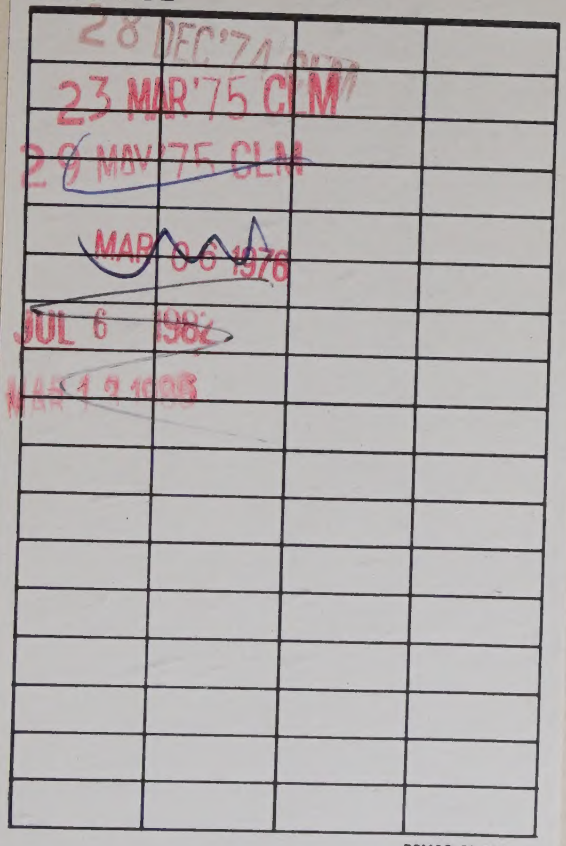

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